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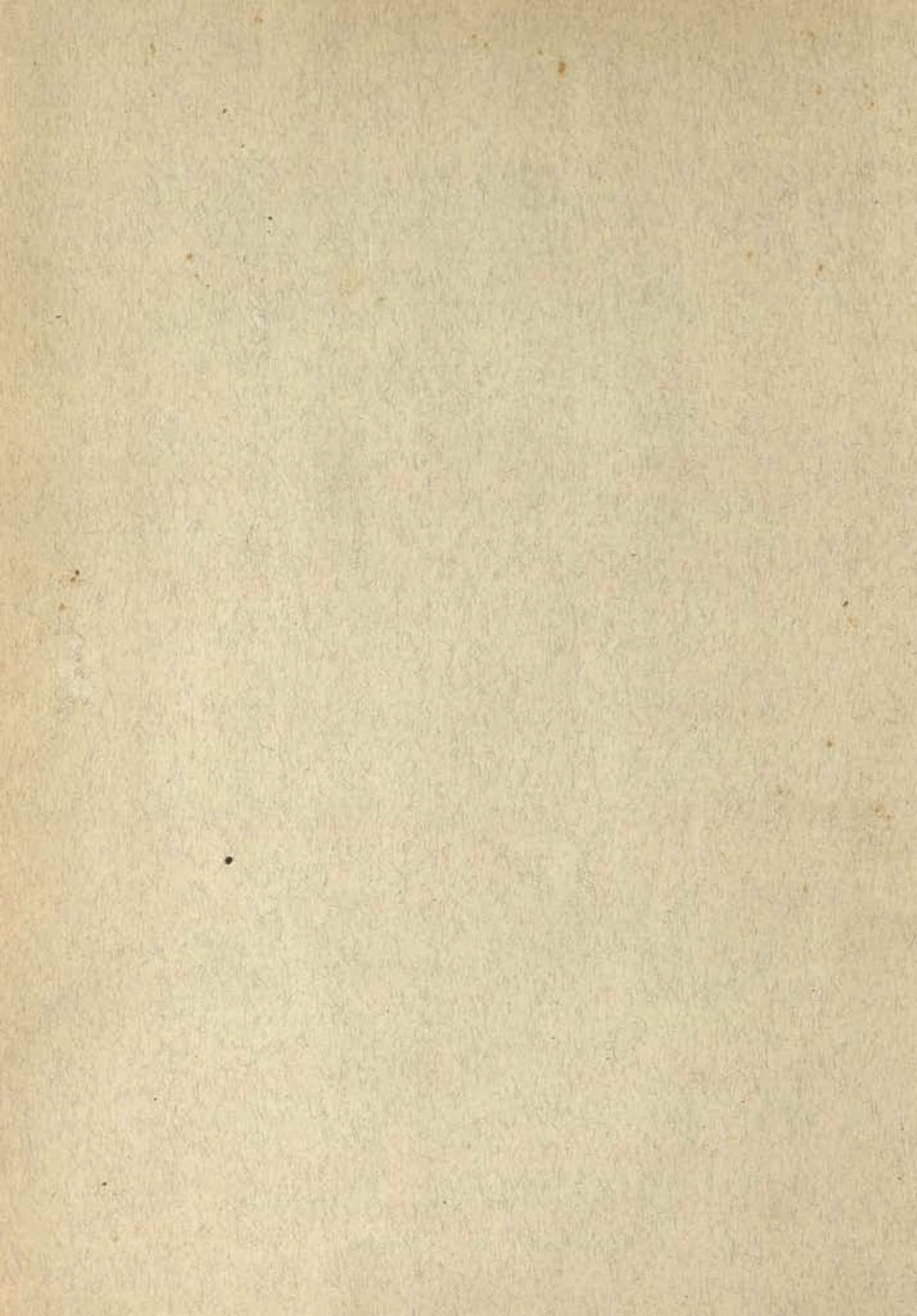
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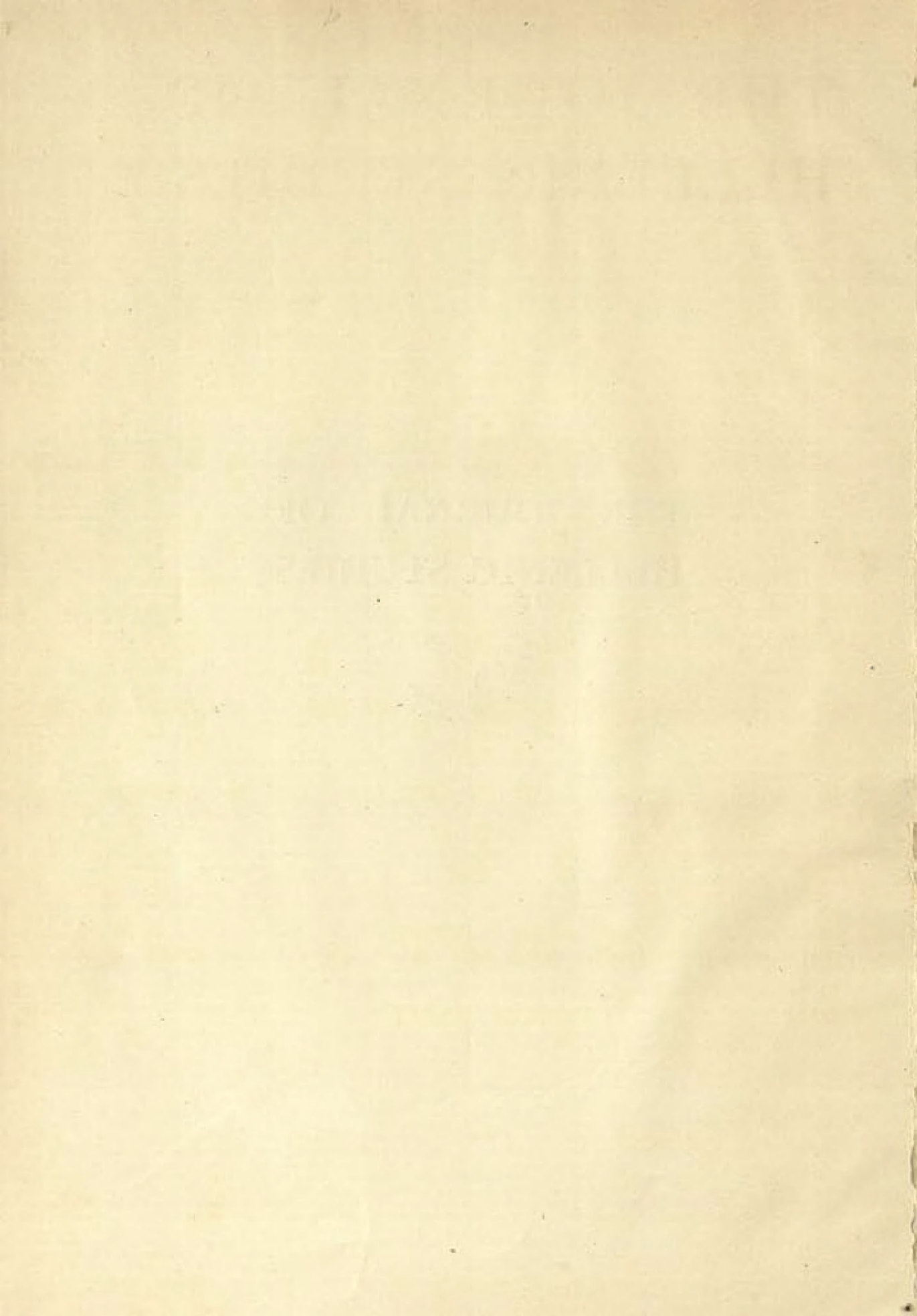
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# THE JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES

VOLUME LIX

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- LOUVAIN, Bibliothèque de l'Université, Place du Peuple, Louvain, Belgium.
- MILAN, R. Biblioteca Nazionale di Brera, Via Brera 28, Milan, Italy.
- MILWAUKEE, Johnson Hall Library, Marquette University, 1131 W. Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisc.
- PITTSBURGH, The University, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- POCKLINGTON, Pocklington School, E. Yorks.
- SHREWSBURY, The School, Shrewsbury.



## MEETINGS

## OF THE SESSION 1938-39

- 1 At the Inaugural Meeting of the Session, held on November 1st, 1938, Mr. P. Dikaïos, Curator of the Cyprus Museum, gave an account, illustrated by lantern slides, of 'Prehistoric Cyprus and its relations with East and West.' In his survey Mr. Dikaïos dealt with two main periods, the Neolithic and the Bronze Age, the former being illustrated mostly by the discoveries which he had made during the last few years on behalf of the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus. Among the thirty-four new neolithic sites which he had discovered, two were described in detail; at the first, Khirokitia, a detached hill on the right bank of the river Maróni beside the main Nicosia-Limassol road, imposing remains were revealed, the main feature being a long, straight wall three to four metres high, which appeared to divide the settlement into two parts. The excavations of 1936-7 brought to light a great part of the settlement, including a large circular enclosure wherein stood two large piers; in the floor were found four skeletons. Beyond the enclosure and on either side of the long wall, many small huts belonging to several superimposed layers were laid bare. Apparently the large enclosure belonged to an important family, while the other huts belonged to humble people. The excavations of 1938 revealed much of the upper settlement: on either side of the long wall, which ran to the hilltop and apparently continued farther, there were found large huts, and burials with offerings of stone vases deliberately broken. The Khirokitia settlement therefore revealed an early neolithic culture, with stone vases and pottery (*red* and *reserved-slip* ware) appearing mostly in the later stage.

The second site, Erimi, an extensive settlement west of Limassol, exhibited a second stage of neolithic civilisation which endured till the chalcolithic period. The round hut still prevailed, but pottery was in general use; two main classes of this might be distinguished: the *red* and the *red-on-white*. Moreover, *reserved-slip* ware was found in the deeper layers, a fact which connected the beginnings of Erimi with the end of Khiro-

kitia. The question of foreign relations during neolithic times could not yet be answered with certainty. Obsidian had been observed in Khirokitia, and, as Cyprus possessed no obsidian, it was natural to infer that the obsidian implements found in Khirokitia came from abroad, a fact which gave the first evidence of some sort of intercourse, probably with the neighbouring Asiatic continent. Moreover, the ornamentation of some *red-on-white* pottery found in Erimi resembled patterns frequent on Mesopotamian and Syrian pottery of the 4th millennium, but no inference could be drawn from such resemblance until confirmed by further research.

The Bronze Age in Cyprus ushered in a rich period: the excavations at Vounous, near Bellapais, carried out by Mr. Dikaïos in 1930-31, brought to light an exceptionally developed culture illustrated by finds depicting actual life, domestic, rural and religious. The model of a sacred enclosure and that of a ploughing scene were well known to archaeologists. At present, however, it was not possible to link up the beginnings of the Bronze Age with the Chalcolithic period, though a number of *red polished* Bronze Age vases, recently discovered in a necropolis near Erimi, showed marked derivation from neolithic types.

The Middle Bronze Age was characterised by painted pottery, which at first appeared to be a revival of neolithic wares, but with new features. Relations with Syria, Palestine and Egypt were very active, while the beginnings of some connexion with the Cretan world appeared for the first time. But it was during the Late Bronze Age that a brilliant period of close intercourse with the Mycenaean civilisation occurred; Cyprus then became an important post of that civilisation and trade developed tremendously. The excavations at Ras Shamra, Minet-el-Beida and Atchana gave a good picture of Cypriote activity at that time. The copper trade was also making great progress, as evidence for which the rich bronze finds made at Enkomi, the 'Mycenae' of Cyprus, might be cited. The Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus might be



compared to that found on Rhodes or on the Greek mainland; it showed peculiarities which justified the theory of a local fabric. Between 1400 and 1200 B.C. Cyprus seemed to have been cut off from the chief centres of the Mycenaean and oriental worlds, and her culture entered upon a period of transition which was later to develop into the Iron Age.

After observations by the President, a vote of thanks was proposed by Prof. Myres and seconded by Sir George Hill, who paid a tribute to Mr. Dikaïos' reorganisation of the Cyprus Museum.

- 2 The Second General Meeting was held on February 7th, 1939, when Prof. R. M. Dawkins gave an account of 'An unpublished collection of Modern Greek Songs and Folk-tales.' He explained that in the early years of this century Dr. W. H. D. Rouse was travelling in the Greek Dodecanese, and in Cos met with a local scholar and antiquary, Yakovos (Jacob) Zarraftis, who was in the habit of travelling a good deal among the islands; Dr. Rouse had the happy idea of setting him to collect folk-lore material: songs, ballads, folk-tales, and so on. The MSS. were sent from time to time to Dr. Rouse, who had now put them in Professor Dawkins' hands, and had given permission for a description of the collection to be submitted to the Society. The collection was bulky, the material being mainly from the islands of Cos, Leros, Astypalaia and Calymnos; the few sheets from Patmos and Cyne in Euboea were less important, and Dr. Rouse's informants there fell very far short of Zarraftis. Zarraftis claimed also that it was he who contributed the specimens of dialect texts to Karl Dieterich's *Sprache und Volksüberlieferungen der südlichen Sporaden*.

The most notable of the many interesting folk-tales was a long version in Coan dialect of the story of Apollonios of Tyre. The ancient Greek novel of this name, entirely lost, had survived through a Latin translation, which spread all over Europe and gave the plot to the Shakespearean *Pericles Prince of Tyre*. The story returned to Greece by way of a rhymed version printed several times at Venice, and had already been recorded as a folk-tale from Cythera and Aivali in Asia Minor. But neither of these versions approached in completeness and merit this new version from Cos, in which it was interesting to note that the romantic chivalrous style of the Venice version had been remodelled in the spirit of Greek village tale-telling. Another folk-tale told of the mysterious wandering prophet known to the Islamic world as Khidr, to the Christians as St. Elias; another recounted

the story of a sapient judge found in Hebrew sources as told of King Solomon. Local traditions were not common in this collection, but one tale dealt with the doings of a notable pirate who met his death in Astypalaia in 1827.

Finally ballads of the collection were examined; they formed a characteristic set of the ones commonly heard in the islands, but were all preserved in excellent versions; the oldest of them originated no doubt in Asia Minor, and some of them, as had been shown by recent scholars, and notably by Baud-Bovy, went back to as early as the tenth century A.D. Some of the ballads seemed to be entirely new. The rest of the material consisted of proverbs, riddles, folk-customs, songs and couplets to be sung at feasts and weddings, church carols, and the like.

After observations by the President, a vote of thanks was proposed by Prof. Myres, and endorsed with acclamation.

At the third General Meeting, held on May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1939, Prof. C. N. Cochrane, of the University of Toronto, read a paper entitled 'Diabolism in Graeco-Roman Thought.'

He suggested that the empire of Augustus claimed the finality of an order which professed to satisfy the permanent and essential requirements of human nature, though in reality it was condemned to progressive deterioration which culminated in the *débâcle* of the third century after Christ.

This collapse had engaged the attention of scholars from ancient times. Modern speculation on the problem began with Gibbon, who, faithfully reproducing the ancient literary tradition, ascribed it to the incurable disease of old age. This notion, which had its origin in the classical doctrine of cyclical evolution, found a counterpart in certain phases of contemporary thought. But, in general, the prevailing distrust of *a priori* arguments had prompted enquirers to cast about for explanations of a positive character, and these they had found in the context of material, economic and social, or political fact. If, however, the ancients themselves failed to come to grips with such fact, it was suggested that the reason lay in some radical defect of their thinking. Here might perhaps be discovered the ultimate explanation for the decline and fall of ancient civilisation.

Nor was it unreasonable to identify the vice of ancient thinking with its failure to offer an adequate account of the source, nature and conditions of power. From this standpoint the fate of Rome was not unique; it was merely the last and most spectacular illustration of the nemesis which, sooner or later, awaited the ideologists of classical antiquity.



The search for power began with the Greeks, among whom it found expression in various types of excellence, manifested by the conjunction of 'virtue' and 'fortune,' the basic elements of success. Their philosophers set out to establish an intelligible relationship between these two elements, and their failure to do so may be said to have had disastrous consequences for the future of Hellas. Greek civilisation succumbed to discord (στάσις) because of its inability to realise its vision of justice, freedom and peace. Nor was the Alexandrian 'like-mindedness' (ὁμοφροσύνη), the excellence of the cosmopolitan or citizen of the world, to provide a specific for the maladies which had afflicted the independent, self-sufficient polis.

The Romans accepted the Hellenic ideal of 'political' justice, which they undertook to implement by methods peculiarly their own. Roman complacency, rudely shaken by the crisis of the revolution (133 B.C.-30 B.C.), was, however, restored in full measure when, under the leadership of her prince, the eternal city emerged from the long sickness with all the apparent vigour of renewed youth. Yet the Augustan system was in no sense immune from disorders such as had vitiated the most promising of earlier political experiments. Its conservation was, in fact, bound up with the cult of the divinised sovereign, the 'virtue' and 'fortune' of the man of surpassing qualities to whom the Romans ascribed their deliverance.

The immense material changes which resulted in the principate had brought with them no fresh stimulus to human thought. Imperial philosophy was thus condemned to live on the inspiration of a swiftly receding past. That it attempted to do so is evident from the description given by Diogenes Laertius of philosophic method, in which the study of 'physics' was put forward as a necessary presupposition to 'ethics' and 'logic.' Pursuit of this method gave rise to a broad division within philosophy between sceptics and dogmatists. The sceptical position was maintained mainly by the Academics, while dogmatism was represented chiefly by the Stoics. The deficiencies of Stoicism lent significance to the revival of the Platonic tradition at the hands of Plutarch, who, on the strength of a cosmology derived no doubt from the *Timaeus*, vindicated human liberty, but at the cost of rehabilitating 'chance' or 'fortune,' which thus once more emerged as the function of a more or less independent 'matter.' With him, moreover, the 'formal' and 'material' principles were both personified. In these personifications may be seen the basis of theosophies and theurgies such

as were to be developed by Plutarch's successors in the Platonic *diadoche*, notably Apuleius and Porphyry. Thus, in the end, classical philosophy abjured its secular task in order to wrestle with devils which were merely the creatures of its own imagination.

After observations by Prof. Myres, a vote of thanks was proposed by Prof. Baynes who occupied the Chair in the President's absence; it was seconded by Dr. Pickard-Cambridge.

The Annual Meeting of the Society was held on 4 June 27th, 1939, the President, Sir Richard Livingstone, occupying the chair. In moving the adoption of the Annual Report, the President called attention to the losses that the Society had sustained during the past session; there was still need for increased membership, but otherwise the Society's position was satisfactory. The names of the newly elected Honorary Members, Dr. L. Curtius, Prof. A. Maiuri, Prof. Dr. S. Marinatos, Prof. Ch. Picard, Miss G. M. A. Richter and Dr. C. F. A. Schaeffer, were announced. The motion was seconded by Mr. M. S. Thompson, Hon. Treasurer, and on being put to the meeting was carried unanimously.

The motion for the re-election of the Vice-Presidents and the election of 10 new members of Council as detailed in the Annual Report was moved by Mr. R. P. Austin and seconded by Prof. F. Earp; it was carried unanimously.

The motion for the re-election of the Auditors, Messrs. C. F. Clay and W. E. F. Macmillan, was proposed by Miss A. Woodward and seconded by Mr. E. A. Lane; it was carried unanimously.

The Hon. Secretary, Sir John Forsdyke, proposed the motion that Rule 26 be altered by the addition to the last sentence of the words 'except those residing outside the British Isles,' so that it ran 'All Members, except those residing outside the British Isles, shall pay on election an entrance fee of one guinea.' This alteration was designed to stimulate membership of the Society abroad. The motion was seconded by Dr. J. G. Milne and carried unanimously.

Sir Richard Livingstone then delivered his Presidential Address on the subject of 'Some Tasks for Greek Scholarship.' After stressing the importance of giving the scholar the technical equipment for his task, he pointed out how much remains to be done in Greek studies. There is no good modern commentary on the *Odyssey*, no adequate one on Aristotle's *Ethics*. There is no English edition of Polybius, Strabo or Diogenes Laertius; no modern English history of Greek Philosophy or Greek Literature, and no recent Greek History by an Englishman comparable to Grote. (The admirable *Cam-*



bridge *Ancient History* is of a different type.) It was urged that there was also a great field for a new type of editions of classical writers, which gave a subordinate place to questions of text and grammar and were concerned primarily with interpretation. Dr. Sheppard's *Oedipus Tyrannus* was an example of such an interpretative edition. Thucydides was particularly adapted to an edition which treated his history primarily as a specimen of historical writing, and as an account of certain events and social and political problems.

After speaking of the way in which different ages had different favourites in literature, the President discussed what Greek authors were of special interest to our own day. Understanding of an author depended not only on knowledge, but also on personal experience. We recognise in a writer experiences akin to our own. Hence those Greek writers were closest and most intelligible to our own age who had seen traditional views on religion, morals and politics break up under the impact of scientific thought, and who had lived through a long and disastrous war. Thus Thucydides, Aristophanes, Euripides and Plato have acquired a new meaning for us. They are natural authors for our age to interpret. Demosthenes, as a protagonist in a struggle between democratic and autocratic *Realpolitik*, has an obvious interest to us. Alexandrianism is far closer to us than Pindar or than Sophocles, the favourite of the Victorians. We have something in common with the prosperous, cultured world of Menander and the New Comedy. We ought to be able to understand the age of big military despotisms which followed Alexander, and the picture of a totalitarian world living at war or under the constant threat of it which is painted by Ammianus Marcellinus. The Roman Empire provides materials for the

study of a sociological problem of great importance to our age. There we can examine the growth and fate of autocracy in a civilised society, and inquire whether its necessary effects are immediate stimulation and increased efficiency passing gradually into inertia, lethargy, coma and death. The fall of the Roman Empire was less mysterious and sinister than the intellectual collapse which attended and made it incurable. It would be an interesting and instructive study to examine the steps by which the Graeco-Roman intellect descended from the levels of Archimedes and Aristarchus to decay and impotence.

The President concluded by pleading for a minor, yet most important task which Greek scholars had too much neglected—the interpretation of Greek literature to the educated public which knew no Greek. Greek possessed vitamins without which spiritual and intellectual health was impossible. She gave a soul to the Roman Empire, she renewed the intellectual life of Europe at the Renaissance. Our own need of her in this age of mixed specialism and superficiality is not less. Yet when we most need her influence, it is most inaccessible. In our increasingly educated public the readers of Greek are and will inevitably remain few. The access to Greek for the rest can only be through translations. Yet mere translations are not enough. English editions of Greek Classics are needed on the lines of Professor Gilbert Murray's translations of Euripides with notes and introductions suited to English readers, and the provision of these should be the task of those who are not only good scholars but also interested in Greek literature as a 'criticism of life.'

A vote of thanks to the President for his Address was proposed by Prof. Myres and endorsed with acclamation.



# The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1939.

<i>Liabilities.</i>			<i>Assets.</i>		
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Debts Payable.....	829	9 3	By Cash in Hand—Bank .....	592	4 3
" Subscriptions paid in advance .....	83	19 8	Assistant Treasurer .....	7	7 0
" Endowment Fund .....	2039	12 0	Petty Cash .....	101	3 0
(includes legacy of £180 from the late Prof. P. Gardner, £200 from the late Canon Adam Farrar, £200 from the late Rev. H. F. Tozer, and £500 from the late Mr. G. A. Macmillan)					
.. Life Compositions—			Debits Receivable .....	700	14 3
Total at Jan. 1, 1938 .....	2289	0 0	Investments .....	172	10 0
Received during year .....	47	5 0	Library Premises Capital Account—	2725	0 0
	2336	5 0	Amount spent to date .....	5584	13 10
Less carried to Income and Expenditure Account—Members deceased .....	105	0 0	Less Donations received .....	4699	11 4
Surplus at January 1, 1938 .....	627	0 10	Transferred to Income and Expenditure Account during past years .....	612	0 0
Add Balance from Income and Expenditure Account .....	117	0 0	Now transferred .....	273	2 6
Surplus at December 31, 1939 .....	744	0 10	Valuation of Stocks of Publications .....	23	0 0
	£5928	6 9	Library .....	250	2 6
			" Photographic Department .....	300	0 0
			" Paper in hand for printing Journal .....	1500	0 0
				200	0 0
				80	0 0
				£5928	6 9

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.  
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.

# The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1938, TO DECEMBER 31, 1938.

\*

<i>Expenditure.</i>		<i>Income.</i>	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Salaries.....	481 12 6	By Members' Subscriptions—	
" Pension Insurance.....	33 2 6	Arrears .....	10 10 0
" Miscellaneous Expenses .....	50 16 5	1938 .....	1142 8 0
" Stationery .....	33 13 0½		
" Postage .....	42 6 4	Members' Entrance Fees .....	1152 18 0
" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c.....	72 3 6	" Student Associates' Subscriptions .....	24 3 0
" Heating, Lighting, Cleaning, Maintenance of Library Premises, &c. ....	355 19 10½	" Libraries' Subscriptions—	128 12 11
" Insurance .....	25 16 3	Arrears .....	3 3 0
" Grants—		1938 .....	336 9 3
British School at Athens .....	75 0 0		
" Rome .....	5 5 0	Life Compositions brought into Revenue	339 12 3
Valuation of 'Artemis Orthia' stock written off.....	80 5 0	Account .....	105 0 0
Balance from 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' Account .....	150 0 0	Dividends on Investments .....	116 11 6
Balance from Library Account .....	758 16 2	Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies .....	275 0 0
	101 17 5	Sale of 'Ante Oculos' .....	5 12 0
		Sale of 'Artemis Orthia' .....	2 0 0
		Sale of 'Phylakopi' .....	4 2 9
		Miscellaneous Receipts .....	11 11 0
		Donations towards current expenses .....	
		Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo- graphs Account .....	34 1 1
		Balance from Library Premises Account .....	109 18 5
" Balance .....	117 0 0		
	<u>£2309 8 11</u>		<u>£2309 8 11</u>



Dr.	JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1938, TO DECEMBER 31, 1938.		Cr.	
	£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Printing and Paper. Vol. LVIII .....	508	5 0		
" Plates .....	125	8 6		
" Drawing and Engraving .....	90	6 1		
" Editing and Reviews .....	78	5 6		
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members .....	154	15 9		
	<u>£966</u>	<u>0 10</u>		
			By Sales, including back Vols. Per Macmillan & Co., Ltd. ....	145 10 8
			" Hellenic Society .....	27 8 0
			" Receipts from Advertisements .....	172 18 8
			Balance to Income and Expenditure Account ...	34 6 0
				<u>758 16 2</u>
				<u>£966 0 10</u>
LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1938, TO DECEMBER 31, 1938.				
To Slides and Photographs for Sale .....	£	s. d.		£ s. d.
" Slides for Hire .....	20	4 11		62 12 5
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....	10	11 5		2 5 0
	<u>34</u>	<u>1 1</u>		
	<u>£64 17 5</u>			<u>£64 17 5</u>
LIBRARY ACCOUNT. PURCHASES AND BINDING. FROM JANUARY 1, 1938, TO DECEMBER 31, 1938.				
To Purchases .....	£	s. d.		£ s. d.
" Binding .....	40	11 2		15 12 8
" Cost of printing Accessions Lists to the Library and Slides Departments, less contribution from the Roman Society .....	41	4 9		101 17 5
	<u>35</u>	<u>14 2</u>		
	<u>£117 10 1</u>			<u>£117 10 1</u>
LIBRARY PREMISES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1938.				
Rent .....	£	s. d.		£ s. d.
Rates .....	405	5 0		20 0 0
Transferred from Balance Sheet—Proportion of Expendi- ture for Year .....	131	16 7		650 0 0
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....	23	0 0		
	<u>109</u>	<u>18 5</u>		
	<u>£670 0 0</u>			<u>£670 0 0</u>
			Contributions by the B.S.A. and B.S.R. ....	20 0 0
			London Association of Certified Accountants .....	650 0 0
				<u>£670 0 0</u>

# EXCAVATIONS AT AL MINA, SUEIDIA

## III. THE RED-FIGURED VASES

BY J. D. BEAZLEY

[PLATES I-VI.]

I AM indebted to Sir Leonard Woolley for his invitation to publish the red-figured vases found in his excavations at Al Mina; to Mr. Martin Robertson, who has helped me in many ways, and was the first to notice many of the joins; to Mr. C. O. Waterhouse for the drawings and photographs. I give only a selection of the finds, but have omitted, I think, little of importance. The red-figure is all Attic.

The black-figure from Al Mina is scanty, poor, and no older than the earliest red-figure sherds found there, which are from eye-cups:—

1. Three fragments of an eye-cup. The largest measures 0.041 m. across. *A*, part of the left-hand eye; shank and heel of the figure, cutting



across the tear-gland. *B*, part of the left-hand eye and of the ground-line. The fragment not figured gives another bit of eye. Not one of the very earliest eye-cups: about 525.

2. There is no saying whether a third fragment of an eye-cup belongs to the last or not: the cup was bilingual, and part of the b.f. interior remains, a centaur with a stone in his right hand: greatest breadth 0.060 m.

Red-figure does not become plentiful at Al Mina until well on in the third quarter of the fifth century. In the fourth century the import increases. There is little archaic red-figure, and most of what there is belongs to the end of the period.

3. Fragments of a column-krater from the last decade of the sixth century.  
JHS—VOL. LIX.



century. The largest fragment measures 0.145 m. across. *A*, Theseus binding the Bull: he has forced its head down and sets his left knee on its shoulder. The rope, in red, shows in fragments  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$ ;  $\delta$  gives part of the bull's rump,  $\epsilon$  its tail. Behind, as often in these scenes, a tree, with the leaves in red. The same subject on a slightly earlier column-krater in Mr. Gallatin's collection, New York (*CV* Gallatin, pl. 9, 5 and 7-8). The Mina Vase is by the Chairippos painter (*Att. V.* p. 106). See the next.



3.



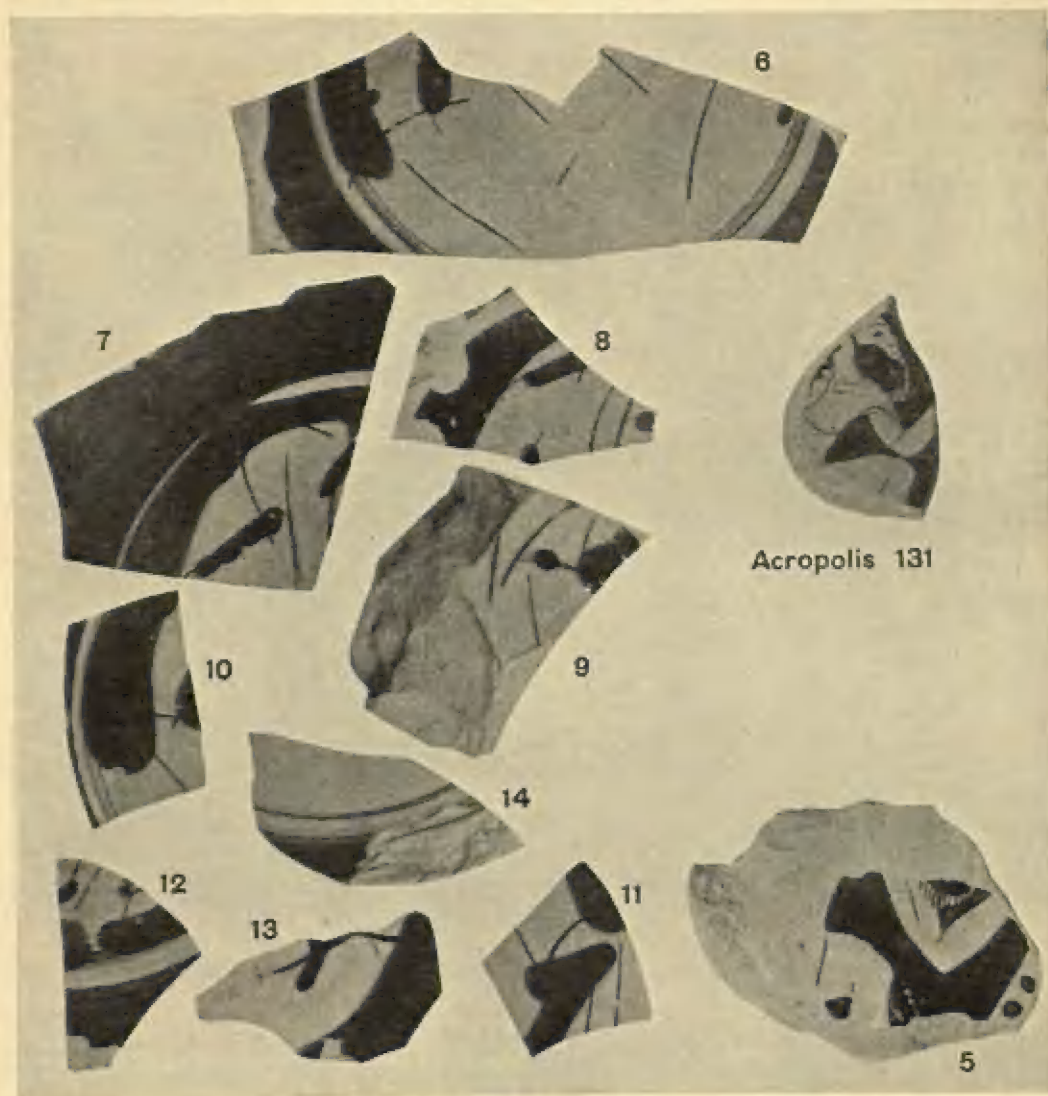
4.

4. Fragments of a column-krater by the Chairippos painter, probably the same vase as the last—the reverse. Komos: a youth running to left, looking round, his left arm extended in his himation. Compare the left-hand komast on the Chairippos painter's column-krater in Florence, 3991. The head-fragment measures 0.105 m. across.

5. Fragment of a cup. The picture inside may be interpreted with the help of the cup-fragment Acropolis 131, reproduced here, by kind permission of Mr. Alexander Philadelphus, from a photograph by my wife; of a cup in New York (*Musée* 3, p. 55; *Coll. Arthur Sambon*, pl. 19, no. 101); and of another in Würzburg (Langlotz 478, pl. 217): a satyr kneels with a flute-case in his left hand. The Würzburg cup, as Langlotz saw, is by the Heraion painter (*Dugas Délos* 10, pl. 54, 658), and the other cups belong to the same group; the Mina and Athens fragments, at least, are by one hand. The style is old-fashioned, but the Mina fragment cannot be much later than 500 if at all. The cup was of type C (*Att. V.* p. 4); and is of the same rough make, with the base-fillet marked by a hastily incised line, as the cups of the Pithos group, to which we now come.

6-14. Al Mina is rich in specimens of the Pithos group (see *Campana Fragments* p. 27 on pl. 20 B 19), for nine cup-fragments belong to it, the largest of which, 6, measures 0.103 m. across. The cups may have been fewer, but no pertinences can be established. The favourite subject in these exceedingly coarse products, most of which are by a single painter, is the figure of a youth reclining, seen from behind, naked, with an Oriental cap on his head; a big drinking-horn is often painted in black in the lower half of the picture. Complete cups like those in Rhodes (*Clara*

*Rhodos* 4, p. 202; *id.* 6-7, p. 181), Salonica (*Delt.* 9, suppl. p. 38, figs. 6a and 6b), Florence (*CV* pl. 20 B 19, and pl. D B 4) give the key to some of our sherds if not all: thus on 7 hair and cap can be made out; on 8 shoulder, hair, cap, eye; on 9 eye, cap, back; on 10 left arm; on 11 the mouth of the black horn; on 14 a bit of the line-border. These cups may be somewhat later than they look, but probably ceased before the end of the sixth



century. I mention two other fragments, one, Salonica inv. 459 (Robinson *Olynthos* v, pl. 107, no. 199) because it has been inadvertently placed in the fourth century, the other, Jerusalem P 1605 (*Quart. Pal.* ii, 1933, pl. 7b 3), because it was found in the same quarter of the world as ours, at Tell Jemmeh in Palestine.

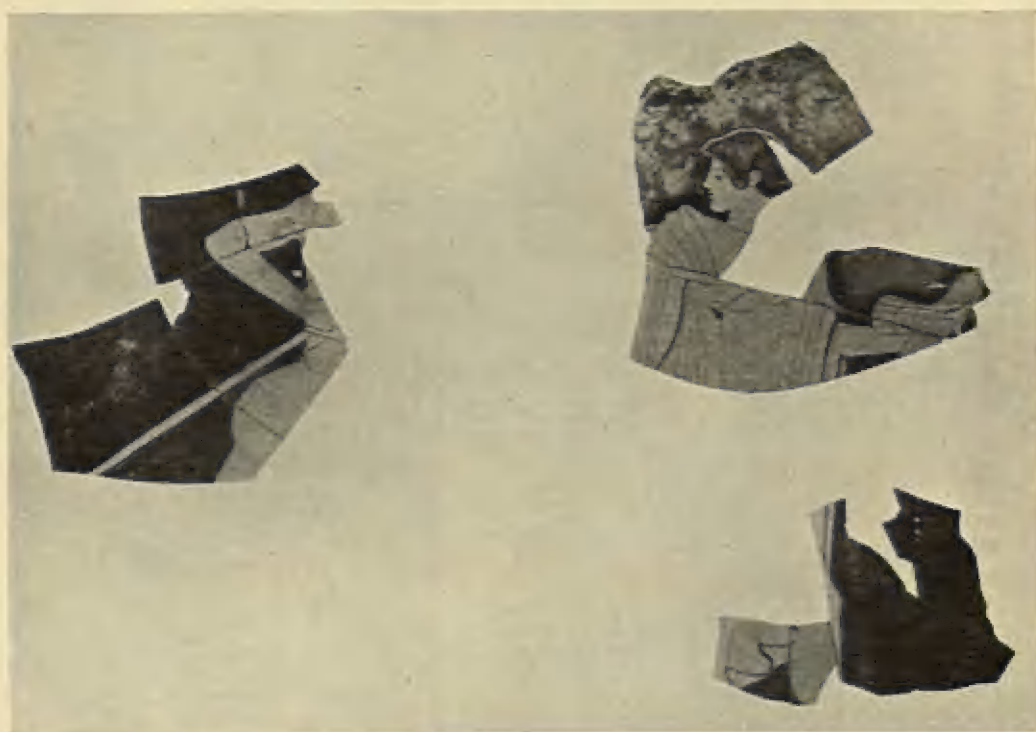
On the wearing of the cap by symposiasts see Jacobsthal *Gött. V.* pp. 61-2: I am inclined, however, to take the view which Jacobsthal



considers carefully, but finally rejects, that the wearers are not all foreigners. See also Schoppa *Darstellung der Perser*, p. 73 note 10.

15. Fragments of a volute-krater, about 480 B.C. [Plate I]. This is one of the best vases found at Al Mina: *A*, Zeus and Nike; *B*, Zeus pursuing Ganymede. On the upper zone of the neck: on one side, uncertain which, a scene in the palaestra; on the other, lions and bull, between palmettes. On *A*, between the two figures, downwards, [K]ΑΛΟΨ. No relief-line for the contours. Part of one handle, decorated with ivy, remains; the foot is lost. There is a red line at the outer edge of the lip.

*A*, Zeus sits on a camp-stool, in long chiton and himation, a sceptre in his left hand, his right arm extended holding a phiale. His lips are parted.



15 B.

His eye is bordered with brown. The two ends of his head-fillet appear on the fragment which gives the himation at the shoulder. On the fragment with maeander, the upright line on the left may belong to the camp-stool. Nike stands in front of him, wearing a chiton, and a himation passing over her left shoulder; she holds a caduceus in her left hand, and in her right an oinochoe, from which she fills the phiale. The wine is expressed in red; so is her head-fillet; her earring in brown. Of the floating fragments, γ and δ give parts of her chiton and himation. There was a third figure: Eros flying down towards Zeus, holding an untied wreath; his right leg is bent at the knee, his left frontal. The height of the middle fragment on *A* is 0.18 m.

*B*, Zeus, naked, running, holds a sceptre in his right hand, and lays

his left on the arm of Ganymede, who flees, looking round, a himation over both shoulders, a cock in his left hand. His eyes are bordered with brown like Zeus's on *A*.

I cannot place the floaters  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\epsilon$ .

The Eros on *A* requires explanation. Martin Robertson aptly compares the Italiote skyphos-fragment, by the Amykos painter, in New York (*Bull. Metr. Mus.* vii, p. 97, fig. 5; *JdI*, 52, p. 61; Trendall *Frühit. Vasen*, pl. 11, c); but there a female, doubtless Hera, is touching the knee of Zeus, so the presence of Eros is easier to understand. Again, on a pyxis



15.

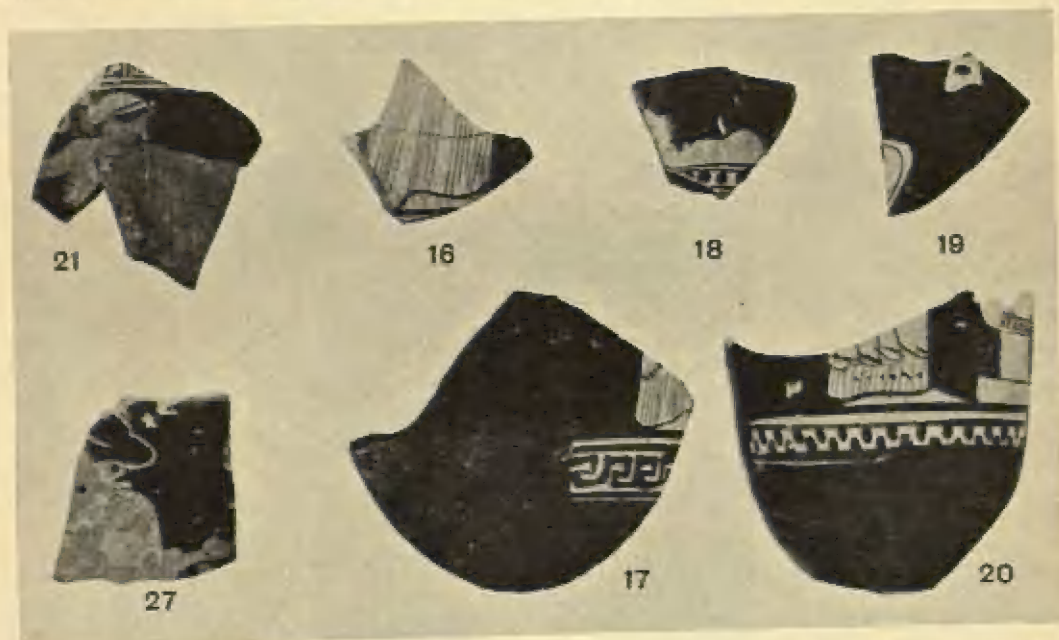
in Philadelphia (C. Smith *Forman Coll.* pl. 12, 364; *Burl. Cat.* 1903, pl. 96, I 74; *Mus. Journ.* 7, pp. 270 and 272) Eros leans on the back of Zeus's throne; but the scene is the Wedding of Herakles and Hebe, so there is a reason for the presence of Eros. On our vase the artist seems to have been already thinking of the Zeus and Ganymede on his reverse, and wishing to characterise Zeus as lover. It is natural to find Eros in pictures of Ganymede: for example, on a b. f. alabastron by the Diosphos painter in Berlin (2032: *Annali* 1876, pl. A; Haspels *ABL*, pl. 37, 1) Zeus pursues Ganymede, and Eros flies after Zeus, instigating him with a goad; on an Etruscan red-figured stamnos in Oxford (1917. 54), Zeus





collapses dumbfounded as Ganymede reveals his charms, and Eros looks at Zeus with a smile.

The palaestra-scene on the neck consisted of ten figures: in the middle, two naked athletes washing at a laver; a sponge hangs on the wall to the right; then come two groups of a man talking to a boy; behind the first boy, a pickaxe; the second boy is lost. Of the two similar groups to left of the athletes, good part of the first remains, and a scrap of the second. The other neck-picture represented a bull between two lions; to left of this is a pair of palmettes, and there must have been another pair to the right. The manes are brown, the ruffs black. The animals may be compared with those on a hydria by the same painter in the possession of Mr. de Ferrari in Rome (*Rend. Pont. Acc.* 10, p. 205). Lions we called them: but the right-hand animal on the hydria is female; and so it may have been here. The



artist is the Syleus painter (*Att. V.* pp. 160-2 and 473; see also Richter and Hall, pp. 49-51). For the drawing of the palmettes, especially the hearts, compare his pointed amphora in Brussels (R 303; *CV*, pl. 8-9) and his stamnos in Copenhagen (*CV*, pl. 135; Jacobsthal *Ornamente*, pl. 102, b); for the Nike, his stamnos in the Louvre (G 181; *CV*, pl. 13, 1); for the Zeus and the phiale, his earlier treatment of the same subject on a pelike in the Louvre (G 223; *CV*, pl. 43, 1 and 8): this vase is attributed to 'the painter of the Würzburg Athena' in *Att. V.* p. 112 no. 7, but the vases I collected under that heading, as I noticed in Richter and Hall, p. 51, are early works of the Syleus painter.

16-20. Lekythoi by the Bowdoin painter and in his manner (see *Att. V.* pp. 138-43 and 472; *V. Pol.* pp. 18-19; Haspels *ABL*, pp. 157-60). He began working before the end of the archaic period, but went on well into the third quarter of the fifth century. 16, with part of a female



figure standing to right, must be by himself; probably also 17, with the same subject. The altar on 18, as far as it goes, may also be his. The flame is red. 19 might be from a figure of a youth sitting playing the flute, as on his lekythoi in Liverpool and Bowdoin; the flute-case, with white tags, hanging on the wall. Another fragment, not figured, probably belongs, giving the lower edge of the himation and part of the stool. 20, with a female figure at an altar, is not by the painter himself, but is more or less in his manner.

21. Fragment of a lekythos. A woman (chiton, himation on the left arm, saccos) running with something in her right hand of which only



22.

a corner is preserved, perhaps a sacrificial basket of the type studied by Richter (*AJA* 1907, 422-8; *AJA* 1926, 422-6; Richter and Hall, p. 216) and Deubner (*Jdl*, 40, pp. 210-23). By the Providence painter (*Att. V.* pp. 132-6 and 472; *V. Pol.* pp. 16-17 and 79): about 470.

22. Fragments of a lekythos. The height of the picture, plus the border, was about 0.195 m. No relief-contour. Hermes running to right looking round; chlamys, winged boots, caduceus. The head-fillet in red. Unmeaning letters to both sides of the figure. About 470 B.C. By the Nikon painter (*Att. V.* pp. 131-2 and 472).

23. Fragment of a column-krater. Arming. What remains is the

upper part of a woman holding the warrior's shield ready for him. The device a lion. By the Leningrad painter (*Att. V.* pp. 245-8; *V. Pol.* pp. 40-4 and 80), one of the early classical mannerists.

24. Fragments of a pelike. There were two figures on each side, and the subjects will be plain from a pelike by the same painter in Bologna



23.



24.

(163: Zannoni pl. 17, 3-5). Fragments  $\beta$ - $\gamma$  show a boy, and the right hand of one talking to him. Fr.  $\alpha$  (a male leaning on his stick) is either from the same figure as the hand, or from the corresponding figure on the other side of the vase; so is fr.  $\delta$ . The artist is again the Leningrad painter.



25.



26.

25. Fragment of a pelike. Height 0.095. A man with a stick, and a woman. The tip of her nose is damaged by pitting. About 470-460 B.C., by the Orchard painter (*Att. V.* pp. 311-13 and 476).

26. Fragments of a bell-krater. Early classical period. What remains of the picture on A is a helmet of 'Thracian' type, not worn, but held or hanging. The cheek-piece, covered with relief-lines on a dark brown ground, recalls the treatment of hair by the painter of the Woolly Satyrs (*Att. V.* pp. 343-4 and 477) on his calyx-krater in Palermo and his bell-



krater fragment in Bowdoin. One of the other fragments gives a small part of the right-hand figure on the reverse, and immediately above the picture the egg-and-dot pattern which is almost entirely broken away in the fragment figured.

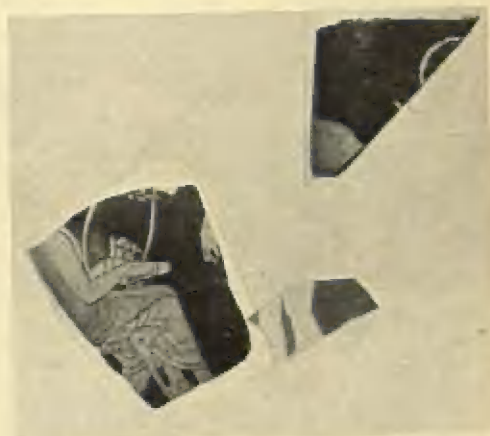
27. Fragment of a lekythos, with the upper half of a woman standing frontal and looking round to left. Above, the border begins. One of the many lekythoi by the Aischines painter (*Att. V.* pp. 320-3): compare, for instance, one in Leningrad (*JHS*, 48, pl. 2a). Early classical period.



28. Fragment of a stemless cup. Height 0.056. The under-side of the foot is modelled. An athlete stands at a laver, dipping his hands into the water, the same subject as on the neck of the volute-krater no. 15 above. Third quarter of the fifth century.

29. Fragment of a stemless cup. Height 0.082. The under-side of the foot is modelled. An athlete leaning on a pillar. Behind him, a laver. The make of the vase is the same as in the last, so is the border, and the style is like.

30. Fragment of a stemless cup. Inside, a dwarf dancing. Short shanks, scanty beard. The platform is a plain rectangular block, and if it looks irregular in the photograph, that is due to the pitting of the surface. Dwarfs as entertainers are known from literature and from other monuments (Navarre in Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v.* nanus; Merlin in *Mon. Piot* 18, pp. 9-14, bronzes from Mahdia; Albizzati *Statua ellenistica di acrobata* in *Historia* 1, 4, pp. 43-54; Breccia *Mon. de l'Egypte gréco-romaine* 11, 1 pl. 32, 5 and p. 68, 405), and a very good dancing dwarf, on a stamnos-fragment in Erlangen, was published recently by Prof. Lippold (*Zu den Imagines Illustrium* in *RM* 52, pl. 14). There the dwarf's name ends in ΚΑΕΙΔΗΣ, which Lippold aptly restored as [Hippo]kleides. He suggests that the picture is a parody of the story known to us from Herodotus. I am more inclined to take it as a scene from contemporary life, supposing that there was a popular dancing dwarf in Athens at the time, who called himself Hippokledes after his noble predecessor. This is a common practice



31.

with public entertainers. There were two Phrynes in the fourth century; the original name of the second having been Mnesarete. In modern times the name of Sharkey has been borne by two celebrated pugilists: the first, an Irishman, born I think in Louth, must have been thirty years older than the second, who was originally a Lithuanian American of the name of Cocosey. Sandow, again, as Mr. Michael Marks reminds me, won his title of World's Strongest by vanquishing a man called Samson.

The Erlangen fragment is by the painter of the Leningrad Amazonomachy (*Att. V.* pp. 396-7; *JHS*, 56, p. 91, left), a companion of Polygnotos. Our stemless is contemporary or little later, must have been painted about 430; and if anybody insisted on calling our dwarf Hippokledes, I should not think much less of him.

31. Fragments of a skyphos. Height, as far as preserved, 0.130. The same scene is on both sides of the vase, a youth, his himation about his waist, sitting playing the lyre, and a naked youth standing beside him, frontal, a fillet in his right hand, his left arm akimbo. This is a late work of the Marlay painter (see *Att. V.* pp. 413-14), about 430 B.C. Other

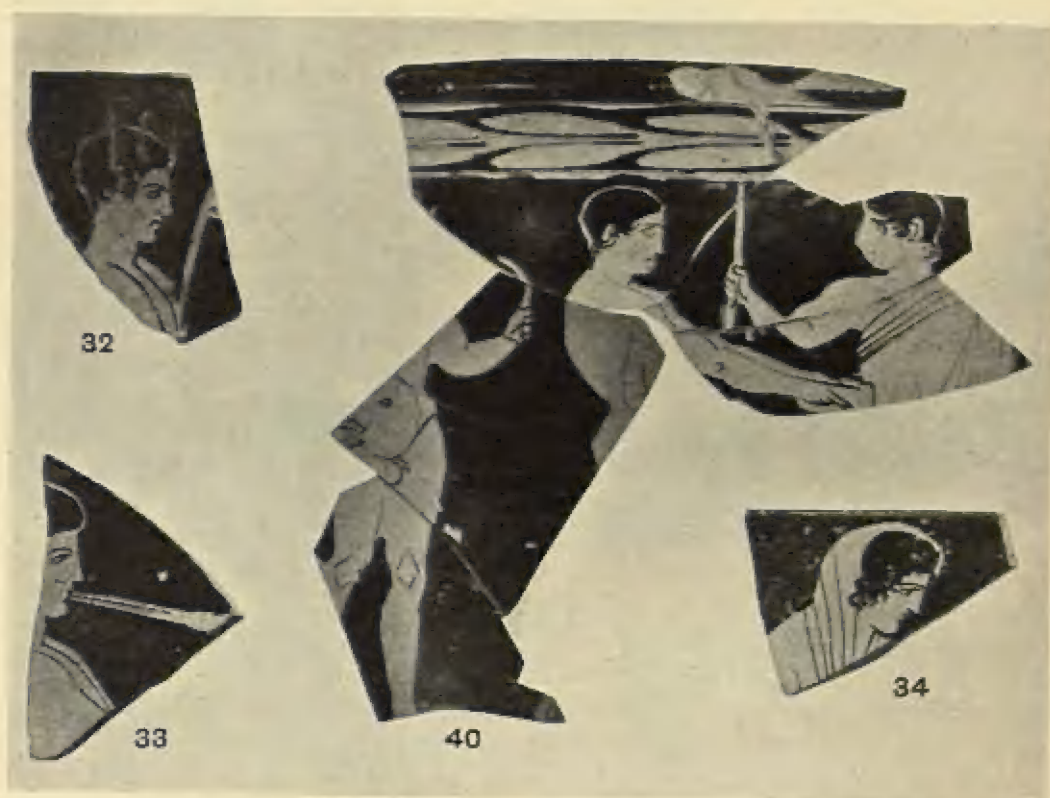


skyphoi by him are in Leningrad (St. 808; *A. Compte Rendu* 1863, p. 183; *Licht Sittengeschichte* 1, p. 253) and Taranto (50943: *NSc.* 1936, p. 225): see also p. 150 of this number of the *Journal*; and the next two fragments.

32. Fragment of a skyphos. Height 0.037. Youth with lyre. Fillet with three high peaks. By the Marlay painter. See the last.

33. Fragment, probably of a skyphos. Height 0.045. Youth playing the flute. By the Marlay painter: perhaps a little earlier than 31 and 32. See 31.

34. Fragment of a skyphos. Head of a boy with his himation brought up over the back of his head. No relief contour. About 430: Later manner of the painter of London E 777 (*Att. V.* pp. 281-3 and 476): by



the painter of Heidelberg 211 (*Campana Fr.* p. 26 on pl. 18 B 55): cf. especially his cup-fragment Agora P 10027.

35. Fragment of a skyphos. Height 0.067. Komos: two youths dancing along; one holds a cup, the other, who turns round to his companion, a torch. About 430: late manner of the painter of London E 777. Compare, perhaps, the skyphos, in the Spinelli collection at Cancellò, known to me only from the tiny reproduction in Philippart *Cér. grecque en Italie* ii pl. 6, second row, left.

36. Fragment of a stemless cup. The under-side of the foot is moulded. Inside, an athlete with an acontion. About 425: late manner of the painter

of London E 777, and very like the work of his follower the Koropi painter: see this number of the *Journal*, p. 152.

37. Fragments of a bell-krater. On the left, a column, then a couch with two reclining on it, and beside the couch a table, then a flute-girl in a



37.

chiton standing to left, then a second couch with a table beside it, and two persons reclining on it, a youth looking round, and a male holding a stemless cup in his right hand. The black arc on the cup is the handle. Group of Polygnotos, about 440-430.



39.

38. Fragment of a bell-krater or calyx-krater. Warrior leaving home. A youth stands frontal, wearing a corslet, and round his head a broad band, and holding his helmet in his left hand. Inscription ΚΑ[ΛΟΣ]. About 430 B.C. Group of Polygnotos.

39. Bell-krater. A, Theseus and Sinis. Sinis grasps his pine; Theseus,





sword in hand, seizes him; Theseus' friend moves up. The friend is bearded, and holds a pair of spears. Theseus' spears are laid aside. Sinis' clothes hang on the pine. For the group of Theseus and Sinis compare the bell-kraters in Bonn (inv. 1216.64: *CV* pl. 31, 13) and Madrid (11021: Ossorio, pl. 31, 3); for the presence of a companion, the bell-kraters in Ferrara (Aurigemma<sup>1</sup> p. 233 = <sup>2</sup>p. 273) and the Vatican (Inghirami *VF* 2, pl. 111). *B*, two youths and a boy. About 425 B.C. A late work of the painter of the Louvre Centauromachy (*Att. V.* pp. 405-8 and 478; *V. Pol.* pp. 57-8). Such works are grouped under the heading of 'Lamb painter' in *Att. V.* (pp. 407-8); but the Lamb painter, as I observed in *V. Pol.* p. 57, is no other than the painter of the Louvre Centauromachy in his latest period.



41.

40. Bell-krater. *A*, athletes: a jumper between a young trainer with a wand and an athlete with a strigil. A fragment not figured gives the left foot of the jumper and part of the barrier. On *B*, remains of the middle and right-hand figures: a boy standing to right, and a male leaning on his stick to left. Same period and painter as the last.

41. Fragments of a bell-krater, mended in antiquity. Height of the picture, without the upper border, 0.136. *A*, komos: on the left of the picture, a youth walking, with lyre and plectrum, preceded by a friend dancing; the third figure is lost. On *B*, head and breast of the right-hand figure, a youth, remain, and tiny bits of the other two figures. About 430 B.C.; by the Hephaistos painter (*Att. V.* pp. 415-16 and 478; *V. Pol.* p. 59).

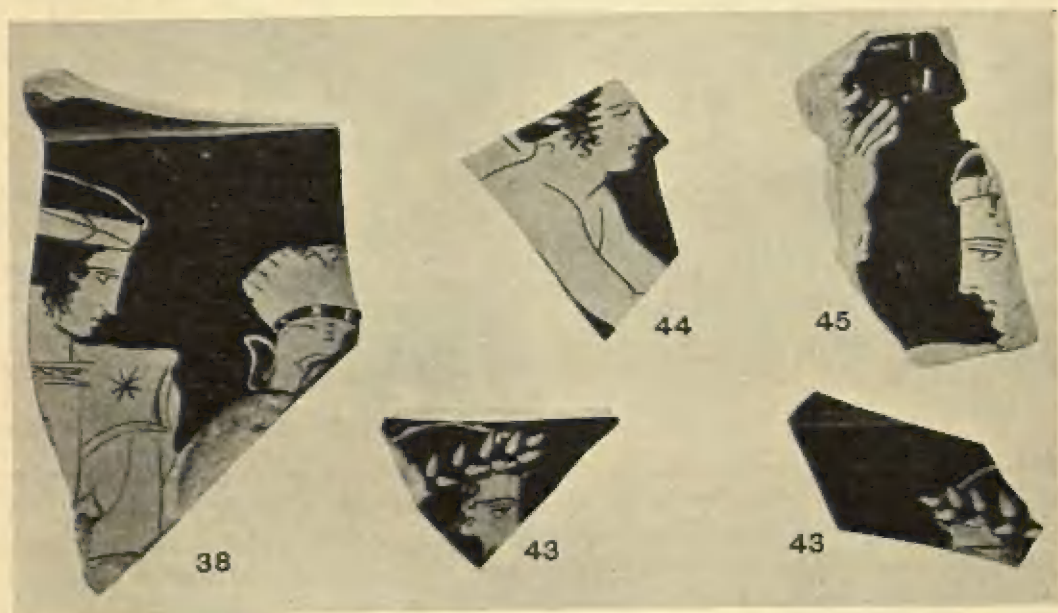
42. Fragments of a bell-krater. Height of the picture, including the

lower border, 0.205. A, a horseman setting out. Chlamys, sandals, and stockings, petasos slung round his neck. In front of him a woman darts



42.

away, no doubt looking back. Behind him stands a man in a himation with a staff or sceptre, watching; on the other side of the picture a male in a himation, standing to left.



The same subject is depicted on an earlier vase, the column-krater, by the painter of the Louvre Centauromachy, Louvre G 361 (*CV* III 1d, pl. 27, 1-3): it is not clear that the horseman is pursuing the woman. Cf. also a fourth-century calyx-krater in the British Museum, 1931, 1-13. 1 (*BMQ* 5, pl. 51, c).



Tail-end of the mannerist school, about 425 B.C.: near the painter of Oxford 529 (*Att. V.* p. 418; *CV Oxford*, p. 21), especially, perhaps, his column-krater in Syracuse (12233), where the youth's right hand recurs, and the crease between his jaw and neck.

43. Fragments of a bell-krater. The middle fragment is 0.129 across. *A*, sacrifice. In the middle, the altar, the cornice of which is decorated with a wreath of laurel or olive in relief. On the altar, the firewood, neatly laid, and the tail-bone of the sacrificed animal. There is no indication of flames. The priest, dressed in a himation, stands at the



43.

altar, about to pour the libation from a stemless cup, which is drawn in three-quarter view from above, with the wine in it done in brown. A naked boy faces him, holding meat on a pair of spits ready to roast. His right leg was frontal and bent at the knee. Behind him is a man of whom only the head remains. Like the splanchnopt, he wears a wreath of small leaves: the leaves are reserved, the stem and berries white. The frontal foot near the lower right-hand corner in the reproduction is almost certainly the priest's. Beyond this, at the right end of the picture, another male, wearing a himation, is standing to left. The head facing left belongs either to this figure or, less probably, to the priest.

Two fragments not reproduced give more of the maeander. About

right hand; other fragments bits of woman similarly dressed, but not enough for the subject to be made out. On fr. 1 there are white lines indicating hilly ground; on θ and λ bits of handle-palmettes. This was one of the best vases from Al Mina. About 420 B.C., by the Dinos painter (*Att. V.* pp. 447-50).

47. Fragments of a bell-krater. On one fragment, head and shoulder of a satyr leaning forward on something, to right, with a thyrsus. On the other (0.127 across), two figures facing to left: a maenad, looking up, with a thyrsus in her hand, probably seated; and a satyr, also with a thyrsus; above him, a branch of vine with a bunch of grapes. White fillets, white shoots from the thyrsi. Late fifth century, manner of the Dinos painter. By the same hand a calyx-krater from Thebes in the University of Vienna, 166. Compare, too, the bell-krater Agora P 10016, especially the drawing



48.



49.

of the leaves and the thyrsi: the Agora vase is also in the manner of the Dinos painter.

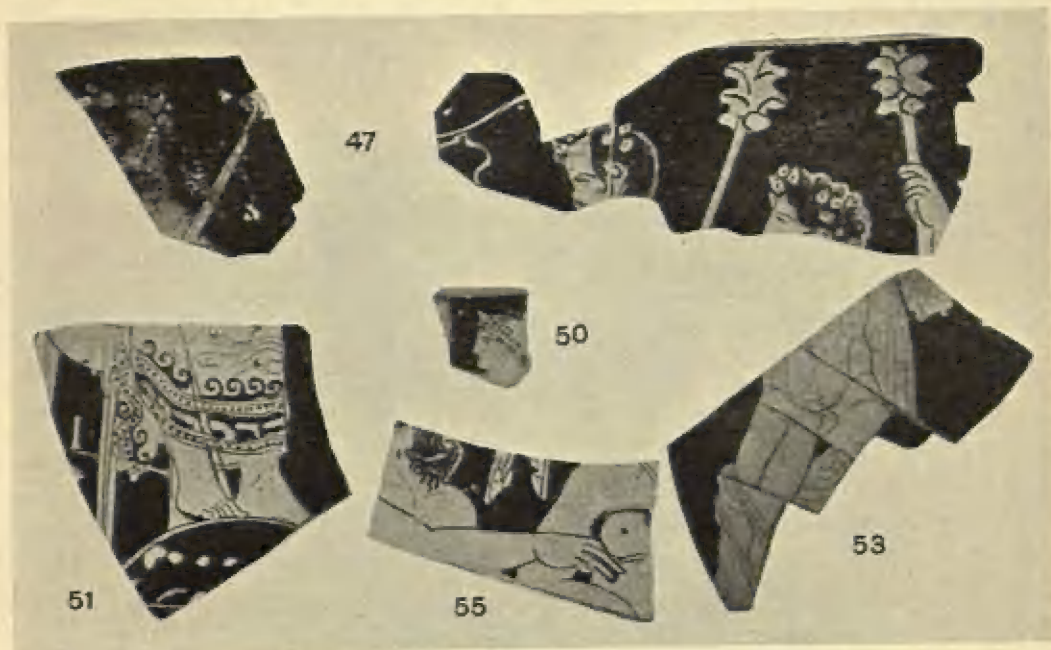
48. Fragment, probably of a column-krater. Symposion. A youth or man, reclining to left, with his elbow on a cushion, turns and puts his arm in front of the flute-girl as she passes. She turns round and stops playing. She seems displeased: cf. below, no. 55, and Aelian *VH* 12 p. 119, 7-8 and p. 120, 4-6 Hercher. Her face is in three-quarter view, and the youth's will have been too. To the right, breast and raised right arm of a reclining man. The girl wears a chiton which leaves the arms free, a himation, and a chaplet with ivy-leaves. The youth also wears a chaplet. About 425 B.C.: the style recalls the painter of Athens 1454 (*Att. V.* pp. 450 and 479), but is less delicate.

49. Fragment of a bell-krater. Height 0.085. Sacrifice. The priest, dressed in a himation, leans on his stick, holding a stemless cup in his right hand and a handful of groats (δραχμαί) in his left, ready to place on the altar. There is some brown shading in the hollows of the folds; the cup is also browned. Not far from the Kleophon and Dinos painters: about 425 to 420.



50. Fragment of a bell-krater. Height 0.036. A female head, and a tripod. By the Cadmus painter (*Att. V.* pp. 451-2): about 420 B.C.

51. Fragment of a bell-krater. Height 0.062. Apollo sitting on the Tripod, with his feet on the Omphalos: compare the relief dedicated by Xenokrateia, Athens 2756 (*Svoronos* pl. 181; *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* 1937, p. 102), or a statue in the Villa Albani (*Helbig* 1848; *E.A.* 4530-3; replica in Naples, 135). He wears a himation ornamented with small crosses and bordered with wave-pattern and a row of horses' heads between two rows of dots. His laurel-staff, held in his right hand, shows beside his right shank. The omphalos, black, with reserved edge, is decorated with a branch of laurel, reserved, and a wreath in white. The style recalls the Cadmus painter.



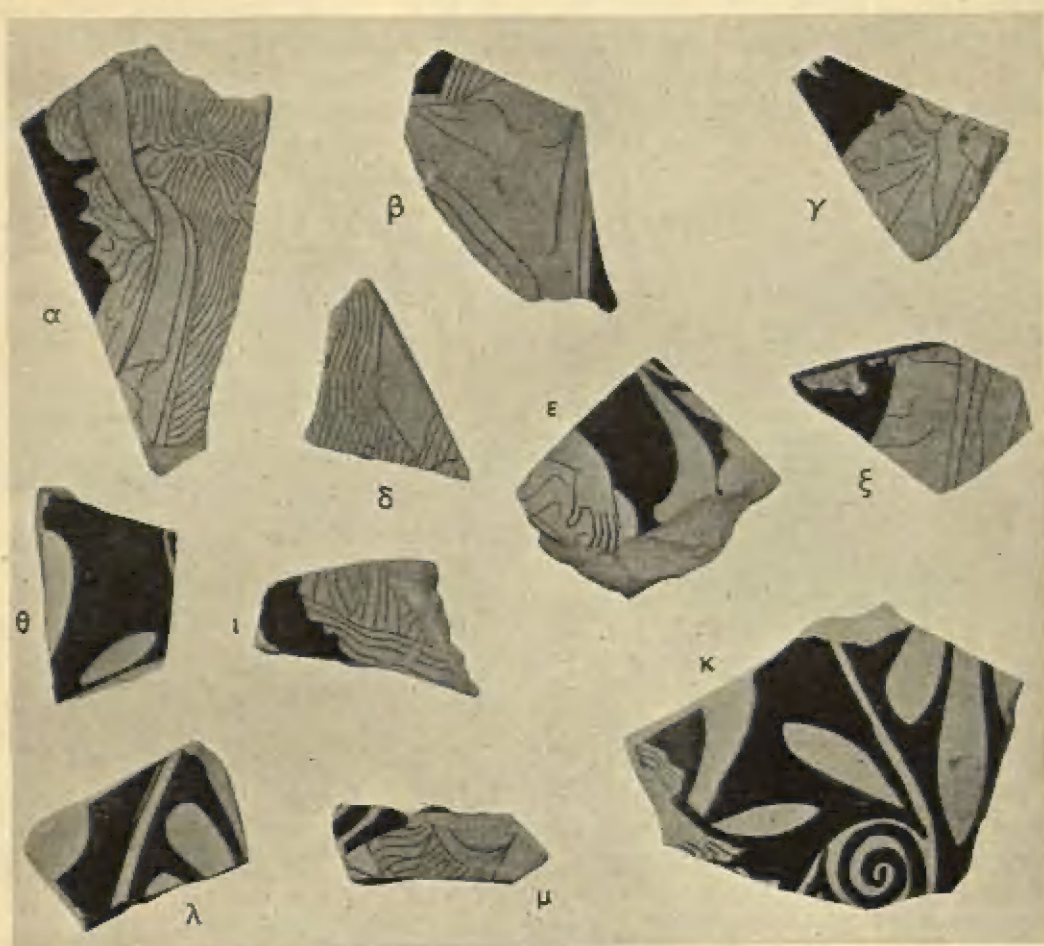
The himation-border is repeated on two vases closely connected with him, a pelike in San Francisco (*Coll. Lambros* pl. 12, no. 74; *A, Festgabe Blümner*, pl. at p. 440; see also Schefold in *JdI* 52, pp. 65-6), and a hydria in Leningrad (St. 2189: *Compte Rendu* 1860, pl. 5).

52. Fragment of a bell-krater. Height 0.132. Mended in antiquity. Part of the right half of the picture remains—the handle came on the right. A youth, evidently with his right foot raised and set on a rock: short chiton of thick material, with an embattled border at the neck; chlamys, baldrick, petasos, two spears. A woman facing him. On the left, the hand of a third figure holding spear or sceptre, probably spear, so the companion of the youth. Between the woman and the youth, a plant, which ceases before the break, and serves to indicate the terrain. About 420 B.C. Recalls the Pothos painter, but not by him: by the same hand, I believe, a calyx-krater with Apollo and Marsyas, formerly in the Hope collection (*Tillyard* 122, pl. 19) and now in the Paris market, with Messrs. Feuardent.

430 B.C., by the Kleophon painter (*Att. V.* pp. 419-21), who has left several good pictures of sacrifices; compare the bell-krater fragment in Oxford (G 720: *CV*, pl. 66, 31).

A list of splanchnopts is given by Greifenhagen in *CV*, Bonn, p. 40 on pl. 34, 10; see also below, no. 54.

44. Fragment of a calyx-krater or bell-krater. Height 0.042. Eros. By the Kleophon painter, like the last.



46.

45. Fragment of a bell-krater or calyx-krater. Height 0.055. Head and shoulder of a youth, who wears a chaplet of the sort worn by revellers. Two hands are raised in front of him. The style is close both to the Kleophon painter and to his pupil the Dinos painter: early work of the Dinos painter? About 425 B.C.

46. Fragments of a bell-krater. The right-hand figure on one side ( $\epsilon$  and  $\kappa$ ) was a woman seated to right (and no doubt looking round), with her left hand in her lap; then came the handle-palmettes. Fr.  $\beta$  gives part of a woman to left, her forearms extended in her himation; fr.  $\alpha$  the middle of a woman to right, holding her himation up with her



53. Fragment of a vase. Height 0.067. Thin wall; inside, reserved to the level of the knees, then dull black. Perhaps from an oenochoe. A male advancing to right in violent action, his right leg frontal. I figure this fragment because the himation, about to fall off, caught only over the left shoulder and the right thigh, is exactly repeated in the Herakles of the two cups by Aristophanes in Boston (FR pl. 128-9), in the Theseus on the volute-krater by the painter of the New York Centauromachy in New York (FR iii, p. 52; Richter and Hall pl. 161, 163), and on a fragment in Odessa (von Stern *Theodosia*, pl. 3, 16: compared with the last vase by Hauser in FR iii, p. 55). These four vases are all contemporary with our fragment, which is to be dated about 420 or 410. On a calyx-krater of the late fourth century in Athens (1251: Schefold *UKV*, pl. 43, 1 and pl. 44, 1) the himation of Theseus also resembles ours, though less closely; for the lower part, though not the upper, the Theseus of the West Pediment at Olympia



52.

may be compared, and the Theseus of the volute-krater in New York (FR pl. 116; Richter and Hall pl. 98); for the upper—the lower is missing—the Theseus fighting Centaurs on fragments from the school of Polygnotos, Agora P 12641.

54. Fragment of a bell-krater. Burnt grey. *A*, sacrifice. *B*, males and boy (a boy standing to right, between two males leaning on their sticks). The figures on *A* are disposed on uneven ground. At the white altar, which is piled with firewood, the priest stands, dressed in a himation, pouring the libation from the stemless cup in his right hand; his other hand is open in a gesture of prayer. A small Nike flies towards him, wearing a peplos with overfall, her arms extended: the hands are lost. A fragment not figured gives part of her wings, white like her flesh. To right of the firewood, the butt of a spit is seen, with the usual guard. Another fragment, not figured, gives the end of the spit with the meat on it, and to left, a pair of horns fastened up in the sanctuary. Behind the priest are two males in himatia, one of them leaning on his stick with his right arm

akimbo. A fragment, not figured, joins, giving his breast, his right forearm, and part of his left hand. This completed the picture leftwards. A loose fragment has part of a small tripod on it, in white. The ledge below the volutes of the altar is decorated with egg pattern. A slab rests on the volutes. The space between slab and altar is painted white like the rest, and covered with dots in dark brown. Now the slab is a fire-brick: to protect the stone altar from splitting with the heat, the fire was laid not on the altar itself, but on a fire-brick placed on top of the altar. The name may have been ἐπίπυρον (Hesychius *s. v.* θυμέλη, quoted by Gow in



54.

*JHS* 32, p. 235), although ἐπίπυρον had a wider sense. Another good representation of a fire-brick is on the bell-krater by Polion in Bonn (*CV*, pl. 19, 1); and there as here the space between slab and volutes is painted white and covered with dark dots. This I had thought of as representing cinders; but Mr. Ludwig Bachrich tells me that it is certainly a layer of cinders mixed with mortar—the best insulating material now as then. The only difference between present practice and ancient is that the cinders are now made from coke instead of wood. He adds that the modern engineer in drawing his plans uses just the same convention to indicate a mixture of cinders and mortar. An earlier



representation of the same thing may be seen on a volute-krater in Ferrara (Aurigemma<sup>1</sup> p. 181 =<sup>2</sup> p. 211).

About 420-10. There is something in the drawing of the himatia that recalls the Talos painter, whose garments, as H. R. W. Smith says, always look as if they had been well slept in.

55. Fragment of a bell-krater. About 420 B.C. rather than later? A, symposion. On the right, right shoulder, breast, and arm (down to



58.



56.



57.

the wrist) of a naked woman leaning back and resting her elbow on something. She wears a brassière, black, but reserved on the breast, with a dark dot at the nipple; and a cord worn bandolier-wise. On the left, at a lower level, a man, facing right, puts out his right arm and touches her breast. The scene is from a symposion: the woman is a professional dancer; and one of the guests (unless he be the host) is toying with her. For the sort of motive cf. no. 48 above. The man is reclining, with his left elbow, I take it, on a cushion; while the woman leans, half sitting, against the head of his couch. On an earlier vase, a column-krater once in the Coghill collection (Millingen *Vases de Coghill*, pl. 8: by the painter of



London E 489, *Att. V.* p. 310 no. 7) the flute-girl takes up the same position as our dancer.

Between the two figures, there is something suspended: it is a piece of meat—the hindquarters of a kid. Joints of meat are sometimes seen hanging on the wall, for instance in the Italiote column-krater by the Sisyphos painter in the British Museum (F 174: *BSR* 11, p. 32, fig. 1) or an Italiote bell-krater in Newcastle (Tillyard, 220, pl. 31).

The brassière was often worn by female dancers and acrobats: Watzinger (in *FR* iii, pp. 322–3) gives many instances. From these the Attic painters borrowed it for the woman athlete Atalanta: see the cup in the Louvre, and the Ferrara volute-krater mentioned below on no. 79.

56. Fragment of a bell-krater. Height 0.043. Sacrifice. About 420 B.C. The tail-bone lies on the altar. The priest puts his hands into a vessel held by an attendant in front of him. The subject is clear from a Boston bell-krater in the manner of the Kleophon painter (95.25: *Vases in America*, p. 182, fig. 114, whence Rumpf *Religion der Griechen*, fig. 162). The vessel contains groats for sprinkling on the altar: see no. 49. Still closer, in some respects, is a second Boston bell-krater, 95.24, in the manner of the Chrysis painter: the drawing of the vessel is the same, and it is covered with a light brown wash as here; and the attendant, like ours, has tied his himation round his waist. A vessel of this shape appears in other sacrificial scenes: on the volute-krater fragment by the painter of the New York Centauromachy in Leningrad (*FR* iii, p. 53; Hahland *Vasen um Meidias*, pl. 17, a); on a pelike in Leningrad (Schefold *UKV*, figs. 71–2); on a bell-krater in Vienna (1144: Millingen *AUM*, pl. 51; *JdI*, 27, p. 265); on a Campanian bell-krater in the Louvre (Millingen *AUM*, pl. 12–13). It is a kind of measure. A handle is sometimes indicated, as here, although the vessel is not held by it. The measure might be used for liquids as well as solids: with a handle you could dip it into liquid without putting your hand in.

57. Pelike. Height 0.34. *A*, youth and woman at an altar; *B*, two youths at an altar. No relief-contour. The youth on *A* is wreathed with olive or laurel, has a wrap under his right armpit and over his left wrist, and leans on a stick. The woman wears a peplos with a long overfall, overgirt, and holds a tendril in her right hand. Late fifth century: by the same hand, a pelike from Cyrenaica in the Louvre (M 85: *CV* d pl. 48, 1–2).

58. Fragment of a lebes gamikos. Height 0.075. On the stand, a maid, dressed in a peplos with overfall, overgirt, holding a basket and a sash. Her headband is in white. To the left hangs a sash, with white tags. Last decade of the fifth century.

59. Fragment of a bell-krater. Height 0.062. A maenad setting her right foot on a rock (part of the thigh remains) and holding a tympanon in her right hand. Peplos, fawn-skin, broad headband, earring. Near the end of the fifth century. Exaggeration of the Meidian ideal—great eye; straight forehead-nose line; nose, lips, and receding chin small and huddled together.

60. Bell-krater. Height 0.325. *A*, oklasma. *B*, youths. On *A*, one



dressed in Oriental costume is dancing on a table, watched by Dionysos and a maenad, and accompanied on the flute by a satyr. The dancer's costume consists of a sleeved and trousered garment; leather shoes; a short over-garment of thick material decorated with a wreath in the middle, with borders of rays and concentric semi-circles, and with a spotted band down the front; a belt; a tiara, spotted outside, and lined with black; and round the tiara, a band. The head is down, the knees are bent, the right leg raised and advanced, the arms extended with thumbs touching. Dionysos and the maenad both stand with one arm akimbo, and an upright thyrsus in the other hand. Dionysos has a cloak, over both arms; the maenad wears a peplos with a fawnskin girt over it. The thing hanging



57.

from the satyr's forearm is a flute-case, not the usual skin kind but improvised out of a piece of cloth—a kerchief or the like: a similar flute-case appears, I think, on the neck of the Talos vase in Ruvo (*Bull. Nap.* iii, pl. 6). Above, between the heads of satyr and maenad, a bucrane.

On the subject, see no. 82.

The date must be the last decade of the fifth century or not much earlier, and the style is so like that of the Nikias painter (*Att. V.* pp. 466 and 479) that I ask myself whether it may not be his own work rather than a school-piece. With the reverse compare, for example, those of his bell-kraters in Lecce (630: *CV*, IV Dr pl. 11, 2) and in the Gallatin collection (*CV*, pl. 25, 6).

See the next.





61. Fragments of a bell-krater. Burnt grey. *A*, symposion. *B*, youths. The style is exactly the same as in the last vase.

62. Fragment of a bell-krater. Height of the picture without the borders, 0.142. *A*, symposion. Two men reclining on a couch with their left elbows resting on cushions. One raises his right arm and takes hold of his neck, a common attitude in symposia (see Hauser in *FR* ii, p. 230, and Jacobsthal *Gött. V.* p. 60). His companion turns and looks at him, extending his right arm, perhaps holding a drinking-vessel. Between the two, a lampstand. Below, a table, and a leg of the couch. Daft style of the beginning of the fourth century: there are three other bell-kraters



62.



63.

by the same hand, one in Bonn (inv. 1614: *CV*, pl. 21, 2), two in Athens (see p. 150 of this number of the *Journal*).

63. Stemless cup, deep, with offset lip. Cups of this shape (*CV*, Bonn, pl. 11, 7) are very common in the earlier part of the fourth century, but ours is not by any of the regular painters of them. There is no decoration inside. Outside, *A*, Nike and two athletes; *B*, the like. Nike wears a peplos with overfall, overgirt. The wreath she should be holding is not indicated. Beginning of the fourth century.

64-76. Squat lekythoi. Nine of the small squat lekythoi found at Al Mina are published in *JHS*, 58, p. 23. Three hands are distinguishable. The male head 1, the female heads 2 and 7-9, the goose 3, are by the Mina painter. There are also two panthers by him, one of which is figured here (height 0.138); and perhaps a fawn. I do not know any other vases that are certainly his: but the panthers Oxford 1925.4465

(*CV*, pl. 63, 8) and Dresden ZV. 2989 (*AA*, 1925, p. 123), and another in Mr. Gallatin's collection, are very like the two from Al Mina.

Nos. 4-6 on *JHS*, 58, p. 23 are by a still humbler artist, recognisable by the straggly hair of his persons. There are plenty of squat lekythoi by the Straggly painter in other collections, and a list will be given in my *Attic Vase-painters*: meanwhile I quote Cracow National Museum inv. 120762 (*CV*, pl. 1, Pologne, 96, 9), Warsaw, Choynowski collection, inv. 31766 (*CV*, pl. 1, Pologne 106, 19); Copenhagen *CV*, pl. 168, 1, and pl. 168, 5; Corinth *AJA*, 1930 p. 338, 1; Oxford 1910.71 and 72 (*CV*, pl. 40, 8 and 12), and Oxford 1938.3.



70.



76.

The maid with a box, no. 76 (present height 0.083) is by a third painter: Copenhagen 164 (*CV*, pl. 167, 4) and Agora P 5267 are by the same hand; and many others, as will appear.

All three groups belong to the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth.

77. Fragment of a bell-krater or calyx-krater. Height 0.062. A boy bending. Two furrows on the forehead. A wreath hangs above. Late fifth century or beginning of the fourth century. This may be from a sacrifice, at least I am reminded of the boy bending as he leads a sheep to the altar on the bell-kraters Boston 95.25 (*Vases in America*, p. 182, fig. 114: manner of the Kleophon painter) and Boston 95.24 (manner of the Chrysis painter). Other motives are of course possible: look for instance at the boy who bends and takes the lid off a box on the bell-krater in Vienna with Herakles sacrificing to Chryse (1144: Laborde i, pl. 23, whence Stengel *Kultusaltertümer*, pl. 3, 11; *JdI*, 27, p. 165).



78. Fragment of a bell-krater. Height 0.07. A woman tuning her harp, turning her head away from it. Chiton, himation, necklace, earring, bracelet; hair in a sling. The decoration of the chiton consists of dotted lines forming diamonds with crosslets in the middle (see von Lorentz in *RM*, 52, p. 193), with rows of palmettes, a border of spirals or tendrils at the neck and another of arcs and strokes at the sleeve. Four harp-strings are shown. Lower, the head of one facing left, with a white fillet, ivy-leaves, and a broad headband. Above, a sprig of ivy, probably suspended. Near the beginning of the fourth century. On harps see Herbig in *AM*, 54, pp. 164-93.



77.



80.



78.



81.



59.

79. Fragmentary bell-krater, mended in antiquity. Height of the picture as far as preserved, 0.125. *A*, Atalanta. *B*, three youths. A woman stands in the middle of *A*, looking up, her arms raised, arranging her hair. She is naked—may of course be wearing brassière and loincloth. Her chiton hangs near her, swinging in the wind. She has earrings. Eros sits above, holding up a mirror for her to see herself in. To the left two youths, athletes. One is standing at a laver, with a strigil in his right hand, his left arm extended to touch his companion, who sits on the laver and turns his head towards him. A himation hangs above them, and a strigil. The seated youth looks younger than the other, at least his hair is longer. The upper member of the laver-stand is decorated with egg-pattern; the under-side of it is drawn as if seen from below, although the basin itself is in pure profile. The woman, naked among naked youths in the palaestra, can only be Atalanta; and the figure resembles one on a cup in the Cabinet des Médailles (818: *Gaz. arch.* 1880, pl. 14), where the naked woman, facing to right, looking up, her right hand raised to her hair, with a laver behind her, and the naked youth sitting opposite her,

are identified by inscriptions as Atalanta and Peleus. The Paris cup is by the Jena painter (*JHS*, 48, p. 127; *Hahland Vasen um Meidias*, pp. 20-1) and may be dated about 390; the Mina vase is more old-fashioned but cannot be much earlier.

Three Attic cups of 450-430 have inside a picture of Atalanta, naked, and an athlete, no doubt Peleus: Boston 03.820, Ferrara (tomb 991), Villa Giulia 48234. Atalanta is shown naked, among the Argonaut athletes, on fragments of a volute-krater from the school of Polygnotos, about 440, in Ferrara (tomb 404: part, *NSc*, 1927, pl. 19, 2; part, but not the figure of Atalanta, Aurigemma<sup>1</sup> p. 205 = <sup>2</sup> p. 237); in another context, on the calyx-krater by the Dinos painter, about 420, in Bologna (300: *Mus. It.* 2, pl. 2, whence Pfuhl fig. 578-9). Atalanta alone, in the



79.

palaestra, on the Euaion painter's cup in the Louvre, about 450-440 (now republished in *Encycl. phot.* iii, p. 8, b: holding a pickaxe, not 'the athlete's cane'). Atalanta naked, in a different context, on the fourth-century Etruscan mirror in Berlin (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel*, pl. 176) and on an even finer one in the collection of Professor Curtius. Atalanta wrestles with Peleus on the Chalcidian hydria in Munich (FR, pl. 31); on a lost Attic hydria of the same period (Micali, *Mon. ined.* pl. 41) and on a good many other Attic b. f. vases; also on a r. f. cup by Oltos in Bologna, near the end of the sixth century (361: *CV*, pl. 1, 3, pl. 3, and pl. 4, 4-5).

An athlete standing at a laver, and another athlete sitting on it and looking round at him, is the subject of a cup in Florence (*CV*, pl. E, B 5) which belongs to the same period as the three Atalanta cups mentioned above.

80. Fragment of a bell-krater. Height 0.112. Comparison with a complete work by the same hand, the bell-krater London F 64 (*Mem. Linc.* 6 ser., 1, pl. 3, 1) will make the subject clear; Nike driving Herakles to Olympos. Early fourth century. A list of works by the painter of



F 64 will be given in my *Attic Vase Painters*. This was one of his favourite subjects, for it is repeated on his bell-kraters in the Cabinet des Médailles (430: Millin *PVA* ii, pl. 18), in the Jatta collection at Ruvo (422: *Ausonia*, iii, p. 64) and in the Rainone collection at S. Agata de'Goti (Gerhard *AB*, pl. 31, whence FR ii, p. 257, fig. 90). Another work of his is the bell-krater London 1924.7-16.1 (Millingen *Vases de Coghill*, pl. 11). He is among the less florid painters of his time.

81. Fragment of a bell-krater. Helmet; and hair (wreathed with ivy), ear, neck, of a woman. Probably from a chariot scene, Nike and a warrior in a chariot. Same period and school as the last.

82. Bell-krater. Height as restored (with modern foot) 0.34. *A*, symposium, with oklasma; *B*, maenad and satyrs. On *A*, Dionysos, bearded, reclining to left, holding kantharos and thyrsus. Behind him, a satyr, also



82.

reclining, his left elbow resting on the cushion, his right arm extended (the hand lost). On the other side of Dionysos, Hephaistos reclining, looking round, and extending his right hand with one finger through the handle of a cup as if to play kottabos. At the feet of Hephaistos a satyr sits playing the flute: so in the Berlin dinos, a satyr sits at the feet of Dionysos, playing the lyre (Furtwängler *Sammlung Sabouroff*, pl. 56; Hahland *Vasen um Meidias*, pl. 12a). All four are looking at the central figure, a girl dancing on a table in the same attitude as the dancer in no. 60. She wears a short chiton and a tiara. Flesh and chiton are done in white: only the tiara and the long hair are in the ordinary r. f. technique. All this takes place in a simple wooden shed. Four of the poles supporting it are shown. Part of the superstructure appears to left and right of the missing part of the vase. The guests recline not on couches but on mattresses covered with panther-skins. All except the dancer have ivy-leaves in their hair, Hephaistos a fillet as well, Dionysos a broad band decorated with spirals. The cushions are ornamented with various patterns—rosettes, wave, spiral, embattled, wreath, dots in threes.



On *B*, a maenad, wearing a peplos with overfall, overgirt, her foot raised and set on a rock or square stone, stretches her arms towards a satyr moving towards her; behind her another satyr dances or starts away.

There are a good many representations of the Persian dance on vases and other monuments of the early fourth century. The latest study of the oklasma, as it was called in Greek, is by Schweitzer in *Hermes* 71, 1936, pp. 288-94. The following additions may be made to his list:—

(α) Al Mina, no. 60, above.

(β) Al Mina, no. 83, below.

(γ) An Attic calyx-krater which was formerly in the collection of Dr. J. C. Hoppin, but seems not to have passed with the rest of his vases to Harvard. The chief figure is a girl in almost the same attitude as the dancer on no. 60, and wearing the same costume: the whole figure is white, tiara and all. She dances on the ground, but there is a table beside her, to mount if she wishes. Facing her is a woman in a chiton playing the flute. There are two spectators, in the same attitudes as those on no. 60, and both holding thyrsi: on the left of the picture, a maenad; on the right of it a satyr.

(δ) The Attic calyx-krater Athens 1390 (CC. 1894; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1883, pl. 7a). The dance is in the open air, in the neighbourhood of a building indicated by a column. The dancer is female, for the whole figure is white. A satyr dances, and two maenads watch.

(ε) All these vases were Attic: the calyx-krater Athens 12683 (N. 1119: *JdI*, 32, p. 62) is a Boeotian imitation of Attic. The dancer, in full Oriental costume, kneels on a table. On the left, a woman plays the tympanon. A spare tiara hangs on the wall. The oklasma bell-krater Athens 1387 (CC. 1923: *A*, Dumont and Chaplain, i, pl. 17; *A*, *Hermes* 71, 1936, Beilage 1, Schweitzer) is also a close Boeotian imitation of Attic.

Add that before the end of the sixth century, a young reveller on the volute-krater by Euphronios in Arezzo (FR, pll. 61-2, whence Pfuhl, fig. 395), if he is not dancing the oklasma, has got hold of one of the movements or something very like; and there are other early examples.

In three of these pictures the dance is performed on a table, and in a fourth there is a table at hand. Tables make a good platform for dances and acrobatics—raise the performer, and give him a smooth, flat, resonant "floor." Hippokledes called for a table when he passed to the second part of his programme (Hdt. 6, 129, 3). For dancing on tables see Neugebauer in *Berliner Museen*, 45, pp. 27-35 and add the Kabeirian skyphos London B 78; for tumbling on tables, a hydria by Polygnotos in Naples (3232: FR, pl. 171, 1 and pp. 320-1), a Kabeirian skyphos in Athens (*AM*, 13, p. 425), or a pelike by the Agrigento painter in Athens (1399, CC. 1276), where a satyr mounts a table to juggle.

It will be noticed that in many of the oklasma vases the setting is Dionysiac—either the god himself is present, or his satyrs and maenads are. I do not know the exact explanation of this; but observe that other vases of the period show Dionysos taking pleasure in watching dancers.



On an Attic bell-krater in Madrid (11080, L. 351: Leroux pl. 43, 2) the dancer is dressed in Oriental costume, but is beating a tympanon and not performing the oklasma; a satyr plays the flute accompaniment, and Dionysos looks on. Again, in a bell-krater in Berlin, Boeotian in close imitation of Attic (inv. 3326: *AA*, 1895, p. 40, fig. 16; Licht *Sittengeschichte* i, p. 122: see Zahn in *FR* iii, p. 193 and Watzinger *id.* p. 323 note 10), the head and legs of the dancing-girl are in the same position as in the two vases from Al Mina, but both hands are on the hips: Eros points her out to Dionysos; and a maenad in peplos and fawn-skin stands watching and holding a thyrsus and a shield, for a shield it seems to be rather than a tympanon, and it may be a property, as Furtwängler suggested, to be used in the pyrrhic.



82.

I have called the young boon-companion Hephaistos: he has no hammer and tongs to distinguish him, but on a late fifth-century calyx-krater in the Giudice collection at Agrigento the youth who reclines beside Dionysos, crowned with ivy, and playing kottabos, is inscribed ΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ.

It is strange to find a satyr sharing the couch of his master, and I do not know any other monument in which the satyr is so exalted.

The vase may be counted as belonging, like nos. 80-1, to the 'plainer' wing of early fourth-century painting, and is to be grouped with a bell-krater fragment in Oxford (G 731: *CV*, pl. 67, 7) and bell-kraters in the Leverhulme collection (*A*, Tischbein iv, pl. 40; *A*, Tillyard, 152, pl. 25) and the National University, Dublin (*A*, Tischbein iii, pl. 53; *A*, Tillyard, 155, pl. 25).

83. Three fragments of a bell-krater mended in antiquity. On the

one reproduced (height 0.082), oklasma (see no. 82): a dancer, in sleeved garment and tiara, to left; in front, on a slightly higher level, part of a similar figure. The tiaras are ornamented with leaves. Above, a white column, half-seen, indicating a building.

The other fragments give parts of two similar figures, dancing to right. Early fourth century, perhaps of the 'plainer' group (see nos. 80-2). For the subject—a whole troupe of Oriental dancers—compare the fourth-century bell-krater Naples 942, which has three youthful dancers in Oriental costume, and a flute-girl.



84.

84. Fragments of a bell-krater. *A*, symposion: Pan and satyr. Above, two reclining on the ground, with panther-skins under them, and no doubt mattresses as well: on the right, a satyr, his right arm extended; on the left, turning round to him, Pan, his left arm extended with a drinking-horn, his right also extended but the hand lost. Pan has horns, a hooked nose, a big loose mouth, not much chin. His wreath is in white. A row of dots runs along the mouth of the drinking-horn, representing the decoration of the metal lip. Eros flies towards the satyr with a spotted and fringed sash in his left hand. His wreath is in white, with reserved leaves.

The other figures are on a lower level and are to be thought of as in the foreground. In the middle a male sits playing the flute. He is naked



except for a small garment, bordered with black and ornamented with circles, laid under his buttocks and hanging over his left thigh. In front of him a companion dances to the music. A floating fragment gives his beard, neck, breast, left arm, as well as a piece of the egg-pattern round the handle of the vase. To left of the flute-player, a woman, dressed in a peplos with overfall, stands to right at a laver, with her right leg frontal and bent at the knee. Behind her a satyr, smaller than she, grasps her right forearm. No doubt she was looking round at him. A pet goose stands on the laver. We should expect the performers in the lower right-hand part of the picture to be satyrs, although the flute-player has no tail; in the other, that region of the body is lost.

There is a plant to right of the reclining satyr, another in front of the dancer, and a third at the lower edge, between him and the flute-player.



83.



85.

Water-birds are often seen standing on lavers: on a hydria by the Washing painter in the British Museum it is a duck (E 202: C. Smith *BM Cat.* iii, pl. 8, 1; Sudhoff *Aus dem antiken Badewesen*, I p. 68); on a Boeotian stemless cup, also in the British Museum (C. Smith, pl. 21, 1), a duckling; on a Faliscan stamnos in the Villa Giulia a heron or the like (3592: *CV*, IV Br, pl. 9, 3).

This is a very unusual scene, and I do not know anything like it. Early fourth century: for the style compare, perhaps, the bell-crater fragment, from Naucratis, Oxford G 728 (*CV*, pl. 67, 4).

85. Fragmentary lekanis. *A*, the head of an Oriental, and a griffin; *B*, the same; between the two groups a ball. In the same style, the lekanides Berlin inv. 3264 (Schefold *UKV*, fig. 75) and Yale 168 (Baur p. 165, left), London F 136, a lekanis-like vase, also in the British Museum, old number 1670, and another vase of the same shape, from Olynthus, in Salonica (*AJA*, 1939, p. 73, fig. 31). Middle of the fourth century. Vases with similar heads were found at Olynthus (Robinson *Olynthos*, v, pl. 120-4, and that just quoted) and therefore made before 347 B.C.

86. The most important vase found at Al Mina [Plates II-VI] is a very large calyx-krater, 61 centimetres high and 55 across, the finest, I think, of all late Attic vases, although I do not forget the beauty of the lebes in Leningrad (Lukyanov and Grinyevich, pl. 1-4; Schefold *UKV*, pl. 33-4). Much is missing, and most of the white and gilded details have either disappeared or are almost invisible. The handles are lost. Great



86.

part of the foot is restored, but a slice of it is preserved in all but its full height.

In the early fourth century, the calyx-krater is not nearly such a favourite as the bell-krater; nor is it very common in the earlier Kerch period: but there are plenty of late Kerch calyces. Most of these form a compact group and were decorated by a few closely allied artists (Hahland *Vasen um Meidias*, pp. 18-19; Schefold *UKV*, p. 159, iv). The Mina vase has nothing to do with this group. From its proportions, it would seem to



be earlier than they: for the general tendency of the calyx-krater is to become slenderer as time goes on (see Jacobsthal in *Metz. Mus. St.* 5, p. 136), and in the Mina vase the breadth is still 0.9 of the height (a small piece of the foot is restored, but the error cannot be great), whereas in the late Kerch group the ratio varies between 0.7 and not much over 0.8. Ours goes rather with a vase in Salonica—found at Olynthus, and therefore prior to the year 347—where the ratio seems to have been somewhere about 0.926, but cannot be given exactly, as it is not clear from the half-tone or the description just how much of the foot is restored (Robinson *Olynthos* v, pl. 68–70). In London 71.7–22.3, a large black ‘garland’ krater, the ratio is 9.283; in the red-figured calyx London 1931.1–13.1 (*BMQ* v, pl. 51c) it is 8.852.

One of the characteristic components of the earlier calyx-krater, the offset member above the pictures, disappears in the fourth century, and the body swings into the lip without a break.

The lip is an inverted echinus, decorated with egg-pattern; the lower division of the foot a thick torus. Both lip and foot have a deep groove near the top, and another near the bottom.

The clay, as in many Kerch vases, has a yellow tinge.

The pattern above the pictures is a reserved wreath, in four pieces, twined together half-way along each side and over each handle.

The pattern below the pictures is unique, and important in the history of ornament. It is an alternation of flowers and bucranes; the flowers predominating. The lily-like anthemias present themselves as three long petals rising from an acanthus-calyx. Two stalks start from the calyx and run left and right; each curling up into a pair of spiral-like tendrils forming an ess. Buds sit in the axils. The esses have a double function: they flank the anthemias and amplify the floral portion of the whole design; at the same time, the right-hand ess of one anthemion, together with the left-hand ess of the next, forms a kind of ‘lyre-palmette’ which frames the bucrane.

The bucrane is a favourite motive in Hellenistic and Roman decoration, especially on buildings (Napp *Bukranion und Guirlande*; Willeumier *Le Trésor de Tarente*, pp. 44–5; Deonna *Délos*, xviii, pp. 381–3). The received opinion is that as a decorative motive, alternating with other objects, it first appears in the third century B.C. (Loewy *Anfänge des Triumphbogens* in *Jb. der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s. 2, p. 8; Napp *op. cit.* pp. 2–4): with phialai, in the Arsinoeion of Samothrace dedicated by Arsinoe I while she was still the wife of Demetrios Poliorketes, who died in 281 (Conze, Hauser and Benndorf *Arch. Untersuchungen auf Samothrake* i, pl. 62 and ii, p. 111); with rosettes, in the Ptolemaion of Samothrace dedicated by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who reigned from 285 to 247 (*id.* ii, pl. 40 and p. 41); connected by swags, and alternating with phialai, in the Temple of Demeter at Pergamon dedicated by Philetairos and Eumenes between 269 and 263 (*AM*, 35, pl. 20, p. 382, and pp. 437–8). Our vase is half a century older than the earliest of these.

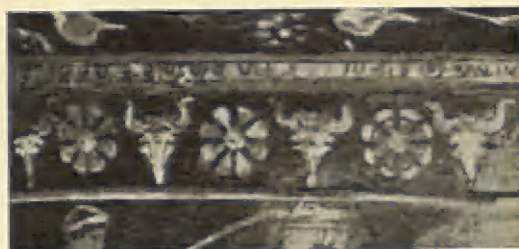
The particular combination on our vase is not one that became popular. Other fourth-century vases have more popular combinations. In an



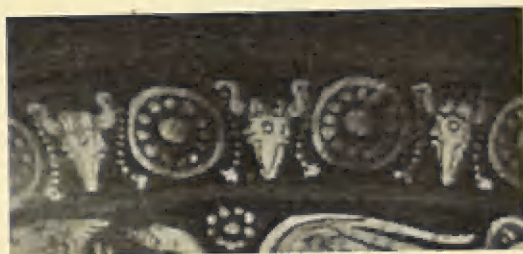
Attic bell-krater found at Lecce and now in Vienna, the sole decoration of the black body consists of a wreath from which a row of bucranes are suspended, connected by fillets. The vase is published by Kurt Müller (*Der Leichenwagen Alexanders des Grossen*, p. 61), but he does not mention the bucranes. It is hardly later than the Mina krater, if at all. On an Apulian



AL MINA 86.



NAPLES 3230.



NAPLES.

Greek mascaroon krater in Naples (3230: phot. Sommer 11056: Ajax and Cassandra) one of the divisions of the neck is ornamented with an alternation of bucranes and rosettes; and on another, also in Naples (phot. Sommer 10116), an alternation of filleted bucranes and phialai decorates the same part of the vase. The use of the bucrane in fourth-century vases may point to a similar use in contemporary architecture, but this is not certain. What is certain is that both uses were derived from the practice of decorating sanctuaries and other buildings with the actual skulls of slaughtered animals, alternating with other real objects. Single ox-skulls, or a couple of them, very often appear in the pictures on fifth- and fourth-century vases: what is represented is a real ox-skull, which we are to think of as fixed to a wall (Attic bell-krater in Boston, 95.25, *VA* p. 182, fig. 114; two, Italiote mascaroon-krater in London, F 159, *FR* iii,



p. 165, fig. 80; two and a shield, Italiote bell-krater in the Vatican, Séchan *Trag. grecque* p. 182, phot. Alinari; one, between phialai, Italiote bell-krater in Lecce, *CV*, IV Dr, pl. 22, 2). But what we want is an *alternation* of real ox-skulls and other objects: and this we find in the picture on an Apulian Greek calyx-krater in the British Museum (F 269: Bieber *Theaterwesen*, p. 142: bucranes and phialai); while an alternation of real bucranes and shields is almost certainly represented, as Loewy pointed out (*loc. cit.* p. 8), on a fourth-century marble relief in Athens (Svoronos pl. 156, 2465).

The anthemia, with their lily-like petals rising from an acanthus-calyx, are of a type which first appears in architectural ornament. This is the anthemion used on the wall-crowns, antae, and capitals of the Erechtheum (Stevens *Erechtheum*, pl. 37, 1; pl. 37, 2 and pl. 36, 4; with the addition of leaves hanging over open at the foot of the acanthus, pl. 36, 1, pl. 36, 5, pl. 36, 2, and pl. 36, 5), which must have been designed and in great part executed between 420 and 415. It also appears, about the same time or not much earlier, in the marble sima of the Argive Heraion (Tilton in Waldstein, *Arg. Her.* i, p. 124). Clay simae from Olympia, no doubt Corinthian, also show it (*Olympia* ii, pl. 121, 4 and p. 197, fig. 15; and later, p. 197 fig. 14). In vase-painting it occurs on a fourth-century Lucanian volute-krater in Berlin (3238: Jacobsthal *Ornamente*, pl. 114), pointed out to me by Jacobsthal, who also refers me to a fragment of a Tarantine clay arula (*id.* pl. 136, a). Five petals are normal; but one of the Erechtheum varieties (Stevens pl. 36, 1 and pl. 36, 5) has three as in our vase. In another variety (Stevens pl. 37, 2 and pl. 36, 4) the spiral tendrils rearing themselves up on either side of the anthemion bear a certain resemblance to ours.

The bucranes—clean skulls except for some hair remaining on the forehead—are decorated as usual with woollen fillets knotted at intervals, or rather strung with beads; the ends hanging loose.

The figures are about 22 centimetres high on an average, or 9 inches. In both pictures they nearly all front the spectator, a general tendency in Attic vases of the later Kerch period, but seldom carried so far as here. The Eleusinian pelike in Leningrad goes with the Mina krater in this respect (FR, pl. 70), and so does that with the Judgment of Paris in Athens (1181: Schefold *UKV*, pl. 36); and we may perhaps add (although it is hard to compare few-figured pictures with many-figured) the black-figured Panathenaic amphora London B 610 of the year 332–1 B.C. (*CV*, III Hf pl. 4, 3; Süsserott *Gr. Plastik des vierten Jahrhunderts* pl. 6, 3, pl. 7, 3–4, and p. 85). A similar tendency is observable in some fourth-century tombstones (Diepolder *Die attischen Grab-reliefs* pl. 51, pl. 52, 2, and p. 53; see also von Salis *Das Grabmal des Aristonantes*, pp. 9–15). In the three red-figured vases, the type of picture, paratactic and frontal, approximates to the Christian altar-piece, in which the persons are singly manifested to the beholder without being interconnected by action or gesture. Naturally the type is seldom quite pure: in the altar-piece, a hand may point, a head turn, towards the divine Child, or angels float down towards the Virgin; and in the Mina vase both Marsyas and the Nikai 'take notice of' others.



The central figure on the obverse is Apollo, seated. Only scraps of it remain, and I shall return to it after dealing with the other figures. Above Apollo is a small Nike flying down to him, perhaps holding a fillet in both hands. The face is nearly frontal, but turns slightly to the right. More of the extended right arm is preserved than is given in the drawing. The wings were gilt; the flesh seems to have been white.

To right of Apollo stands Athena, frontal, with spear and shield. The face is full front. Two toes of the left foot remain—the little one and the next. She wears a peplos, and over it a himation with a thin black line near the edge; a small aegis; a necklace; a helmet with three crests. The helmet seems gilt, the crests white. The convexity of the shield was either white or gilt. The flesh is white.

To right of Athena is a second small Nike, flying towards her. The flesh is white; the wings reserved, not gilt. The face is in three-quarter to left. The right arm is extended, perhaps with a wreath or fillet, but the hand is wanting. The left leg crosses in front of the right. The only garment, except the saccos on the head, is a himation, which, held in the left hand, passes behind the left shoulder and in front of the belly, leaving the rest of the body and legs bare. Female figures wearing the himation only are much commoner in the fourth century than in the fifth, and there is another Nike clad like ours on a calyx-krater in Salonica (Robinson *Olynthos* v, pl. 68–70 and p. 97).

Lower—the feet must have rested on the border—is Hermes, frontal, his face in three-quarter to left, his left leg crossed in front of his right. He leans back on a stick; his left arm hangs down at his side; his right hand is tucked under his left armpit, holding the top of the stick. He wears or rather holds a chlamys, caught under his left armpit; he has a baldric and a sword, but no wreath. The figure is certainly Hermes: it may seem odd that he should have an ordinary knotty stick instead of his caduceus, but so it is on two other late Kerch vases, the calyx-krater with Erotostasia in Athens (12544: Riegler p. 61; Schefold *KV*, pl. 23b), and the Munich hydria with the Judgment of Paris (FR, pl. 40, whence Pfuhl fig. 598). The head of the stick does not show in any of these vases, but it can hardly have ended like a caduceus.

On the extreme right of the picture, above (over the handle), sits Hera, in three-quarter view to right, looking round with the face in three-quarter to left. The left hand holds a sceptre (the top of which is cut off by the upper border); the right arm is bent up at the elbow, and the hand was probably in front of her breast. She wears a peplos, with overfall; a himation over it; a necklace; sandals; and a wreath or stephane, which may have been gilt. The flesh is reserved. The brown scriggle against her right arm, above the head of Hermes, is the outline of Nike's himation.

Passing to the other half of the picture: to left of Apollo, below, is Marsyas, bound, sitting on a panther-skin, in three-quarter to left, nearly frontal, with his hands tied behind his back, looking round and up towards Apollo. The tail shows below the left forearm. He is crowned with ivy. Most of the face is wanting, but parts of brow, nose, mouth, and beard remain. There is a wrinkle on his forehead, now half concealed by



slight overpainting of the fracture. The spots on the panther-skin are brown.

The figure of Marsyas is one of the finest pieces of drawing on the vase; and it has curious echoes, not on vases, but in other works of art. It recalls the captive in the 'Dionysos erecting a Trophy' from the House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto at Pompeii (Herrmann pl. 62, and pp. 80-1, especially notes 3 and 5 on p. 81); and captives on Praenestine cistae (Louvre 1663, Raoul-Rochette pl. 20) and on Roman sarcophagi, not only the Capitoline Gallomachy adduced by Herrmann (Bieńkowski *Gallier*, pl. 4; *Cap. Cat.* pl. 14), but even more those in the Villa Doria-Pamfili (Bieńkowski, pl. 9a) and at Ince (*id.* pl. 7a; Ashmole pl. 49, 303). I do not know if I may go on to compare the two giants in the foreground of Botticelli's illustration to the thirty-first canto of Dante's *Inferno* (Strzygowski *Zeichnungen von Sandro Botticelli zu Dante's Goettlicher Komoedie*, pl. 31), but these and their standing companions, in their turn, recall the Ficoroni cista and may owe something to classical models.

To left of Apollo, close to him, but on a higher level, stands Artemis, frontal, her face in three-quarter to right. Her left leg is bent at the knee; and she must be leaning a little, with one elbow (her left) supported on something, like many fourth-century figures. Her bow is in her left hand, her quiver at her shoulder. She wears a peplos, with cross-bands, and apparently a wrap as well, for the remains of drapery at the left shoulder and below the left knee cannot all belong to the peplos. The hair is heaped high over the forehead. The flesh is white, and so is the quiver.

To left of her sits Zeus, in three-quarter view to left, looking round to right, with the face three-quartered, in his right hand a sceptre (the top of which is cut off by the upper border), his left forearm resting on the arm of the throne. He wears a himation, and a wreath. The throne was of the type described by Miss Richter in *Ancient Furniture*, pp. 13-22, and one of the flat carved legs can be seen to right of Marsyas' head. This figure recalls the Zeus on the Eleusinian pelike in Leningrad (FR, pl. 70) and the Zeus-like Korinthos on the bronze mirror in the Louvre (*Mon. gr.* 1873, pl. 3, whence Pfuhl fig. 624).

To left (above the handle) are two figures, a satyr and a maenad. The maenad is dancing on her toes leftward, looking round, with the face in three-quarter to right. The flesh is reserved, not white. She wears shoes, and a plain head-band with an ivy-wreath. The end of the head-band is seen floating in the air to right of her head. She holds a thyrsus, the head of which is at present reserved but must have been originally either white or possibly gilt; the thyrsus-head is surrounded by white dots, representing berries (omitted in the drawing), and a streamer, as often in the fourth century, is tied round the shaft at the neck; the butt-end cuts in front of the satyr's panther-skin. On the left, the satyr dances rightwards, with his right leg passing in front of his left. A panther-skin, with brown spots, hangs over his left forearm; his left hand holds a shortish knotty stick, curved, such as hunters used; his right arm was raised behind his head—the elbow is preserved (omitted in the drawing (Pl. II), but visible in Pl. VIb). The right hand was probably empty, raised in a dance-gesture.



The face was no doubt looking round, in three-quarter to left; and the whole figure may have resembled the 'Pan' on a Praenestine cista published by Furtwängler (*Kleine Schriften* i, pl. 1). I have spoken of a satyr; Pan is also, perhaps, possible, but the close association with the maenad makes a satyr more likely. At this period, as is well known, it is not always easy to distinguish between Pan and satyr, for satyrs are sometimes given goat-horns even as early as the fourth century: a certain example is on a bell-krater in Naples (Overbeck *KM.* pl. 16, 16), where the attendant who brings food to Dionysos must surely be a satyr: see also Furtwängler *Kleine Schriften* i, pp. 190-212, and Richter in Richter and Hall p. 218. As for the hunter's club, the horned youth who carries one on a late Attic calyx-krater in the Petit Palais, Paris (339: Schefold *UKV*, fig. 73: this barely visible) ought to be a satyr, otherwise he duplicates the goat-legged Pan at the other end of the picture: there, as in two other vases, hydriae in the British Museum (228: C. Smith *BM Cat.* iii, pl. 9) and in New York (Schefold *UKV*, fig. 35 and 40; Richter and Hall pl. 166) we have to make up our minds between a duplication of Pan, and a Pan-like satyr. When the tail is a goat's, as in the London hydria and another hydria in New York (Richter and Hall pl. 167, 168) the choice is still more embarrassing. On the Mina vase, the tail is a short horse-tail, and not a goat's.

There are remains of something between the heads of the pair, as if held by the maenad; but I do not know what it is: I thought of a tympanon seen almost in profile, but do not think this likely.

That completes the tale of figures on the obverse, and there is nothing unusual about the choice of them, although none of the other representations of the contest between Apollo and Marsyas, the preparations for it, or the consequences, bears much resemblance to ours. Several objects have still to be mentioned. Five tripods help to denote the sanctuary of Apollo, three above, and two below. The upper ones, and the lower right-hand one, were in part gilt, with studs on the rings; the left-hand lower one is painted white, with details in yellow. A snake rears its head beside it (Dubois in Daremberg and Saglio *s.v.* *tripus*, p. 476). The snake has brown spots. The right-hand lower tripod stands on an altar-like base; the left-hand one cannot have had more than a very low base, a simple plinth. The left-hand tripod in the upper range stands on a very tall pedestal, the lower part of which, with the plinth, is visible below the panther-skin of Marsyas, and reappears above his left shoulder. In the upper right-hand tripod the lion's foot is preserved. The bowls, as often (Cook *Zeus* ii, pp. 197-201; *CV*, Oxford p. 35), are provided with a column as an additional support between the legs: in most of them it is seen to have an Ionic capital. The legs and rings seem to be bound with strands of wool, done in white.

To left of the base supporting the lower right-hand tripod is a ram's head turned to right, bound with a woollen fillet—leavings of a sacrifice and a rather realistic reference to the 'unswept floor' of the sanctuary: the head had been fixed up somewhere and had fallen. Above this, behind the left leg of the tripod, nearly half-way up, there is another ram's head, also a relic. We may compare the ox-skulls lying on the



ground in a lost Apulian Greek mascaרון-krater (*Mon.* iv, pl. 30) and in another in Naples (3230: phot. Sommer 11056): but in the second, though not in the first, the untidiness may be due to special circumstances, the subject being taken from the Sack of Troy; and the things on our vase are not skulls but complete heads: at least the lower one is certainly so, and the upper one, which is fragmentary, probably.

A woollen fillet, knotted or rather beaded at intervals, the same as was put round the horns of sacrificial animals, hangs festooned over the principal figures, running from above the head of Zeus to above the head of Athena. The wool is white, the beads gilt.

The time has come to return, as we promised, to the figure of Apollo; and to make the best of what little remains. The four thin diagonals above, on the left, to right of the tripod and the left shoulder of Artemis, should be the ends of his laurel-staff, although there is no indication of leaves. The rectangular bit on the right, to right of the right-hand tripod and below Athena's armpit, must be, as Ashmole suggested to me, the end of the outer horn of his lyre: Apollo is often given the lyre instead of the cithara in pictures of his contest with Marsyas. The lyre was held on his left arm; and the laurel-staff probably leaned against his right shoulder. The god was seated: a few folds of the garment under his buttocks remain, and, lower down, the outside of his right foot. The distance from toe to buttocks is the same as in Hera, and the attitude will have been not wholly unlike hers, though of course no repeat.

Turn back now for a moment to the earlier fragment no. 51: the omphalos there was black, with a reserved border or 'rind'. This will help to interpret the vestiges on our vase. Here Apollo was using the omphalos not as a footstool, but as a seat, which is common enough. The omphalos is again black with a reserved 'rind'. The rind, bounded outside by a brown line (hardly visible in the reproductions), appears below Apollo's buttocks, runs some way, and is then concealed by the left leg of Artemis, but reappears for a short stretch to right of Marsyas' panther-skin, between it and the upper ram's head. The gap in the finished picture makes it hard to follow; but in the incised sketch there is no gap—the two lines of the rind were carried right through. The omphalos was decked with white sacrificial fillets, now faded. It rests on a stout platform which is seen running from the panther-skin of Marsyas, passing behind the remains of Apollo's foot, and losing itself in the break. Above the left-hand part of this there is another platform, smaller and narrower, on which Artemis stands; similarly, on an Apulian volute-krater in Naples (3249: FR, pl. 179), where Orestes takes refuge in the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, Artemis stands close by the omphalos on a low platform.

As to the base below Marsyas' panther-skin, we have already explained it as belonging to the tall pedestal of the left-hand tripod in the upper range.

The picture on the reverse of the vase is no less careful than the other, and that is rare in Kerch vases—one of the few examples is the Eleusinian pelike (FR, pl. 70). The middle of it is taken up by a four-horse chariot, with two persons in it, Athena and Nike, both frontal. The head of



Athena is nearly full-face, turned only slightly to the left: what little remains of the features gives a false notion of the original appearance. She wears a peplos, a necklace, a helmet (much damaged) with three crests, and holds a shield. To left, Nike stands on Athena's right, shorter than she. Her head is frontal, turned slightly to the right. She wears a peplos with overfall, overgirt, and a necklace, of which only traces remain. Her belt is studded. The wings are displayed. The flesh of both is white.

The horses are also frontal, foreshortened. They have topknots, like many fourth-century horses. The headstalls are decorated with gilt studs. The peytrels are dark brown, with a gilt stud in the middle, and a fringe of gilt lotus-buds. The peytrel of the left-hand horse has almost disappeared. The reins of the pole-horses are shown. The tip of the yoke is visible to right of the peytrel in the right-hand pole-horse.

There is no continuity, I think, between the frontal chariot on the Mina vase and the well-known archaic versions of the same subject (Payne NC, p. 74; Hafner *Viergespanne in Vorderansicht* 1-68). Nearest ours, though not very near, are the biga on an Apulian volute-krater in the Jatta collection at Ruvo (*Bull. Nap.* n.s. 1, pl. 6, whence Hafner pl. 2), the three-quartered chariot on the calyx-krater in Salonica, already quoted for the sake of the Nike (above, p. 39; Robinson *Olynthos* v, pl. 68-70 and p. 97), and what remains of the nuptial lebes in Leningrad from Anapa (Schefold *UKV*, pl. 29 and 50).

To right of Athena, higher up, stands Artemis, frontal, leaning to left, with her right elbow supported on a pillar. Her face is in three-quarter to left. The hair is heaped high over her forehead. Her right leg crosses in front of her left; her left arm is akimbo; a long burning torch rests between her right forearm and upper arm. She wears a peplos, open down the right side, with an overfall, overgirt; cross-bands; and a necklace; has a quiver at her left shoulder. Her belt is studded. The flesh is reserved, not white.

To left of the chariot stands Hermes, leaning, with his left leg crossed in front of his right, his face in three-quarter to right. His right arm is raised, but the hand seems empty. The left arm is lost, but the elbow probably rested on a pillar. He wears a chlamys; a petasos; and boots or high-laced sandals, for which a fragment in St. Louis (FR ii, p. 41) may perhaps be compared. His stance, with the free leg only slightly bent at the knee, so that the foot of the other leg is partly concealed and no daylight shows between the two shanks, is not a very common one. It is repeated in the Hermes on the other side of the vase, and in the Artemis on this side; and the attitude of the Persephone leaning on a pillar in the Eleusinian pelike is not unlike (FR, pl. 70). This is the stance of the Farnese Herakles and the Satyr with the infant Dionysos (Bulle *Der schöne Mensch*, pl. 71 and 72), both Lysippean works; but it occurs as early as the fifth century in the Aphrodite of Daphne (BrBr pl. 673 right).

To right of Hermes' head is something that, whether white originally or gilded, has lost all its inner detail as well as part of its outline. What remains is given more accurately in Pl. Vb than in the drawing. I believe it to be an archaic image of Athena, set high on a column or pillar: seen



from the front, in martial attitude, the shield on the left arm, the right arm raised with the spear; wearing a three-crested helmet, and a wrap over both shoulders, showing to left and right of the body: much as on a fourth-century scaraboid in Boston (*Lewes House Gems*, pl. 3, 57 and p. 53) and the Pergamene coins I compared with it (*JdI*, 3, p. 46).

A woollen fillet, as on the obverse, hangs festooned above the picture: extending from above the outer tip of Nike's wing to above the torch of Artemis—the space above the chariot. There are two tripods, with gilded bowl and rings: one to right of Athena, the other, almost effaced, to left of Nike's head, in front of the wing. Three bucranes are thought of as fastened to the wall of the sanctuary: one to left of Hermes, another between Hermes and Nike, the third between Athena and Artemis. The outer ones have hair left on the forehead, the middle one is bare of hair. The right-hand one is decorated with the usual sacrificial fillet, and the others may have been. Below Artemis, near the lower edge of the picture, is a hydria, seen from behind: it makes one think of the hydria in the Pompeian pictures of Iphigenia in Tauris: from the Casa del Citarista (Herrmann pl. 115), from the House of Pinarius Cerealis (*JdI*, 44, pl. 1; Rizzo *Pittura ellenistico-romana*, pl. 25)—and from the House of L. Caecilius Jucundus (Herrmann pl. 118), for surely there also the vessel is a hydria with the upper part faded.

The only vase that bears much resemblance to the Mina krater in style has been quoted several times already, the Eleusinian pelike in Leningrad (FR, pl. 70, whence, *A* only, Pfuhl fig. 596; Schefold *UKV*, pl. 35 and pp. 125–7), dated by Schefold (*ibid.*) about 330; but the Mina vase is superior, and I cannot say that the two are by the same hand.

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## THE STRATEGI AT ATHENS IN THE FIFTH CENTURY. WHEN DID THEY ENTER ON OFFICE?

IT has been assumed for many years that the Strategi, though elected earlier in the year, did not enter office till the first day of Hecatombaeon (July or August), at the same time as the other yearly magistrates. There was considerable controversy about this in the nineteenth century, but the question was thought to be finally settled then, and it may seem presumptuous to reopen it so long after. But two important discoveries have been made since the 'orthodox' theory was generally adopted; and together they involve certain difficulties, which suggest that the whole question should be reconsidered. These are, first, the recovery of the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία, which fixes the date of the election in the Seventh Prytany (44 § 4); and, second, Merritt's work on the Attic Calendar, which supersedes Keil's system of chronology, and fixes the beginning of the Seventh Prytany in the second week of February.

Both these authorities were unknown to Beloch, whose arguments in favour of the 'orthodox' view (*Attische Politik seit Perikles*) have been generally accepted as the last word on the subject. Beloch's name deservedly carries weight, but his conclusions have perhaps been adopted over-readily by many who have not studied the evidence on which they are based. It will suffice here to say that most of his arguments are devoted to showing that the election took place in April—a date now disproved by the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία—while his arguments with regard to the time of entering on office are slight and unconvincing.

If only Thucydides had given us the full list of Strategi for each year, no doubts could have arisen; unfortunately he was writing for his contemporaries, who knew the facts, and any evidence we can draw from his pages must be indirect. It so happens that neither the Thucydidean evidence nor that of the inscriptions is absolutely decisive for any single year, and we have to weigh probabilities; to the present writer they appear to speak strongly against the 'orthodox' view, but others may naturally estimate them differently. All he would plead here is that readers should forget for the time being that there is an 'orthodox' view, and approach the problem with a perfectly open mind, prepared to follow wherever the argument may lead, with no mental reservations.

It is common ground now that the election took place early in the Seventh Prytany, which began some day in the second week of February.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The wording of the 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεία (44 § 4) is obscure: ποιοῦσι δ' ἀρχαιοτάτας στρατηγῶν οἱ μετὰ τὴν ἑκτὴν πρυτανεύοντες ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν εὐσημεία γένηται. The meaning is naturally assumed to be that the elections were held on the first auspicious day of the Seventh Prytany; but the words might

equally well be translated, 'on any auspicious day after the Sixth Prytany.' Such a vague way of fixing the time of an important annual event, however, seems highly improbable; and the first interpretation is doubtless correct.



On the 'orthodox' view the newly elected Strategi did not enter office till the first day of Hecatombaeon, which might fall as early as 20th June, or as late as 15th August. On the alternative view, they entered office as soon as they had passed the Dokimasia, which in the case of the Strategi can have been little more than a formality, as all the candidates were well-known men, and the questions to be answered (as to Attic birth, etc.) were very simple ones. We hear, in fact, of only one Strategus who was rejected at the Dokimasia—namely, Theramenes—and that was on purely political grounds, because his democratic orthodoxy was in question. On this view, then, the Strategi will usually have entered on their duties before the end of February.

The evidence in favour of the 'orthodox' theory needs to be overwhelming, for all the probabilities are against it. Consider it first from the military point of view. For the first half of the campaigning season, from March to the end of June, in practice only those generals who had been re-elected in February would be eligible for command; for those generals of the previous year who had been rejected at the new election must certainly have suffered in prestige, and must have lost both in self-confidence and in the confidence of the troops; moreover, if the operations lasted into July, they would have to be superseded by new generals, unless their own command was irregularly prolonged. Had it been the Athenian custom to elect the same generals year after year, the problem would have been less acute; but except for a few trusted leaders, such as Pericles, Nicias, Eurymedon and others, they seem to have preferred to give new men a trial. Judging from the imperfect lists we possess, not more than three or four were usually re-elected.

On the other hand, suppose that a new Strategus was chosen because he had distinguished himself in some lower rank during the last year's fighting. The Athenians would naturally wish to test his prowess in the field as soon as possible; but unless an autumn campaign was decided on, he would have to wait over a year before receiving a command. This would hardly have commended itself to the impatient Athenian temper, eager for immediate results. Strategi, again, were often chosen because of special qualifications for special tasks, as in the case of Thucydides in Thrace; a rule which imposed four or five months' delay after their election before they could take over their duties might well prove highly inconvenient to the State.

For an ambitious soldier the path of honour would be beset with difficulties. When he had at last secured the coveted post of Strategus, his chance of seeing active service in the next twelve months was small; only an autumn campaign could give him his chance, and most campaigns started earlier in the year. He might perhaps receive the command of a 'silver-collecting' squadron, but only occasionally did this offer scope for gaining distinction. If he was not re-elected in the following February, he could hardly (as we have seen) receive a command in the new year, and all his period of office would have been spent in official duties at home, for which he might have no special qualifications, while he was denied any opportunity of showing his powers of command in the field.



Beloch tells us, indeed, that 'it would have led to great inconveniences for the government, had the year of office for the Strategi been different from that of the other magistrates.' What these inconveniences would be, he does not mention; but he assures us that they would have far outweighed 'the problematical advantages of avoiding a change of command in the course of a campaign.' I think he underrates the military difficulties; and as the year of office in any case started on different dates for the Boule, the ordinary magistrates, and the Hellenotamiae and other financial officials, whatever inconveniences this entailed would not have been seriously increased if the Strategi, too, had a separate date for entering on their duties.

The military objections to a date in July are formidable; but another still more serious difficulty remains. As Beloch points out, important political questions were generally involved in the election, for the Strategi exerted a powerful influence on foreign policy, and the Radicals and Conservatives were diametrically opposed in their attitude towards Sparta and the war. The election of Strategi was the nearest thing that Athens knew to a General Election, and the election of new Strategi often meant a change of national policy. Supposing that the majority of the new Strategi were Conservatives, replacing a Radical majority on the old Board, is it conceivable that 'the old Government,' (if we may use a modern phrase that is only partly applicable to Athens) should have remained in control for another five months, when the electorate had just shown that they wished for a reversal of policy? No doubt alternative plans for the coming year had already been fully debated in the Ecclesia, and Strategi had been elected who could be trusted to carry out the wishes of the majority; would a discredited 'Government' be left in power for five months, equally unable to pursue their own policy effectively, or to adopt their opponents' policy whole-heartedly? The impatient Athenian temper could hardly have acquiesced in such an arrangement.

It seems far more likely on the face of it that the Strategi entered on their duties before the end of February, as soon as possible after their election; and that this month was chosen for the election because it gave them time to make the necessary preparations, before the campaigning season opened. An expedition would not usually start till after the Great Dionysia in the middle of Elaphebolion (March), and might be delayed till later in the year.

Let us now see whether any light is thrown on the question by certain passages in Thucydides.

#### 1. LACHES IN 426

In October 427 the Athenians sent Laches with twenty ships to Sicily (Thuc. iii 86). In February 425 Pythodorus arrived as *διόδοχος*, and took over the command (Thuc. iii 115). On the 'orthodox' view Laches must have been elected in February 427, but not re-elected in 426; otherwise his *διόδοχος* would not have been due till July 425. From July 426 therefore, till February 425 he was only commanding the fleet as pro-Strategus until his successor arrived.



Why was he not re-elected in 426? If the Athenians were dissatisfied with him, they would surely have chosen a new commander for Sicily in February, who would have taken over the command in July; if they trusted him, why did they not renew his command?

It is much more probable that he *was* re-elected in his absence in February 426, and that his year of office ended in February 425, at which date Pythodorus succeeded him.

## 2. ALCIBIADES IN 420

Early in the summer of 419 Alcibiades appears in the Peloponnese as Strategus at the head of a small Athenian force. On the 'orthodox' theory he must have been elected in February 420, and have entered office in July; but this does not agree very well with the account Thucydides gives of the events of that year.

In April 421 the Peace of Nicias had been concluded; the rest of the year was occupied with negotiations about the execution of its terms. There was growing annoyance at Athens about the delay in fulfilling many of the conditions, and a growing suspicion of the good faith of Sparta; but the peace-party was still in the ascendant, and hope was not yet abandoned that Sparta might be forced to carry out her promises.

Towards the end of the year, however, a change of ephors brought some of the leaders of the war-party into power at Sparta; and a Spartan mission to Thebes, which was trying to induce the Thebans to restore to Athens the fortress of Panactum and the Athenian prisoners she held, made a private treaty of alliance with Thebes (in contravention of the treaty with Athens), and connived at the demolition of Panactum before the place was handed over. This was at the end of February, when the election of Strategi for 420 had already taken place.

There was great indignation at Athens when the Spartan mission entered Attica with the released prisoners and a cynical justification of the demolition of Panactum; and this was increased when the new treaty between Sparta and Thebes became known. Nicias and the leaders of the peace-party were at once thrown on the defensive, and Alcibiades (who had opposed the peace from the first) seized the opportunity to urge an alliance with Argos. This is the first appearance of Alcibiades in the pages of Thucydides, and there is nothing to suggest that previously to this time his record gave him any prospect of being elected Strategus. His high birth, good looks, and brilliant gifts, together with his reckless life and wild escapades, had made him a well-known figure at Athens; but he was trusted by none and had many private enemies. Now, however, he saw his chance; as Pitt first made his mark in politics by his attacks on Walpole, or Disraeli by his denunciations of Peel, so Alcibiades hoped to found his political fortunes by discrediting Nicias, the respected but irresolute leader of the peace-party.

The Spartans, alarmed by the news from Athens, sent a new mission to offer concessions; but Alcibiades, by an unscrupulous manoeuvre, roused the Ecclesia against them, and they were refused a hearing; and when



Nicias, anxious to avoid an irreparable breach, persuaded the Athenians to send him to negotiate at Sparta, he found that the war-party there had again got the upper hand; they refused to give up the Theban alliance or to meet Athens in any way.

Alcibiades now had the ball at his feet; the policy of Nicias and the Conservatives had failed ignominiously, and public opinion had swung completely round against Sparta and in favour of Argos. Representatives of that city were present in the Ecclesia when Nicias rose to report his failure; and on the motion of Alcibiades the house at once decided to accept the alliance they offered. It was only now that Alcibiades could stand for the Strategia with every prospect of success; Plutarch, indeed, tells us that the Athenians made him Strategus immediately after he had engineered the breach with Sparta. Strictly speaking, this could not be the case, for no election was possible till the ensuing February; but Plutarch, who has followed throughout the account of Thucydides, has drawn the correct conclusion that the Strategia was the result of his political triumph.

Busolt, who adopts Keil's system of chronology and puts the Seventh Prytany of 421-20 in March, thinks that the election of Alcibiades was a consequence of the Spartan alliance with Thebes; but, as we have seen, the election was actually over before news of this alliance could reach Athens; and even at a later stage public opinion was still so strongly in favour of an honourable peace with Sparta that Alcibiades did not dare to let the Spartan mission discuss terms of settlement in the Ecclesia (λέγοντες ἐν τῇ βουλῇ [οἱ πρέσβεις] . . . τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐφόβουν μὴ καὶ ἦν ἐς τὸν δῆμον ταῦτα λέγωνσιν ἐπαγάγωνται τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἀπωσθῇ ἡ Ἀργείων συμμαχία. Thuc. v 45, 1). Only after Nicias had been contemptuously dismissed from Sparta did the Athenians finally lose patience and turn to Argos; and only then did Alcibiades come into his own.

Again, it is most unlikely that if Alcibiades was elected Strategus in 420 and entered office in July, he should have let the rest of the year go by without taking some active measures in the Peloponnese. He certainly believed in striking while the iron was hot, and if he failed to exploit the popular indignation against Sparta when it was at its height, the peace-party, still numerous and influential, would have time to rally, and might once more gain the upper hand. As a matter of fact we gather from Thucydides that a period of doubt and hesitation followed, and it was not until the following March that Alcibiades embarked on those extensive operations in the Peloponnese by which he hoped to isolate and cripple Sparta without directly attacking her in the field.

Busolt quotes a sentence of Thucydides (ἔτυχον παρόντες οἱ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ σύμμαχοι παραγαγόντος τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου [Thuc. v 46, 5]) which he thinks proves that Alcibiades was Strategus at the time when the Ecclesia decided to make the treaty with Argos. It is true that on the first arrival of a foreign mission at Athens a Strategus had to introduce them when they appeared before the Boule 'to present their credentials'; but on this occasion they were merely present as visitors at a meeting of the Ecclesia, and would naturally be introduced by Alcibiades as Proxenus of Argos. Even on the 'orthodox' theory he can hardly have been Strategus then, for the



meeting must have taken place before the beginning of Hecatombaeon, when the Strategi are supposed to have entered on office. The treaty was actually signed (according to Busolt) about 11th July, and as it is a long document, some weeks at least must have been taken up in discussions between Athens and Argos before it took final shape. The original meeting, therefore, cannot have been held much later than the beginning of June, while the 1st of Hecatombaeon fell in this year on 1st July.

The probability, then, seems to be that Alcibiades was elected Strategus for the first time in February 419, and shortly after began to carry out his plans for intervention in the Peloponnese.

### 3. DIITREPHESES IN 411

Pisander returned to Samos from his abortive interview with Tissaphernes towards the end of February. Not very long after (apparently some time in March) the oligarchs who were in control at Samos sent Pisander and others to Athens to establish the oligarchy there; on their way they were to visit as many of the islands as possible and set up local oligarchies: καὶ Διιτρέφη, ὄντα περὶ Χίου ἡρημένον δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἀρχεῖν, ἀπέστελλον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν (Thuc. viii 64). Diitrephes, who was presumably serving as trierarch in the fleet at Chios, had in the preceding month been elected in his absence to command on the Thracian coast. He is now directed to take up his command.

Here the facts are clear, and even Beloch admits that the 'orthodox' theory does not apply. Its defenders must take refuge in the plea that in a revolutionary year the ordinary rules went by the board; it is simpler to assume that Diitrephes entered on his duties in the ordinary way as soon as he received official instructions to do so.

### 4. DEMOSTHENES IN 426 AND 425

It so happens that we have an unusually full account in Thucydides of the events of these two years, and it should be possible to gain some light from them as to the time at which the Strategi entered office. Müller-Strübing thought he had proved from the case of Demosthenes that the election fell in winter, and that a Strategus held office until the date of the next election; Droysen disputed this, and claimed to have proved, from the same pages of Thucydides, that a Strategus did not enter on his year of office till July. Beloch, also, assures us that 'the account of Thucydides completely excludes the possibility of Demosthenes entering on office in the winter or spring'; but even this pontifical utterance must not discourage us from re-examining the evidence.

On the 'orthodox' view, Demosthenes was first elected in February 427; he was not re-elected in 426, but was given command of the expedition that sailed to Leucas in the early summer of that year. He suffered a serious defeat in Aetolia, probably about the beginning of August; the fleet at once returned home, but, although his year of office was over, he did not accompany it, fearing his probable reception at Athens. He stayed on



in the neighbourhood of Naupactus, where, in the absence of a regular Strategus, he seems to have assumed military control. In the later operations of the year he was invited by the Acarnanians to command them against a Peloponnesian force, and won a brilliant victory. Before this, two new Strategi had arrived from Athens, but did not interfere with him in any way.

Returning home, he was elected Strategus for the new year 425, and then, 'at his own request,' sailed on board a fleet destined for Sicily, with a special commission authorising him to employ the ships, at his discretion, on the west coast of the Peloponnese. When he tried to exercise this commission, the Strategi on board refused to listen to him, and it was only by the accident of bad weather which delayed the fleet, that he was able to carry out his intention and fortify the promontory of Pylos.

Later in the year we find him referred to as 'one of the generals at Pylos.'

There is a good deal that is mysterious in this account; but if we adopt the 'orthodox' view, three special difficulties present themselves.

1. Demosthenes was a keen and ambitious soldier; he had been Strategus (we are told) in 427, but, so far as we know, had not yet commanded in the field. He must surely have been a candidate for office at the election in 426, but for some reason failed to secure re-election. Is it likely that the Athenians, shortly after rejecting him as general for the year, should have selected him for an important command? For this was not one of the 'Tip-and-Run' excursions round the Peloponnese with which we are familiar: the 300 Epibatae on board were not drawn from the Thetes, as usual, but from the hoplite-class (for Thucydides says of those who fell in Aetolia that 'they were the very best men who fell in the war'); and the hoplite-class would only be called on if important operations on land were intended. It is easy to see what those operations were to be; contingents from Corcyra, Cephallenia, Zacynthus and Acarnania were called up, and a serious attack on the Corinthian settlements on the coast was designed. Corinth had been making great efforts to extend her authority in Acarnania and to win back Corcyra; this was to be the Athenian counter-stroke. It opened with an attack on Leucas; the enemy was driven within the walls and preparations for a siege were begun. But a siege was a tedious operation, and Demosthenes was tempted by a grandiose scheme which the Messenians of Naupactus suggested—an advance through Aetolia that would culminate in an unexpected attack on Boeotia from the west. This meant completely abandoning the original plan of campaign, and naturally the Acarnanians and Corcyraeans protested; as Demosthenes refused to listen, they both returned home.

Now, the campaign as originally planned was obviously a major operation, and must have been entrusted to a general in whom the Athenians had full confidence; yet if they did not re-elect Demosthenes in 426, they cannot have rated his abilities very highly. In any case, it would be inconvenient to have in command a general whose term of office ended in July; for if the operations proceeded favourably, they might very well continue till much later in the year.



It seems more probable that he *was* elected Strategus (perhaps for the first time) in 426; and that his past record as a subordinate officer, combined with his daring and sanguine temper, led the Athenians to entrust him with this important command.

2. When the fighting in Aetolia took place, the Strategia to which Demosthenes was *ex hypothesi* elected in 427 had already (on the 'orthodox' view) in all probability run out. The fleet which he commanded at once returned home, as Greek expeditions usually did after a serious reverse; but Demosthenes remained behind 'fearing the Athenians.' He had every reason to do so. Success alone could have justified his rash undertaking; the Athenians were not a patient people, and he could expect little leniency at their hands.

But what excuse could he make for remaining behind? No doubt a time-expired Strategus normally continued to exercise his functions till the arrival of his successor; but it was a very different thing for a discredited general, who had already despatched home the force he commanded, to assume on his own authority what was virtually a new command. And this is what Demosthenes seems to have done; he remained 'in the neighbourhood of Naupactus'; and when a Peloponnesian force under Eurymachus threatened the town, it was he who took measures to secure its safety. He sailed to Acarnania, apparently with the ships of Zacynthus and Cephalonia, made his peace with the Acarnanians, and brought back a thousand hoplites to reinforce the garrison. Later on, when the Peloponnesians marched into Acarnania, the Acarnanians appealed to him for help, and he joined them at the head of the Ambracian Gulf with a force of Messenian hoplites and some Athenian archers who were stationed at Naupactus. The Acarnanians had also sent for help to two Athenian Strategi who were on their way with twenty ships to take command at Naupactus; and these entered the gulf just before Demosthenes arrived. His self-imposed duties would now seem to be at an end, for the authority he had previously exercised could only be excused by the absence of a regular Strategus. The newly arrived Strategi, however, made no effort to take control, but left the whole credit of the victory to Demosthenes.

How is this to be explained? Athenian patriotism was not usually of the self-effacing type, and the behaviour of these Strategi is in striking contrast to that of Eurymedon and Sophocles in the following year, when Demosthenes was officially in a far stronger position, armed as he was with a special commission from Athens. Even if the independent Acarnanians chose to keep Demosthenes as one of their leaders, the Messenians and the Athenian archers would have had to obey the new Strategi; and if things had gone wrong at Olpae, Aristoteles and Hierophon, not the ex-Strategus Demosthenes, would have been held responsible at Athens. They might have found it difficult to explain there why they had allowed the general responsible for the Aetolian disaster to involve Athens in yet another defeat.

All things considered, it seems easier to suppose that Demosthenes was a full Strategus throughout 426 and was simply exercising the authority inherent in his office.

3. Thuc. iv 2. Δημοσθένης δὲ ὄντι ἰδιώτῃ μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας



ἀναχώρησιν αὐτῷ δεηθέντι εἶπον χρῆσθαι ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις, ἣν βούληται, περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον.

Thucydides notes three unusual points in the commission granted to Demosthenes; he was a 'private citizen' at the time; he himself asked for the commission; and he was empowered to overrule the admirals in command when the fleet reached the west coast of the Peloponnese.

It is sometimes argued that Demosthenes sailed on the fleet as an ἰδιώτης; but this is not what Thucydides says, nor is it in accordance with the facts. A man could not possibly be described as 'a private citizen' who had just received such a wide commission and who was authorised to command troops in the field; it at once put him on a level with the other Strategi. The word ἰδιώτης also seems to contradict the idea that Demosthenes was Strategus-elect at this time, for it is hardly conceivable that a Strategus-elect could be thus described in the interval between his election and his time for entering on office.

The words ἰδιώτη ὄντι μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Ἀκαρνανίας ἀναχώρησιν, taken in their natural sense, simply tell us that Demosthenes had been a private citizen since his return from Acarnania. This would exactly suit the facts if his last Strategia ran out in February 425 and he was not then re-elected. He would thus be an ἰδιώτης in the full sense of the word when he received his new commission towards the end of April.

If we adopt the alternative theory as advocated in this article, we have to assume that Demosthenes was elected Strategus (probably for the first time) in February 426, held the Strategia till February 425, when he was not re-elected; and in April, 'as a private citizen,' received a special commission which authorised him to employ the fleet that was starting for Sicily in some enterprise on the west coast of the Peloponnese which was not divulged at the time. In spite of difficulties with the fleet-commanders, he succeeded in carrying out the first part of his design, the construction of a fort at Pylos, where he was left as commandant with five ships while the rest of the fleet continued on its way to Corcyra.

It was recalled by the news of the Peloponnesian concentration at Pylos; the Peloponnesian fleet was defeated, and their garrison on Sphacteria cut off. Eurymedon and Sophocles, the fleet-commanders, and Demosthenes, commandant of the fort, jointly conducted the operations on the spot until Nicias, in the name of the Strategi, surrendered the supreme command to Cleon. Cleon thereupon chose Demosthenes, 'one of the Strategi at Pylos,' to act with him, 'because he was informed that he had a design for landing on the island'; and this design was shortly after successfully carried out.

The objections raised to this view are based on the following isolated words or phrases in Thucydides, which are perhaps somewhat unduly pressed.

1. Δημοσθένης ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (Thuc. iii 102). Demosthenes is reintroduced here, after a short digression, showing that an interval had elapsed since he was last mentioned. The Peloponnesians under Eurymedon are now approaching Naupactus, and Demosthenes proceeds to



Acarnania and persuades the Acarnanians to reinforce the garrison. 'If he was still Strategus,' runs the argument, 'Thucydides *must* have said, Δημοσθένης ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατηγός.' Thucydides, however, does *not* always speak of the Strategi by their official title; just below he speaks of the twenty Athenian ships ὧν ἦρχον Ἀριστοτέλης καὶ Ἱερόφων; and Aristoteles and Hierophon were certainly Strategi. If any explanation is needed of such a natural phrase as 'Demosthenes the Athenian,' the anomalous position that Demosthenes occupied at the time—an Athenian general in foreign parts without any Athenian troops to command—seems quite sufficient.

2. Πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ Δημοσθένην τὸν ἐξ τῆν Αἰτωλίαν στρατηγήσαντα (Thuc. iii 105, 2). It is surely putting a forced meaning on these words to make them carry the sense, 'who had been Strategus in Aetolia, and had now ceased to be Strategus.' All Thucydides says is that the Acarnanians in the hour of danger send for help to Demosthenes, the very man with whom, he drily reminds us, they had quarrelled because he insisted on marching into Aetolia!

3. Τῶν ἐν Πύλῳ στρατηγῶν ἓνα προσελόμενος Δημοσθένην (Thuc. iv 29). Cleon in August 425 chose as his colleague Demosthenes, one of the generals at Pylos. Demosthenes (we are told), was elected Strategus in February; Thucydides describes him as ἰδιώτης in April (a strange term, as we have seen, to apply to a Strategus-elect!); and now describes him as Strategus, because he had entered on his duties at the beginning of Hecatombaeon. But he had already been authorised to command troops in the field by the commission he received in April, and had actually commanded troops at Pylos for more than two months; surely this entitled him to be described as Strategus, even if he was not one of the Board of Ten. For the word Strategus is actually used in two ways: it is applied in a narrower sense to a member of the Board of Ten, and in a wider sense to any independent commander in the field. In normal times, every Athenian officer holding an independent command was himself one of the Board of Ten; but towards the end of the war, when hostilities were taking place simultaneously at many different points, power had sometimes to be delegated to subordinate officers, and these were also known as Strategi. Thus in 407, when Conon, who was besieging Andros, was transferred to the command of the main fleet, his place was taken by Phanosthenes, a loyal native of Andros, who as a foreigner could of course not be one of the Ten. Yet in Plato (*Ion* 541) we read that 'the Athenians chose Phanosthenes the Andrian as *one of their own Strategi*, though he was a foreigner'; and in the same passage two other foreigners, Apollodorus of Cyzicus and Heraclides of Clazomenae, are mentioned as having held the same rank.

Demosthenes therefore is correctly described here as Strategus,<sup>2</sup> even though he was not at the time one of the Ten.

<sup>2</sup> An inscription (IG. i<sup>2</sup> 324) contains the words, παρέδωκαν οἱ ταμίαι . . . στρατηγοῖς περὶ Πελοπόννησον Δημοσθένει . . . πρυτανείας τετάρτης. This payment was made in October 425, some time after the capture of Sphacteria. Demosthenes was at that time doubly entitled to the designation

στρατηγός, first (as shown above), because, though not one of the Ten, he was holding an independent military command; secondly, because he had been selected by Cleon to share the command bestowed on him by the vote of the Ecclesia.



So far the alternative theory seems to fit the recorded facts better than the 'orthodox' theory; but there are still some obscure points in the events of these two years, two of which we must consider in greater detail.

### 1. DEMOSTHENES IN THE AUTUMN OF 426

Even if we assume that Demosthenes was still Strategus in August 426, how was it that he ventured to stay behind at Naupactus when the fleet sailed home? Quite apart from his unwillingness to face the Athenians, he had strong grounds to justify his action. With the departure of the Athenian fleet the vital naval base was left to itself except for the ships from Cephallenia and Zacynthus, on which the responsibility of watching the Straits now devolved, until a new fleet could be sent out from Athens; and the presence of an Athenian Strategus was on every ground desirable. These ships formed part of the combined force which Demosthenes had commanded earlier in the year, and he now apparently 'transferred his flag' to them; for the words *περὶ Ναύπακτον καὶ τὰ χωρία ταῦτα* seem to imply that he was cruising in the neighbourhood, and not stationed in the town.

During the later operations of the year he was, in fact, carrying out the duty originally assigned to him, that of striking at the Corinthian strongholds on the West coast; and the new Strategi, who were simply sent out to command at Naupactus (Thuc. iii 114), recognised the position he held as the general on the spot, and co-operated with him loyally.

### 2. THE ELECTION OF 425

How did it happen that the victor of Olpae was not re-elected in 425? Only one answer to this question seems possible; at the time of the election news of the victory had not yet reached Athens, and Demosthenes was still thought of as the general who had failed in Aetolia.

We cannot fix the exact date of the battle of Olpae, but from what Thucydides tells us, it is hardly possible to put it earlier than the beginning of December, and it may have fallen much later in the month. Immediately after the battle Demosthenes took steps to inform the Athenians at home of his victory; a third part of the spoils was assigned to Athens, and these he sent off by sea; but the vessel carrying them was captured on the way, so that his despatches never arrived. He himself had no apprehension now about his reception in Athens; he could count, in fact, on the renewal of his command in the West, and began to consider his future plans. His first design, the capture of Ambracia, miscarried; for the Acarnanians had no wish to see the Athenians established there, and made a separate peace with the Ambraciots; but a tempting scheme for the new year was suggested by the Messenians, who pointed out that the occupation of Pylos, with its threat of a Helot revolt, would be a deadly blow to Sparta. Demosthenes agreed, and together they worked out the details of the scheme. He can hardly have sailed for Athens before the middle of January.

There was little direct communication except by sea with the West of Greece, and the first rumours of the victory probably reached Athens when



the Peloponnesians who fought at Olpae returned to their homes. The fugitives first took refuge with Salynthius, a friendly prince of the Agraeans, and then made their way to Oeniadae, where there was further delay before they got permission from the Acarnanians to leave the town by sea. Corinth, therefore, cannot have heard of the battle very long before Demosthenes started for Athens.

The first day of the Seventh Prytany 426-5 fell on 7th February, and on 8th February the Lenaea began, which would put the date of the election a little later than usual. Rumours of the fight must surely have reached Athens by the end of January, and probably Demosthenes himself had already arrived. It is true he was unaware of the accident that had overtaken the vessel he sent off, but in any case he would have tried to be at Athens in time for the elections, as these were always hotly contested, and the actual presence of a victorious general would count for more than the most eloquent despatches he might send. The difficulty therefore still remains: why was he not re-elected?

The real explanation is perhaps to be found in Thucydides iii 115, where a good deal more is implied than is expressed. It will be necessary to turn back for a short distance to affairs in Sicily. The hope of extending her trade and influence here and in South Italy was no new thing at Athens; and though the treaty of 445 for the time left Corinth undisputed mistress of the situation, the Athenians had not really abandoned their ambitions in the West. When in 427 Leontini and her allies appealed for help against Syracusan aggression, the Athenians despatched Laches with twenty ships 'ostensibly on the ground of their common Ionian blood, but really because they wished to stop the importation of corn into the Peloponnese, and to explore the ground with regard to a possible extension of their power over Sicily' (Thuc. iii 86). Laches attempted various small enterprises, sometimes with success; but the Syracusans were overwhelmingly strong on land, and later prepared to raise a fleet to cope with the Athenians at sea. Accordingly towards the end of 426 a new embassy from the allies appeared at Athens, begging for the despatch of a larger force. Disappointed in their sanguine hopes, the Athenians looked round for a scapegoat, and as Laches was a prominent Conservative, the Radicals decided that he must be responsible for the failure—no doubt he had been bribed by the enemy. His friends naturally repudiated the charge with indignation, and there must have been hot debates in the Ecclesia. Finally, it was decided to despatch a larger fleet in the spring under new commanders, and to send one of them in advance with a few ships to take over the command from Laches, whose term of office was just ending. 'They fitted out 40 ships to despatch to Sicily, as they thought that this would bring the war to a successful conclusion; at the same time they wished to give their fleet practice. They despatched Pythodorus, one of the generals, with a few ships; Sophocles and Eurymedon were to follow with the main force' (Thuc. iii 115). We can fix the dates with tolerable accuracy; Pythodorus took over the ships of Laches at Rhegium, and then sailed to attack a fort in South Italy *τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος*—that is to say, about the end of February. He must therefore have left Athens not later



than the beginning of the month, and the decision of the Ecclesia must have been taken some time in January; so that either the three generals were chosen from among the ten elected in February 426, or the election of 425 was held about a month earlier than usual. The objections are obvious to choosing for this important command men whose year of office was just closing, and it is more probable that the second alternative is the correct one. Eurymedon had been Strategus in 427 and 426, but this is the first we hear of Sophocles and Pythodorus; and as re-elections seem to have been the exception rather than the rule, it is unlikely that both of them, as well as Eurymedon, were Strategi in the preceding year.

Clearly great importance was attached to replacing Laches as soon as his term of office ended; and if Pythodorus seemed specially qualified to take his place, but had not been Strategus in 426, it would be necessary to ante-date the elections if he was to reach Sicily as Strategus early in February. If (as we have assumed) the chief reason for holding the elections in the Seventh Prytany was that the new Strategi might be available for a campaign in the spring, it is natural enough that the date should be changed to meet such exceptional circumstances as this.

This explains both how Demosthenes arrived too late for the election, and how at the time of the election no rumour of his victory had yet filtered through to Athens; and we shall find a striking corroboration of this change of date in the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes, which was produced at the Lenaea of this year, shortly before the date at which the election would naturally have been held.

#### EVIDENCE OF *The Acharnians* (593-619)

Reading the play as a whole, and remembering the date of its production, we should be tempted to put it down as a brilliant piece of electioneering propaganda in support of the Conservative peace-policy, and say that the poet hoped to influence votes in the forthcoming election and to secure the rejection of candidates like Lamachus, who were eager for a forward policy and intensification of warlike efforts. If so, Aristophanes obviously believed that his play would be produced before the election took place; otherwise he would only be wasting his pains.

The poet's attempt seemed well-timed. The war had now lasted for nearly six years, and none of the hopes with which the Athenians started had been fulfilled. Their supremacy at sea was undisputed, but it seemed to have little effect in bringing victory nearer, while the cost of keeping large fleets in commission drained their resources. The Corcyrean alliance from which so much was hoped had proved a burden rather than an asset. In normal times the bulk of the population still worked on the land; and for six years they had seen their harvest destroyed and their houses burnt, and for weeks at a time had been cooped up inside the walls in miserable and insanitary quarters, while the repeated ravages of the plague had swept away more than a quarter of the population. The cost of provisions and other necessities had risen, making life in the city still more difficult; and even when the invaders retired, the country people had little heart to begin



repairing the damage on their ruined farms, knowing that the next spring would see the spoilers at work again. Abroad, though Potidaea and Mitylene had been recovered, the cost had been ruinous, while the widespread revolt in Chalcidice was as far as ever from being put down. Discontent among the subject-States was spreading; the fall of Plataea had shown how powerless Athens was to help her friends; and the attempt to redress the balance by a success in the West had ended in the recent Aetolian disaster. Surely by this time the ordinary Athenian must be heartily sick of the war!

The play is very skilfully constructed, for the war-party was still strong, and Aristophanes knows that he is skating on thin ice. National prejudices are tenderly handled, any sympathy for Sparta is repudiated, and the Conservative case, though strongly and convincingly put, is embellished with so many unexpected turns and so much witty exaggeration that indignation would evaporate in laughter. Lamachus, who is introduced as a foil to the chief character Dicaeopolis, had distinguished himself in the fighting in Aetolia, where he had been wounded. Since his return he had apparently been canvassing vigorously for votes and was not deterred by false modesty from describing in somewhat glowing language his own personal prowess during the disastrous retreat. Nothing could suit Aristophanes better. Lamachus, though a good soldier, was a plain man of the people with no influential connections, at whose expense the poet could afford to make merry; and the play ends with the discomfiture of the fire-eating swash-buckler and the triumph of the honest peace-loving farmer. The champion of the war-party with his Gorgon-shield and nodding plumes is a pure figure of fun; he first appears to provide the comic relief after Dicaeopolis (in the character of Telephus) has finished his earnest appeal for peace, in which all the folly of war-mongering is exposed. Half the Chorus is convinced; the other half call on Lamachus to come and confound the arch-deceiver who would betray his country:

‘Ho, Lamachus, my trusty fellow-tribesman, appear with Gorgon-crest and lightning in thine eyes; or if there be any *taxiarch* or *Strategus* or leader of a forlorn hope, let him bring speedy aid, for our need is sore.’ (566-571)

We should naturally expect the usual ‘Agon’ to follow between Dicaeopolis and Lamachus, with the fun fast and furious, Lamachus beating the patriotic drum and Dicaeopolis getting in one blow after another, till at last the remainder of the Chorus is convinced and Lamachus stalks out discomfited. The first twenty lines quite fulfil expectations, but then suddenly the whole tone changes, as anyone may see who carefully studies the lines that follow (593-619):—

*Lam.* This of the general? And you a beggar!

*Dic.* What? I a beggar?

*Lam.* Well, what are you then?

*Dic.* A good Athenian I, no Captain Place-Man,  
But since the war began, plain Private Hard-Work;  
While since the war began, you’re Colonel Full-Pay!

*Lam.* I was elected—



- Dic.* By three cuckoo-birds!  
 I loathe these tricks; that's why I made the peace.  
 To see old grey-beards serving in the ranks,  
 While run-aways like you must serve abroad  
 For eighteen shillings daily—some in Thrace,  
 (Tisamenophaenippus, Rogue-Hipparchides),  
 Others with Chares, others in Chaonia,  
 (Diomeio-scamp, Geretothedorus),  
 In Camarina, Gela, Cata-wampus!
- Lam.* They were elected!
- Dic.* Yes, but what's the reason  
 That somehow *you* should all be drawing pay,  
 And none of these? Tell me, Marilades,  
 Have *you* been sent to represent the state  
 In all these years? Your hair is white enough.—  
 He shakes his head; yet he's an honest worker.—  
 Dracyllus, Prinides, Euphorides,  
 Has one of *you* yet seen Ecbatana  
 Or the Chaonians?—All of them say, No;  
 Lamachus, and that lad of Coesyra's,  
 They get the jobs; though but the other day,  
 What with their debts and dining-clubs and all,  
 Their friends were crying out with one accord,  
 (Like folks at sundown emptying slops), 'Stand clear!'
- Lam.* Democracy! Is this to be allowed?
- Dic.* Never!—if Lamachus can't find a job!
- Lam.* Well, I at least will fight the hosts of Sparta  
 For ever, and will plague them everywhere,  
 By sea and on the land, with all my might!
- Dic.* And I proclaim to all the hosts of Sparta,  
 To the Boeotians and Megarians,  
 To come and trade—with me, but not with *him*!

Then as the actors leave the stage, the Chorus winds up with the words:

'He's gained his cause, and the Commons' applause approves  
 the peace—'

a curious conclusion, as practically nothing has been said about the peace, nor is there a word about the hostile part of the Chorus being won over; Dicaeopolis has merely been abusing certain individuals, some with very strange names, who have lately been elected to hold office. One of these is Lamachus, who has been elected Strategus; and this is all the more remarkable because twenty-four lines earlier Lamachus was clearly not a Strategus at all! So glaring a contradiction has tempted some editors to tamper with the text in line 569 and omit the word στρατηγός altogether, but to no purpose; for later in the play we find Lamachus again a subordinate officer, loudly abusing the Strategi, who have sent orders that he should march out in the snow and watch for raiders from Boeotia, instead of enjoying the Pitcher-Feast. Of course a comic poet is not bound to be consistent, but what point is there in making Lamachus a Strategus here, if all the audience knew that he was nothing of the kind?

The poet seems to be very angry about something, and to resent the election of Lamachus almost as a personal grievance; the good-natured buffoonery with which the scene started has vanished. Dicaeopolis, we



are now told, has made his private peace not because he hates the war and wants to get back to his farm, but apparently on high moral grounds, as a protest against the way in which worthless officials are getting jobs. *ἐχειροτόνησαν—ἐχειροτονήθησαν*—the emphatic repetition of the word strikes the keynote of the passage; so if Lamachus has recently been elected Strategus, the other individuals referred to were probably elected Strategi along with him. But how comes it that they are already Strategi at the time the play was produced?

The answer to this question is to be found in the earlier date at which, as we have seen, the elections of 425 were probably held. This change of date had an unexpected and most unwelcome result for two individuals: it cost Demosthenes the renewal of his command, on which he was counting, and it ruined the effect which Aristophanes was hoping to produce by his new play. To the poet's surprise and disgust, eight fighting generals were chosen instead of cautious Strategi, who would have worked for peace with Sparta. He had completely misread the temper of his countrymen; as so often in their history, misfortune, instead of cowing them, only roused them to fresh efforts, and though they chose as usual the prudent and trusted Nicias, with apparently one like-minded colleague, they joined with him as generals the men whom they thought most likely to carry through an active and vigorous policy.

Both as poet and as politician Aristophanes was bitterly disappointed. His play, brilliant as it was, had lost most of its point, and Lamachus, at whose expense he had been making merry, was actually one of the new generals. There was no time to recast the play; all he could do was to cut out most of the 'Agon' between Lamachus and Dicaeopolis (which would only have caused the Philistines to triumph, now that the poet's hopes had been so completely falsified), and to insert a few lines recognising the new situation, while at the same time he relieved his own feelings by some hearty abuse of the new generals, insinuating that they had only been elected by a snatch vote of those accursed Radicals ('three cuckoo-birds'). The inserted lines are not particularly witty, but that is to be excused by the circumstances under which they were written. They are almost all assigned to Dicaeopolis, so only the leading actor would have any new words to learn, and the rehearsals would not be seriously interrupted. Time did not allow of any artistic adjustment; the passage is introduced (line 593) by a repetition of line 578 with a slight alteration, and ends abruptly at line 619 with no attempt to link it up with the concluding lines of the vanished 'Agon' (620-625).

It was Müller-Strübing who first recognised the incompatibility of these lines with their context, and who rightly saw that the generals of 425 are here referred to; but when he argued that the Strategi were regularly elected in January *before* the date of the Lenaea (the evidence of the Constitution of Athens not being available when he wrote), he failed to give a satisfactory explanation of the last-hour alteration in the play. If Aristophanes knew that the election would take place before the *Acharnians* was produced, the play would have been constructed on very different lines. However confident he might be of the result, he must have recognised at



least the possibility of a Radical victory and not have burnt his boats behind him as he has done. Only one explanation seems possible: he believed until the last moment that the election would be held at the usual date, and that his new play would help to turn the scale in favour of the Conservative candidates.

Beloch naturally finds any arguments against the 'orthodox' theory based on this passage 'pure phantasy'; but it seems to be generally agreed to-day that the Strategi of 425 (Eurymedon and his colleagues) are here referred to, though it is, of course, assumed that they were elected early in 426, entered office in July of that year, and would continue to hold office till July 425. (The difficulty that Lamachus was not originally one of their number, Busolt gets over by supposing that he was elected later to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Procles in Aetolia.) But this supposition hardly suits the passionate tone of the lines in question. The feeling excited by an election held nearly a year previously would surely have subsided by this time, while in the passage before us the air is still filled with the dust of conflict, the abusive nick-names are redolent of the hustings, and everything suggests the morrow of a stormy and strenuous election campaign.

Assuming for the moment that Aristophanes has the Strategi of 425 in mind, let us see what further light we can gain from these lines. Eight separate individuals are referred to (for the plurals employed are contemptuously used in the sense, 'Men like So-and-So'). They are: (1) Lamachus; (2) Tisamenophaenippus, in *Thrace*; (3) Rogue-Hipparchides, in *Thrace*; (4) ὁ παρὰ Χάρητι; (5) Diomeio-Scamp, in *Chaonia*; (6) Geretothcodorus, in *Chaonia*; (7) an unnamed general, in *Sicily*; (8) ὁ Κοισύρας; the audience being, of course, expected to recognise the real names concealed under the comic designations. There is no need to assume that these eight were all Radicals; some, no doubt, were plain soldiers, not concerned with politics; but none of them can have been active supporters of the peace-party which Aristophanes was backing.

In Thucydides' account of 425 we find the names of only five Strategi, for he never mentions the generals of any given year except when the course of events brings one of them on the scene. One of these (Simonides) is found in *Thrace*; two (Eurymedon and Sophocles) visit *Corcyra* on their way to *Sicily*; one (Pythodorus) goes direct to *Sicily*. *Corcyra* at once suggests 'the *Chaonians*,' for the *Corcyraean* oligarchs were established on the coast of *Epirus* and enlisted many of the natives in their service; the *Chaonians* were an important tribe in those parts, and their name (with its suggestion of 'Gaping Fools') was a favourite one with Aristophanes. Four of the five Thucydidean Strategi are thus easily identified in the list of Aristophanes; the fifth, Nicias, the Conservative leader, naturally finds no place there.

Though Thucydides does not mention Lamachus in the course of this year, he was commanding a squadron in 424, and there is no difficulty in supposing that he was Strategus also in 425.

Of the unnamed general 'serving with Chares' nothing can be



conjectured, as neither Thucydides nor any other writer mentions the name of Chares.

There is little doubt that Müller-Strübing is right in identifying ὁ Κοισύρας with Hippocrates, the nephew of Pericles, who was Strategus in 426, and who commanded at Delium in 424; we should expect therefore to find him Strategus in 425 as well. Coesyra, daughter of the famous Alcmaeonid Megacles, and great-aunt of Pericles, had been married to Pisistratus; by birth she belonged to the family of 'The Accursed,' by marriage to the tyrant's house. Since the death of Pericles Hippocrates was the chief representative of the Alcmaeonids, and one of the most active leaders of the war-party.

A less certain but very tempting identification of Müller-Strübing's is that of 'Rogue-Hipparchides' with Thucydides the historian. 'Hipparchides' points to a descendant of the Pisistratidae (Hipparchus, not Hippias, was the boggy-man of Athenian tradition); and Thucydides, the wealthy landowner from Thrace, was well known as belonging to that family. The substitution of 'Hipparchides' for Thucydides follows a common practice of Aristophanes in such cases (so, 'Marpsias' for Ctesias, 'Labes' for Laches). Thucydides, as we know, was commanding in Thrace against Brasidas in the following year. He may well have been sent out first in 425, for Athens greatly needed a representative in those parts with local influence and knowledge. It was clear that the Chalcidian revolt could not be put down without Thracian help, and there were divided counsels at the court of Sitalces at this time—an Athenian party, headed by his son Sadocus, and a Macedonian party, headed by his nephew Seuthes. A special mission to Sitalces led by Theorus, of which we hear in this play, had only recently returned, apparently without much success; and no better choice for the new representative of Athens could be made than that of Thucydides, himself partly of Thracian blood, personally acquainted with many of the Thracian chiefs, and owning property on the coast.

Aristophanes, as we know, had little faith in Thracian co-operation, which in his opinion only meant throwing good money after bad; so naturally he had no use for the new appointment. If we are shocked to find such uncomplimentary language applied to so austere and dignified a personage, let us remember the traditions of Athenian political warfare, and the treatment that the Olympian Pericles himself experienced at the hands of the comic poets. Reflections on their birth and upbringing was what all public men had to expect; and if we do not hear from Aristophanes, that most of the new Strategi were bastards and the sons of slave-mothers, that is only because they had just passed the Dokimasia which guaranteed that they were full-born Athenians. The poet does the best he can; the Curse on the Alcmaeonids could still rouse superstitious alarm among the ignorant, and mention of the Tyrant's house was still as effective as the cry of 'No Popery' in eighteenth-century England. In the present case Hippocrates and Thucydides offered a fair target; but in the *Knights* we find precisely the same compliments exchanged between the Paphlagonian and the Sausage-Seller. (*Eq.* 445-9.)



- P. I say you were a bantling nursed  
Within the house by Heaven accursed!  
S. Your grandfather I here accuse  
Of serving in the guard—  
P. In whose?  
S. Of Byrsine, the tyrant's seed!

Similarly, accusations of bribery are a commonplace of political denunciation; here we are simply told that the generals are extravagantly overpaid—they get three drachmae a day! This can hardly be an invention of Aristophanes, for his audience knew the facts. A hoplite usually received one drachma, for himself and his servant; and however simple the headquarters organisation in a Greek army, the commanding officer would require, among other things, a few personal attendants of his own, whose rations he would have to provide. His allowance therefore would not do much more than cover his out-of-pocket expenses; but it is sufficient for the poet's immediate purpose that where honest 'Private Hard-Work' gets one drachma, 'Colonel Full-Pay' gets three!

Hippocrates, in spite of his lineage, seems like Lamachus to have been badly off financially; Pericles himself, we know, was not a rich man. The sneer at their poverty in lines 614–617 is quite in keeping with the chivalry of the times; just as in line 601 the gallant Lamachus is stigmatised as a run-away, because he had been involved in the general retreat in Aetolia.

Of the two Strategi to whom there is no allusion in this passage, one, as we have seen, was Nicias, the Conservative leader, who was universally trusted and respected. The other (as the poet finds nothing to say against him) was probably another popular commander who shared the views of Nicias—perhaps Nicostratus or Autocles, both of whom were Strategi more than once during these years.

To sum up; if seven of the eight individuals alluded to by the poet can with considerable probability be identified with Strategi of 425, and the omission of the other two names can be satisfactorily explained, we have strong grounds for assuming that the election took place before the play was produced, that is to say on some date in January. Once the possibility of ante-dating the election to meet a special need is admitted, we have here a simple and consistent explanation of the whole passage; otherwise it must remain an insoluble problem, except for those readers (if any) who can accept it as an integral part of the play as originally composed.

An election in January also offers the simplest explanation of Demosthenes being left 'a private citizen' in the spring of 425, in spite of the brilliant victory he had so recently won; and the need to have Pythodorus appointed Strategus before he sailed to supersede Laches, seems quite sufficient to justify the change of date.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Arguments as to the date of the election have been based on a passage in the *Clouds* (581–586); but the foundations seem too weak for the superstructure. The passage runs as follows:—

εἴτα τὸν θεοῖσιν ἐχθρόν βυρσοδέψην Παφλαγῶνα  
ἦνίχ' ἤρείσθαι στρατηγόν, τὰς ἀφρὺς συνήγομεν  
κάποιούμεεν δεινὰ . βροντὴ δ' ἱερὰ γὰρ δι' ἀστραπῆς.

ἡ σελήνη δ' ἐξέλειπε τὰς ὁδοὺς . ὁ δ' ἥλιος  
οὐ φαίνειν ἔφασκεν ὅμιν, εἰ στρατηγήσει Κλέων.

A scholiast on these lines says: ἔκλειψεν ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Σαλήνης τῷ προτέρῳ ἔτι ἐπὶ Στρατοκλέους Βοηδρομιῶνι, (actually, on 29th October, 425).

It is difficult to see how this date is consistent with the words ἦνίχ' ἤρείσθαι στρατηγόν ('at the moment



We have examined in some detail the evidence available in the pages of Thucydides, and tried to show that none of it is inconsistent with the view that the Strategi entered office early in the year, while much is definitely in its favour. On the other hand the 'orthodox' theory is often hard to reconcile with recorded facts, and has nothing to recommend it on general grounds. We are admittedly dealing with probabilities, not certainties; but the balance seems to incline heavily in favour of the common-sense view, and circumstantial evidence has often before now resulted in 'conviction.'

H. B. MAYOR.

*Bicknoller.*

when you were choosing Cleon general')—presumably in February 424. Moreover, if a lunar eclipse is implied in l. 584, the next line seems to record the unusual phenomenon of a simultaneous eclipse of the sun.

It is easier to assume that the scholiast, in the inconsequential manner of his tribe, seeing the word *ἔξωπτε*, was reminded of the eclipse recorded for 425, and jotted down his note without further regard to the context.

On the face of it, the poet seems simply to mean that the Clouds expressed their displeasure at Cleon's election by sending unusually bad weather about that time; adding, that they made it so dark that you could not see the sun or the moon in the sky. This was more in their power than producing either solar or lunar eclipses, events which would require the active intervention of Zeus, the now-discarded lord of the heavens.

## MELIAN AFTERMATH

[PLATES VII-VIII]

THE number of Melian reliefs has slightly increased in the last few years.

On 5-6th July, 1938, Messrs. Sotheby sold a piece—it is No. 184 in the Sale Catalogue—of which little is known. J. D. Beazley, who drew my attention to it, tells me that most of it was modern plaster: only a small part was antique, it showed something of a draped female figure on an animal's back, Helle or a Nereid.

A fragment of a winged Artemis, figured in *Melische Reliefs*, p. 26, fig. 3, after a good drawing by Schoene, was rediscovered in one of the drawers of the Athenian National Museum by Mrs. Papaspyridi-Karousou, and is figured in *BCH* 61, 1937, p. 354, fig. 1.

The dancer (no. 42), the whereabouts of which were unknown to me in 1931, is now, as Mr. Chr. Karousos kindly informs me, in the Nomikos collection in Thera.

Of Melian reliefs—in a wider sense (see *Melische Reliefs*, p. 89 sq.)—I mention a cock, a Sphinx and a Gorgo, published by Mrs. Papaspyridi-Karousou in *Arch. Deltion* 1934/35, p. 30, fig. 15; they were found together in an Argive tomb which is dated by its other contents to the second quarter of the fifth century roughly—a welcome date for these conservative works.

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge,<sup>1</sup> has a replica of the modern plaque once in the Lecuyer Collection, *Melische Reliefs*, p. 94, no. b, with the variant that the sphinx is turning to the left and that beside the child a senseless piece of flowing drapery appears; the 'artist' seems to have taken his inspiration from a Renaissance Ganyemed in the talons of the eagle.

A replica of the London plaque with the lyre-playing girl and the lover, already mentioned in *Melische Reliefs* as no. 77, has since gone to the National Museum of Athens, and is figured by M. P. Vlasto in the *Report of the Society of Friends of the Museum* for 1934-35 (Athens, 1935), fig. 7; by the way, my late friend has not convinced me that the man is 'teaching' the girl!

The other piece, *l.c.* fig. 4 (here Pl. VII a), now in the same museum, is a new variant of the three already existing forms in which Actaeon's death was related by the Melian koroplasts. The first of these, represented by three plaques from one mould (nos. 24, 25, 26, pl. 13, 14), belongs to the early style: a heroic, utterly unsentimental tale, intense action bound in a strong framework. The third, with two replicas (nos. 97, 98, pl. 56, 43), is among the latest and ripest works of the second group, and has the grandeur

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to Mr. C. D. Bicknell for a photograph of the relief.



of early classical style. The second (no. 60, pl. 27), although of no particular artistic merit, is interesting because of some unconventional and amusing features. The new piece goes with the late version: Artemis' trunk and head—missing on nos. 97 and 98 likewise—are given for the first time; but this is a small gain, the whole being the patchwork of a mediocre artist. While on the London plaque and its replica Artemis and Actaeon were once linked together, staring into each other's eyes, like Achilles and Penthesilea on the Munich cup, here two isolated figures, Actaeon outside, a



FIG. 1.—FROM A MARBLE DISK IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

giant, and the goddess petty; Actaeon's trunk and head recall the Theseus no. 99 on pl. 57, his right arm and the rendering of the sword those of the defeated warrior on nos. 22, 23, pl. 12 and fig. 5. The hound performing tricks about Actaeon's head is a survival of the archaic version. From trustworthy oral information the provenience of the plaque is Thasos, a place hitherto not represented on the distribution map of Melian reliefs.<sup>1a</sup>

The New York relief<sup>2</sup> (Pl. VII b), with a fluting and a dancing girl and

<sup>1a</sup> Mr. M. Vlasto in *Le Messager d'Athènes*, 20th July, 1934, says 'Thrace.'

<sup>2</sup> Miss G. Richter, in *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, 27, 1932, p. 45, has published it, and made some

important statements on the technique of Melian reliefs; I owe the photograph to her kindness. Other important observations on the technique of koroplasts have been recently made by Dr. Elisabeth

a youth, has all the typical features of the middle series; the swollen folds recall the drapery of the lyre-player on no. 76, pl. 38. The new plaque is more interesting than the pictures of the same scene on nos. 78, 79, pls. 39, 40. The onlooker here has become protagonist, and is behaving with the ease and arrogance of his class; his head in three-quarter view reminds one of the Peleus on no. 80, pl. 41; the elaborate rendering of the aryballos with all details of suspension is a valuable complement to the New York stele, once useful to J. D. Beazley and Miss Haspels when they were studying the problems of aryballoi and how they were suspended (*BSA* 29, 1927-28, p. 109).



FIG. 2.—NIOBIDS FROM A ROMAN SARCOPHAGUS IN VENICE.

Quite recently two more reliefs have come to the Ashmolean Museum; they were presented by J. D. Beazley, who very generously suggested to me that I should publish them.<sup>3</sup>

Both reliefs bear notes on the back, written in brownish ink, one 'From the island of Milo (Melos) 1819,' the other 'Milo 1828.' The clear, rounded letters are Thomas Burgon's<sup>4</sup>: as on six plaques in the British Museum (*Melische Reliefs*, nos. 7, 8, 19, 62, 76; p. 90, no. 2) and on the Oxford fragment, no. 39, all acquired by him on the island, in the

Jastrow, *Opuscula Archaeologica* (ed. Institutum Romanum Regni Sueciae), vol. ii, 1, pp. 1 ff. As far as Melian reliefs are concerned (see p. 16), her treatment of the dancers is correct. On the three Oresteia plaques she is less convincing: she is right in saying that no. 1, pl. 1 was moulded from no. 2, pl. 2, the largest and sharpest of the three; but the difference between the 'original,' no. 2, and no. 94,

pl. 53 (angle of horse head, length of Pylades' forearm, etc.), cannot be explained by remodelling of a mechanical copy.

<sup>3</sup> See *Report of the Ashmolean Museum* 1938, pl. V, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Burgon (1797-1858): see *Dictionary of National Biography*, Suppl. I, 325.



years 1819–28. To my list (p. 121, 153) of sixteen reliefs with that authentic provenience, Beazley (*DLZ* 1931, p. 2133) had already added the Oxford one bearing Burgon's remark, 'From a sepulchre in the isle of Milo.' A fragment of a Penelope relief, with the well-confirmed provenience Melos, has recently passed into a private collection in Syra.<sup>5</sup> Now the total of 'Melian' reliefs—in the strictest sense—has been brought to twenty. Twenty-four other pieces have trustworthy labels, and it is more than likely that among the rest, especially those acquired in Greece, a good many 'Melian' ones still lurk. This statistical evidence, the fact that about a fifth of all Melian reliefs preserved have been found in the island, still seems to me to be *one* argument for the localisation of the workshop in Melos.<sup>6</sup>

One of the two new Oxford reliefs is a third replica of the lyristria with the lover, no. 76, pl. 38; preserved are the upper part of the man and a small piece of the lyre; the folds of the man's cloak have come better out of the mould, but the details of the head are poorer; the treatment of the contours, and even the placement of the nail-holes, correspond so closely to those of the London plaque that they must be the work of the same hand.

The other Oxford fragment (Pl. VIII *b*) is a most valuable and important addition to our stock of Melian reliefs: it gives the upper half of the incomplete Niobid scene in Berlin, no. 81, pl. 42, here Pl. VIII *a*, from the same mould. The plaque is less warped. The picture shows a hole through which the fastening nail once stuck at the same spot as on the Berlin piece; a second hole may possibly—as often—have caused the break below. The original outline is preserved throughout, except that a tiny piece is missing at each of the lower corners. The worker was more careful than in the Berlin relief to give the outline a regular shape and to avoid projections and indentations: characteristic is the different treatment of the edge of the sleeve on the man's right arm, of the angle between his right fore-arm and the buttocks, and of the contour round the maiden's left hand. The lower part is badly damaged: the surface of the most projecting parts, especially on the Niobid's head, is rubbed away, and below this deeper layers have flaked off. Much of the white slip still remains, and on the man's upper thigh a faint trace of that pink colour which was in common use for the bare parts of bodies (*l.c.* p. 110).

The new replica gives the male figure its missing upper part. An expressively long neck—the sterno-mastoid slightly tightened—supports the bowed head: a full prominent chin, deep-set eyes, a moderately hooked nose. No doubt that he is an old man, for in this phase of Greek art

<sup>5</sup> It will be published by Mr. N. Kondoleon; I owe the knowledge of the piece to Mr. Chr. Karousos. Three other pieces in Greek private collections are mentioned by Mr. M. Vlasto in *Le Messager d'Athènes*, 20th July, 1934; I was unable to obtain descriptions or photographs from their owners.

<sup>6</sup> V. H. Poulsen, *Der strenge Stil* (*Acta Archaeologica* vii, 1937, 14), has been misled by Dr. Welter's thesis that the Melian reliefs were made in Corinth.

Dr. Welter's reasons seem to be as follows: (1) that my arguments (*Melische Reliefs*, p. 153) are not conclusive; (2) that Melian—and Aeginetan—clay cannot be fired hard; (3) that clay and technique resemble those of Corinthian terracottas. As long as Dr. Welter does not state his case explicitly nor refute my thesis of Melian origin, going into details of style, I cannot take this for more than a 'schöne Vermutung'—to use Mr. Poulsen's words.



γρυπότης is confined to certain demons and among men to elderly people. The colour has gone, but it is likely that his forehead was high, and the stubble on the skull and on the chin was marked by dots.<sup>7</sup> The build of the head is relatively conservative, and well compares with some on earlier works like nos. 24 (pl. 13), 28, 29, 30, 32 (pls. 16, 17); see also Pylades on no. 94 (pl. 53), p. 127. He is of nobler breed and farther from caricature and exaggeration than the τροφός on nos. 1 and 94 (pls. 1, 53), 96 (pl. 53) or Eumaios on no. 88 (pl. 50).

The group has now regained its original compactness, and the quietly and expressively bent head of the man greatly adds to the peculiar early classical grandeur of the picture.<sup>8</sup> A paidagogos and a maiden in a pre-Pheidian cycle of Niobids; the corresponding group on the London disk (fig. 1), once accepted by Sieveking and Buschor<sup>9</sup> as a part of the Pheidian repertory, has since been eliminated; the reasons for its exclusion have been most explicitly stated by Schrader,<sup>10</sup> who took it for a weak imitation of the later statue in Florence and Rome. One might follow Schrader in finding fault with the group on the discus for the stiffness of the stance or the vagueness of the gestures; but one can hardly say, as he does, that the daughter has been inappropriately substituted for a son. There was already the evidence of Roman sarcophagi<sup>11</sup> (fig. 2) and of the statue at Arles<sup>12</sup> (fig. 3) which reflect an important Hellenistic work; and now the Melian relief proves the existence of such a group for an age which certainly knew what was appropriate and what not. The paidagogos has no place in the Niobe myth; he cannot have been in existence before tragedy, before Aeschylus' *Niobe*. The Melian Niobid group completed by the Oxford fragment, now ranks with the *Choephoroi* plaques in Berlin and Paris.<sup>13</sup> They are copies of priceless paintings. Behind these paintings stands Aeschylean tragedy. It is not their 'source'—they do not 'illustrate' a definite scene or action of the drama. It would be truer to say that they themselves are Aeschylean and owe their very essence to the *Choephoroi* and the *Niobe*.<sup>14</sup>

The *Choephoroi* reliefs, two of the latest, hardly older than the Parthenon pediments,<sup>15</sup> are separated from the first performance of the

<sup>7</sup> See Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, p. 438; Pfuhl, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Bildniskunst* pp. 18 ff.; Robert, *Die Masken der neueren attischen Komödie* (HWP.) p. 19. The Priam (fig. 41), by the way, is from the Vivenzio hydria (J. D. Beazley, *Der Kleophradesmalter*, no. 55), and not, as Robert says, by the Meidias painter; and the Pelias, who in Robert's drawing (fig. 42) looks like a Roman portrait in an eighteenth-century book, is taken from the Pistoxenos painter's calyx krater (not 'olla') in Corneto, badly figured in *Annali*, 1876 (not 1873), pl. F.

<sup>8</sup> *Melische Reliefs*, p. 167.

<sup>9</sup> *Münchener Jahrbuch*, 1912, pp. 142, 143; *Jdl* 42, 1927, p. 136; *Die Antike* iv, 38.

<sup>10</sup> *Jdl* 47, 1932, p. 157.

<sup>11</sup> Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* iii, 3, nos. 315 (Reinach, *Rép. des reliefs*, iii, p. 277 *Festschrift Arndt*, p. 26); 316 (Reinach, *loc. cit.* iii, p. 433; *Festschrift Arndt*, p. 27); 317; 320 (Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums*, i, no. 457, pl. 65).

<sup>12</sup> Espérandieu ix, no. 6707; Reinach, *Rép. de la statuaire* iv, pp. 252, 255 ('Niobide ou Cassandre'); *Phot. Arch. Seminar Marburg*, 1966; not mentioned by Studniczka, *Artemis und Iphigenie*. Height about 0.60 m.; local limestone. The man's right foot and part of his left leg preserved. The statue corresponds in size—once also about 1.20 m.—technique of back and basis to that of Medea, Espérandieu, *loc. cit.* i, 143; Reinach *loc. cit.* ii, 507, 8; *Bollettino d'Arte* xxx, 1937, pp. 304–5. Both were found at Arles without more exact indication of the precise spot: it is not unlikely that they once stood in the theatre—illustrations of famous tragedies.

<sup>13</sup> *Melische Reliefs*, nos. 104, 105.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.* p. 168.

<sup>15</sup> J. D. Beazley, *DLZ* 1931, p. 2133, with convincing arguments, pointed out that 440 B.C. was too early a date for the mature phase of the Melian reliefs; see also G. Richter, *Metz. Mus. Bull.*, 27, 1932, 44, n. 1.



trilogy by some five-and-twenty years. The Niobid is a work of the earliest fifties—of no use for dating the drama which not even those who are inclined to take it with the *Prometheus* for a late work will date as late as the beginning of that decade.

The best answer to any who should still be offended by a paidagogos in the rôle of τροφός has already been given by the scholiast to Euripides *Phoenissae* 88, Καλῶς δὲ τὴν βασιλικὴν κόρην οὐ γυναῖκες φυλάττουσιν, ἀλλ' ὁ διὰ τὸ γῆρας σώφρων καὶ φρόνιμος.



FIG. 3.—STATUE IN ARLES.

This scene of the *Phoenissae* or the dialogue between Kreusa and the paidagogos in *Ion* 725 sq., or—to quote a picture—the Apulian krater London F 272 (*Monumenti, Annali, Bollettino*, 1854, pl. XVI; Séchan, *Études sur la tragédie grecque*, fig. 96), where we see the paidagogos admitted to the intimacy of Phaidra's gynaikonitis,<sup>16</sup> illustrate exceedingly well the footing of those old men-servants, 'nurse, footman, chaperon and tutor', in fifth-century Greece, projected here into tragedy and myth.

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<sup>16</sup> I keep to the traditional interpretation; picture to the story of Laodameia. Robert, 22. *HWPr* pp. 11, 12, has referred the

## THE SO-CALLED KOINE EIRENE OF 346 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

It was inevitable that somebody should suggest a *Koine Eirene* in the year 346 B.C. True, no ancient document or author records one. But these two words were much in the mouths of Greek statesmen in the 4th century, and much valuable work has been done on the subject in recent years.<sup>2</sup> Indeed it is an interesting comment on the history of our own times that it has been reserved for the present generation of historical writers to reconstruct and understand the chapter in Greek experience which these words represent. It is probably true to say that few Greeks in the 5th century (or even earlier) regarded war as anything but a bad thing; but on the Greeks of the 4th century the greatest war of their history had left its mark without leaving an immunity from further visitations of the same disease, and as a result responsible statesmen (and not merely ordinary men and women) were now agreed that war was a *very* bad thing, to be preferred, in fact, only to a worse thing still, namely (for small states) to loss of autonomy, and (for the great states) to a fatal loss of prestige. The visible outcome of these feelings was a new kind of peace, *Koine Eirene*. Its main characteristics, distinguishing it from the ordinary type of 'peace' established by belligerent states when they finished a war, were that it should aim at being permanent, should include most (if not all) of the Greek cities not subject to Persia, and should guarantee the autonomy of every city: and there was provision for collective action to be taken in the event of the Peace being broken. That three such Peaces were established in the forty years immediately preceding 346, and a fourth in 338-7, is certain; but it is by no means so certain that there was also a *Koine Eirene* established in 346 itself, as Wüst is the latest to assert.

The words *Koine Eirene* do occur in the text of Diodorus describing the end of the Sacred War in this year, so that it may appear at first sight that the onus of disproof is on the sceptics, especially when there seems no reason, *a priori*, why there should not have been a *Koine Eirene* here.<sup>3</sup> The year itself is a fitting one, since it marks the end of two long wars which, running concurrently, had brought little but disaster to any single Greek state. The idea itself seems perfectly in tune with the spirit of the age and

<sup>1</sup> See most recently, Fritz R. Wüst, *Philipp II von Makedonien und Griechenland in den Jahren von 346 bis 338*. I received this book for review, and perhaps owe the author an apology for concentrating on this one topic, where I disagree with his views; but he himself (p. v) regards this same topic as the most important single issue of all those that he considers in his book. I must take this opportunity of saying that the book as a whole is an interesting and useful addition to the literature relating to this period.

<sup>2</sup> For the whole literature, see Wüst, especially

pp. 20 and 177. For the present question (the Peace of 346) the most important works are F. Täger, *Der Friede von 362-1* (reviewed by H. Berve in *Gnomon*, 1933, pp. 301 sqq.); A. Momigliano in *Riv. Fil. Class.* xii, 1934, pp. 482 sqq., and *Filippo il Macedone*, p. 122; G. de Sanctis, *Riv. Fil. Class.* xii, 1934, especially p. 150; F. Hampl, *Die griechischen Staatsverträge des 4. Jahrhunderts*, especially pp. 56 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Diod. xvi, 60, 3 (quoted below).



the ultimate desires (realised in the Corinthian League) of Philip, the chief gainer from these wars. Athens was not averse from it.<sup>4</sup> In short, scepticism here runs the risk of seeming reactionary and pedantic as well as (at the moment) unfashionable. Nevertheless, a notable sceptic has recently appeared. F. Hampl in his detailed and penetrating examination of the whole problem of *Koine Eirene* in the 4th century has given his reasons for excluding the Peace of 346 from the list of genuine *Koinai Eirenai*, a list which embraces the King's Peace of 386 (in fact though not in name), and (in name as well as in fact) the Peaces of 375-4, 371, 362-1, and 338-7; but these reasons have not convinced Wüst.<sup>5</sup> I venture, therefore, to submit further evidence which seems to me to support Hampl's view, for though it is certainly important to realise that the ideas underlying these *Koinai Eirenai* are a new and significant development in Greek history, it is also important not to abandon oneself to the seduction of the new idea, to present an accurate rather than a schematic picture of the period as a whole.

Hampl gave four reasons for rejecting the Peace of 346 from his list of genuine *Koinai Eirenai*: (1) The passage Diodorus xvi. 60, 3, though it contains the words κοινή ειρήνη in connexion with this peace, nevertheless applies them in a loose and non-technical sense: ἀκολουθῶν δὲ τούτοις διέταξαν οἱ Ἀμφικτύονες τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ μαντείου καὶ τὰλλα πάντα τὰ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ κοινὴν εἰρήνην καὶ ὁμόνοιαν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν ἀνήκοντα. (2) The Amphictyonic Council was not a body competent to establish a *Koine Eirene*. (3) *Argumentum ex silentio*, in this case relatively strong, because the speeches of Demosthenes and other orators after 346 ought to disclose a *Koine Eirene* if it existed; nevertheless, in Hampl's view, their silence on the subject is complete. (4) Remarks of Hegesippus in 343 exclude the possibility of a *Koine Eirene* in existence at the time.<sup>6</sup>

Wüst's reply is as follows. In reply to (2) he argues that the Amphictyonic Council *was* competent, and I think he may well be right; but I am not here concerned with the question of whether the Council *could*, ever, establish a *Koine Eirene*, I merely want to show that in 346 it did not establish one. Wüst replies to (3) by taking up Hampl's challenge and producing evidence which he takes to refer to a *Koine Eirene* in existence after 346.<sup>7</sup> Wüst's reply to (4) seems to me to miss the point completely and to leave Hampl's position unshaken.<sup>8</sup> To (1) he makes no reply, perhaps because

<sup>4</sup> This has been well shown by Wüst, pp. 21 sq.; see especially Aeschines iii, 69 sqq.; Demosth. xviii, 22.

<sup>5</sup> Hampl, *op. cit.* pp. 64 sq.; Wüst pp. 177 sq. (a reply to Hampl).

<sup>6</sup> [Demosth.] vii, 30 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> *Syll.* <sup>2</sup> 224 (request by Messene and Megalopolis to be granted membership of the Amphictyony); [Demosth.] xii, 6, cf. Philochorus *apud* Didymum viii, 5 sqq., and Diod. xvi, 441. These points are cleverly made by Wüst (pp. 25 sq. and 29 sqq.), but in my view, though the passages make sense by his interpretation, they present, equally, not the slightest difficulty to an interpretation assuming no K.E. in

existence.

<sup>8</sup> [Demosth.] vii, 30 sq. shows Athens still, in 343, trying to 'improve' the Peace of 346 by expanding it into a K.E.: this Hampl recognises as a decisive argument against there being a K.E. already in existence. Wüst, however (pp. 76 sq. and 178), seems to argue that Athens is now in 343 proposing an alternative K.E. to one already existing, the object being to achieve a K.E. under Athenian auspices or leadership, and not under Philip's (the Amphictyony). This argument seems to me to show a misunderstanding both of the nature of K.E. in general and of the political situation in the years 346-3.



he thinks the matter unimportant: if so I cannot agree. Hampl's criticism of the Diodorus passage was just, and was not the whole criticism that can be made. The truth, surely, is that, though Diodorus is a bad historian, he is still perfectly capable of recording a *Koine Eirene* when he believes there is one to record, and his method of doing this is to write 'The Greeks made a *Koine Eirene*' in words direct and unambiguous. A comparison of these simple statements with the vague and pompous allusions of this passage referring to the Peace of 346 suggests very strongly that Diodorus is not here trying to record another *Koine Eirene*, but is merely recording that the Amphictyons now set their affairs thoroughly in order, and in doing so probably used a number of the fine and large phrases to which human frailty is so susceptible in moments when it is conscious of embarking on a new era which is to be far, far better than what has gone before.<sup>9</sup>

Diodorus, then, in my view creates a presumption that this Peace was not a *Koine Eirene*; but in order to change this presumption into certainty I recommend a study of the oration of Demosthenes which is entitled '*Concerning the Peace*,' because it was composed within a very few weeks (perhaps, even, days) of the events to which Diodorus has alluded, and because 'the Peace' in question must be the *Koine Eirene*, if that *Koine Eirene* existed.<sup>10</sup> Wüst himself (p. 28) finds it surprising that his *Koine Eirene* has left no impression on the literature of the years following 346, and especially that it is never mentioned by Demosthenes and Aeschines in their speeches about 'the Crown.' Surprising it is indeed, and it will be more surprising still if Demosthenes speaking about 'the Peace' indicates that his 'Peace' is by no means the same thing as Wüst's Peace (his recently concluded *Koine Eirene*). Nevertheless, this is the conclusion to which the evidence of this speech does point, as I hope to show.

First, the occasion of the speech. It represents the advice of Demos-

\* Cf. Diod. xv. 38. 1 sq. (375-4 B.C.)—ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς . . . πρόσθε ἐξέτισυψεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τοὺς παρακαλῶντας τὰς πόλεις κοινὴν εἰρήνην συντίθεσθαι. τῶν δ' Ἑλλήνων . . . συνέθεντο πάντες τὴν εἰρήνην.

Cf. Diod. xv. 30. 4 (371)—συνέθεντο κοινὴν εἰρήνην αἱ πόλεις πᾶσαι πλὴν Θηβαίων (cf. 51. 1).

Cf. Diod. xv. 70. 2 (369)—παρακαλῶν τοὺς Ἕλληνας διαλύσασθαι μὲν τοὺς πολέμους, εἰρήνην δὲ κοινὴν συντίθεσθαι (the K.E. did not materialise).

Cf. Diod. xv. 76. 3 (365)—ἐπεισε τοὺς Ἕλληνας τοὺς μὲν πολέμους καταλύσασθαι καὶ κοινὴν εἰρήνην συντίθεσθαι πρὸς ἀλλήλους (for criticism, see Hampl pp. 62 sqq.).

Cf. Diod. xv. 89. 1 (362-1)—οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες . . . διαλύσαντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους . . . συνθέμενοι δὲ κοινὴν εἰρήνην καὶ συμμαχίαν. . . It is, surely, impossible not to see a difference between these passages and the passage referring to the settlement of 346, and in the circumstances Wüst's treatment of the matter seems to me a trifle disingenuous—'Leider ist der Bericht über dieselbe bei Diodor sehr knapp wie übrigens auch die übrigen Berichte Diodors vom Abschluss einer κοινῆ εἰρήνῃ' (p. 22). Diodorus says nothing at all of the establishment of the K.E. of 338-7, but that is because he loses it in the more spectacular συμμαχία

directed against Persia which was concluded very soon afterwards (if not simultaneously): cf. Diod. xvi. 89. 1 sqq., and (especially) U. Wilcken in *S.B. Berlin* 1927, and W. Schwahn, *Heeresmatrikel und Landfriede* pp. 36 sqq.

<sup>10</sup> The Amphictyons were probably still in session at Delphi when the speech was delivered (Demosth. v. 14). That it was delivered, nobody now doubts, though Libanius doubted it (Demosth. v. ὑπόθεσις), on the ground that in a later speech (xix. 111) Demosthenes accused Aeschines of having been on this occasion the only speaker to speak in favour of agreeing to Philip's election to the Amphictyony. The contradiction is more apparent than real, because Demosthenes in his speech 'on the Peace' never says a word in favour of electing Philip, he merely shows himself clearly in favour of avoiding war. The implication, of course, is that the Athenians must agree to the election; but it remains an implication throughout, most probably because Demosthenes was already collecting stones to throw at his adversaries and had no intention of preparing a house of glass for himself.



thenes to the Athenians on the occasion of their receiving a demand from the Amphictyonic Council that Athens should formally subscribe to Philip's recent election as a member of the Amphictyony and his taking over of the two votes which had previously belonged to the Phocians: these motions had been carried at a meeting of the Council from which, for reasons of policy, Athens had abstained.<sup>11</sup> Notice that none of our sources here mentions anything besides this question of Philip and the Amphictyony. Yet if the Council in reality (as Wüst contends) had been concerning itself with establishing a *Koine Eirene*, this meeting is the very meeting at which its resolution on the subject must have been passed, and from this meeting Athens had abstained. It would follow from this that the communication of the Council to the Athenians which provides the occasion for Demosthenes' speech would have contained also an invitation to Athens to join in the *Koine Eirene*, with the gravest implication of the possible consequences of her remaining excluded from it.<sup>12</sup> This is the vital question on which our sources are perfectly silent;<sup>13</sup> but far more important, clearly, than the silence of Libanius, or of Demosthenes speaking some years later, is the silence of Demosthenes speaking in the very moment of the alleged crisis itself, and this brings us to the internal evidence of the Speech 'Concerning the Peace.'

The advice of Demosthenes to the Athenians is (in brief) as follows (see especially *op. cit.* 13):—'The Peace is, for us, a bad peace. Thanks to Philocrates and Aeschines and others' (though he does not name them here) 'we have been out-manoeuvred by Philip, who is now, moreover, in a better position to do us harm if we give free play to our resentment: for this reason we must make the best of it for the moment, and, above all, we must not court the risk of being the object of a general war'—δεύτερον δ' (sc. φημι δεῖν ὁρᾶν) ὅπως μὴ προαξόμεθα . . . τοὺς συνελθλυθότας τούτους καὶ φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύοντας νῦν εἶναι εἰς ἀνάγκην καὶ πρόφασιν κοινοῦ πολέμου πρὸς ἡμᾶς: and later, φοβοῦμαι μὴ πάντες περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος ὀργανόμενος

<sup>11</sup> Libanius, *ὁπόθεν* to Demosth. v; Demosth. xix. 132, etc.; cf. Dion. Hal. *Epist. ad Amm.* i. 10, 737.

<sup>12</sup> It seems clearly implied in the *ὁπόθεν* that Athens was not represented at this meeting: had she been represented, there would have been no occasion for the Council to send its own representatives to Athens with this request. The intervention of Aeschines on behalf of the Phocians does not convince me that he was a member of an Athenian embassy accredited to the Council (see Wüst, p. 15).

On these events Wüst's chronological table (p. 181) is far from satisfactory: he has 'telescoped' too many things into this summer of 346, perhaps owing to his mistaken belief that the month Hecatombaeon is June-July (sic.), and therefore, presumably, that the month Skirophorion, in which we have several fixed dates, is May-June. There is, in reality, not much time for the arrangement and ratification of a K.E., which was not as simple a matter as Wüst seems to suppose (he allows it a bare month). The date of Philip's entry into Phocis is certainly mid-July (Demosth. xix. 59 sq.), and one

may suppose that the Amphictyonic Council would begin its sessions by the end of July (Diod. xvi. 59. 4—the Council had to be summoned). Demosthenes 'Concerning the Peace' cannot be dated with accuracy. My own impression is that it was delivered in August, before the Pythian Festival in which Athens took no part, an omission which cannot have pleased Philip and might well have been mentioned, if it had already occurred, by Demosthenes in this speech (e.g., at §19); but I am aware that this argument is not a very strong one. But even if it was delivered as late as the end of September (so Wüst), two months is not a generous allowance for the arrangement and ratification of a K.E. My own position, however, is not altered if one argues that the K.E. might be under discussion but not yet ratified when this speech was delivered: my contention is, that in this speech we must expect Demosthenes to refer intelligibly to the project of a K.E., whether completed or not, if it existed at all.

<sup>13</sup> Libanius and Demosthenes: see note 11.



κοινὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀγάγωσι τὸν πόλεμον, τὰ Ἀμφικτυόνων δόγματα προστησάμενοι.<sup>14</sup> These sentences in themselves rather support the possibility of there being in existence a *Koine Eirene* in which Athens was already included, especially if one assumes with Momigliano and Wüst that it was sponsored by the Amphictyonic Council. But this possibility vanishes if we examine the advice of Demosthenes more closely, and when we realise that, though the speaker is afraid of a general war he is perfectly prepared to see Athens fight a *local* war in which none but the protagonists in the quarrel (whatever it may be) will be involved. The sentence which best illustrates this idea is:—οὐδέ γ' εἰ πάλιν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους πολεμήσαιμεν δι' ὤρωπόν ἢ τι τῶν ἰδίων, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμᾶς παθεῖν ἡγοῦμαι: καὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν κάκεινοις τοὺς βοηθοῦντας ἂν οἶμαι, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰ τις ἐμβάλοι, βοηθεῖν, οὐ συνεπιστρατεύειν οὐδετέροις.<sup>15</sup>

The importance of this remark is self-evident. Demosthenes here can envisage the possibility of a war against Thebes, and even of a war in which Athens might be the aggressor (δι' ὤρωπόν—a war having Oropus as *casus belli* must inevitably begin with an act of aggression, or at least a policy of aggression, on the part of Athens); but yet a war in which Athens would be able to count on the (limited) support of her own allies, and would have to fear the intervention (again, to a limited extent) only of the allies of Thebes. It would be, in fact, merely an ordinary Greek war. The seizure of Oropus (for example) would *not* involve Athens in a κοινὸς πόλεμος (see above): and the Amphictyons would *not* be concerned in the matter. It follows from this, not indeed that there can have been no *Koine Eirene* in existence or contemplated at the moment when Demosthenes spoke these words, but that there can have been no *Koine Eirene* having a sanctions-clause which bound all participating states to come to the help of victims of aggression. This conclusion in itself carries great weight, because there must always be a strong presumption in favour of such a clause as an instrument to support a *Koine Eirene*, as is proved by the examples of the years 386 (probably), 375-4, 371 (after Leuctra), 362-1, and 338-7 B.C.<sup>16</sup> But it does not yet prove for certain that there can have been no *Koine Eirene* at all in 346.

Let us suppose, in fact, that there *was* a *Koine Eirene*, one with a limited sanctions-clause on the model of the abortive *Koine Eirene* of 371 (before Leuctra), the clause in this case running—εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιόη, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον βοηθεῖν ταῖς ἀδικουμέναις πόλεσι, τῷ δὲ μὴ βουλομένῳ μὴ εἶναι ἔνορκον συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις.<sup>17</sup> At first sight, again, this seems to provide the loophole required by those who believe in a *Koine Eirene* in 346: it is this limited sanctions-clause, they may say, which permits Demosthenes

<sup>14</sup> Concerning the Peace, 14 and 19.

<sup>15</sup> *Id.* 16; cf. 14 sq. for another hypothetical case of the same kind, that of a war between Athens and Philip.

<sup>16</sup> Momigliano and Wüst assume the existence of such a clause.

386 B.C. ('King's Peace')—there is no evidence for the obligations of Greek cities, but the King of Persia guarantees the Peace by implication (see Hampl, pp. 8 sqq.).

375-4—the clause has been deduced, with certainty as it seems to me, by Hampl p. 17.

371—Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3. 1 sqq.

362-1—implied in *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 182 (hypothetical case of aggression by Persia).

338-7—*Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 260.

Add [Demosth.] vii. 30, for this clause in the abortive Athenian proposals of 343.

<sup>17</sup> Xen. *Hell.* vi. 3. 18; cf. Hampl, p. 17.



to talk so airily of hypothetical wars with a limited scope, even though Athens might begin such a war as an aggressor. But, again, a closer reading of this speech reveals the fallacy. For Demosthenes is at pains to emphasise that there are only too many states in Greece which at this time 'for private grievances might seize the opportunity of waging against us a collective war':<sup>18</sup> in a case like this, τὸν μὲν βουλόμενον βοηθεῖν is as good (or, for Demosthenes' purpose, as bad!) as ἅπαντας βοηθεῖν, and in fact Demosthenes is arguing that a local or limited war for Athens is a possibility only in cases where outsiders have no good pretext for intervention. But a *Koine Eirene*, for those who want to intervene, provides the best possible pretext, even if its sanctions-clause does not bind anyone to intervene. Finally, the idea of a *Koine Eirene* with no sanctions-clause of any kind is not only unsupported by any evidence either before or after 346, but is so clearly absurd as to be out of the question: the Greeks would have thought it a waste of time to swear the oath that bound them to keep it, and a waste of time it most certainly would have been.

No sane politician could have made these remarks which Demosthenes made in the speech '*Concerning the Peace*,' if there had been in existence at the time a *Koine Eirene* to which Athens had subscribed, still less a *Koine Eirene* from which Athens stood in danger of being excluded.<sup>19</sup> One may cite also, with a view to the picturesque, the arresting phrase with which he concluded the speech—οὐκοῦν εὐηθες καὶ κομιδῇ σχέτλιον, πρὸς ἑκάστους καθ' ἐν' οὗτω προσενηνεγμένους περὶ τῶν οικείων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων, πρὸς πάντας περὶ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιᾶς νυνὶ πολεμῆσαι.<sup>20</sup> 'The shadow in Delphi' is the sneer of an ostentatiously 'practical' politician at something which he considers, or affects to consider, of no practical consequence. Would any sane man, however short-sighted, have jeered thus at a *Koine Eirene*, an institution which, whatever its deficiencies, had always been perfectly 'practical' in its intent and its application, and which at this moment (had it existed) would have contained a very serious threat to an aggressive or recalcitrant Athens? On the other hand, 'the shadow in Delphi' is an exactly appropriate jibe for a practical (and disgruntled) man to make at the expense of a piece of religious chicanery or bunkum: 'by all means, let Philip play at being an Amphictyon, barbarian though he is, and let's hope it keeps fine for him'—this I take to be the implication of 'the shadow in Delphi,' reduced to common speech. The orator who flung out this phrase is very clearly the same Demosthenes who, more than twenty years after, sneered again 'Let him be son of Zeus, and Poseidon as well, if it amuses him'!<sup>21</sup> Philip's intrusion into the archaic hierarchy of the Amphictyons, like the deification of Alexander, was a piece of vulgar pomposity besides being a political manoeuvre: in both cases, Demosthenes was presumably aware of the political implications and prepared to accept them for the time being as inevitable, but not without a sneer at the vulgarity. Neither Philip nor Alexander grudged him these small satisfactions.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.* 19: he enumerates Argos, Messene, Megalopolis and 'some of the other Peloponnesians'; Thebes, Thessaly, and Philip.

<sup>19</sup> See above, note 12.

<sup>20</sup> *Id.* 25.

<sup>21</sup> Hyperides v. col. 31.



The danger to Athens of refusing this demand of the Amphictyons was the danger merely of a 'Sacred' war directed against herself. I say 'merely,' because a 'Sacred' war, though it might be just as formidable to an isolated Athens as a war directed against her as a breaker of a *Koine Eirene*, was by far the less likely to happen, since it could begin only on a 'sacred' pretext: it would be difficult, for example, for even the Thebans to maintain that an attack on Oropus injured the god at Delphi. Such a pretext could, however, be found (at a pinch) in a refusal by the Athenians to associate themselves with the action of the Amphictyonic Council in electing Philip to fill the place of the Phocians. It seems to me to be a poor pretext, but it was probably good enough, if the situation had arisen. But I hope that at least I have shown that it has nothing whatever to do with a *Koine Eirene*, and I will reinforce this positive evidence with an appeal to what I believe to be plain common sense. Ignoring for the moment the words which I have put forward as directly contradicting the possibility, is it likely that Demosthenes could have spoken '*Concerning the Peace*' without mentioning that 'the Peace' was a *Koine Eirene* or was about to become one? Is it likely that in his speeches delivered in the years after 346 he should never have mentioned directly the institution which (had it existed) would have been the governing factor in Greek politics and diplomacy during those years? Cicero did not leave *concordia ordinum* to be fumbled for and guessed at by modern scholars, and in general politicians in their speeches are not in the habit of relying on oblique and subtle references to events or institutions of the highest contemporary importance: on the contrary, they call a spade a spade unless there is some good reason for calling it something else or for pretending that spades do not exist, and here there is no such reason. I am convinced that if a *Koine Eirene* had existed Demosthenes would not have been too shy to mention it, and to call it *Koine Eirene*.

If this question were a mere matter of words and a name, it would be folly to pursue it farther (or, indeed, so far). Its importance lies most of all in the fact that it contains a clue to the policy and aims of Philip at this time. Wüst has made an excellent point when he emphasises that Athens wanted a *Koine Eirene*; the 'Peace of Philocrates' would have been expanded into a *Koine Eirene* if the Athenian negotiators had had their way.<sup>22</sup> It was due to Philip, evidently, that the Peace of Philocrates was no more than a conventional Greek peace-treaty between Athens and her allies and Philip and his allies. The Phocians were expressly excluded from it, so that it was not concerned with the settlement of Central and Northern Greece. This settlement was effected by a separate instrument, in which Athens was interested only by virtue of her membership of the Amphictyony; and which, also, was no *Koine Eirene*.<sup>23</sup> Finally, the

<sup>22</sup> Wüst, pp. 21 sq. Athens was still anxious for a K.E. in 343 ([Demosth.] vii. 30 sqq.). I have already mentioned (note 8) that Wüst's interpretation of this passage does not convince me in the least. For a correct interpretation, see Hampl, p. 65.

<sup>23</sup> Hampl, p. 65, note 1, believes that it was not even, technically, a 'Peace' at all: 'die amphikt-

yonischen Kriege nur Strafexpeditionen waren und dementsprechend nur durch ein Strafgericht, nicht durch einen "Friedensschluss" beendet wurden.' This view seems to me legalistic almost to the point of being ridiculous. To call the Phocian War, a major war lasting ten years, a punitive expedition, or even a series of punitive expeditions, is worthy



Peloponnese was not directly affected by either of these two settlements, and still presented a fresh field for Philip's diplomacy. It is this separation of Greek affairs into compartments that provides, in my view, the key to Philip's intentions. Generally speaking, a *Koine Eirene* was a stabilising influence: it was a device valuable to a power acting on the defensive or anxious to perpetuate a good defensive position.<sup>24</sup> But there is not the least reason to think that Philip wished to stabilise the situation of 346 in Greece, for though it is true that he had gained much in achieving this present position, it is very clear that he could still hope to gain more if the situation were allowed to develop. Greek affairs at this time represented to Philip a rising market, and he was certainly not the man to tie up his capital in securities yielding a safe but small return. He had most to gain if the situation in Greece remained fluid, and this is why he rejected the idea of a *Koine Eirene*, an idea which was not displeasing to the Athenians, who had now made up their minds to cut their losses but were anxious to insure against losing anything more.

Perhaps the most interesting question of all is, What were Philip's views about a Persian War, and how far was his behaviour in Greece already governed by his plans in this direction? It seems almost certain that the statement of Diodorus, that already at Delphi in 346 Philip had made up his mind to become στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ of the Greeks in a war against Persia, derives from a source well aware of the settlement of 338-7 by which this aspiration was realised.<sup>25</sup> The statement is, in fact, suspect. On the other hand, nothing is more certain than that the *possibility* of a Persian War must have occurred to Philip, even if no positive and definite plans for it had taken shape as yet in his mind;<sup>26</sup> and he was too good a realist not to know that if he became involved in a war in Asia, the bulk of the Greek states must be either for him or against him. It would, indeed, be the purest folly to think of invading Asia unless he could count on the support of most of the Greeks; not because he would need them in Asia but because he would need peace in Greece itself. And to suppose that most of the Greeks were prepared already in 346 to give him this support is, surely, a misinterpretation which ignores the years of Philip's 'peaceful penetration' of Greece after 346, to say nothing of its ignoring the battle of Chaeronea and the display of overwhelming military strength which alone could introduce the Corinthian League as a piece of practical politics. That is not to say that Philip in 346 was already intending to fight the battle of Chaeronea. He may have hoped to gain control of Greece purely by

of certain modern schools of diplomats. There can be no doubt that everybody in Greece called the settlement of 346 at Delphi εἰρήνη, just as ordinary people in the near future will call the settlement that ends the present war in China 'Peace,' whatever Japanese politicians may call it.

<sup>24</sup> E.g., the 'King's Peace' of 386, which worked in favour of Sparta, but was a hindrance limiting the revival of Athens as a 'great power,' as her well-known Treaty with Chios shows (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 142; especially lines 20 ff.). Similarly, the K.E. of 371 after Leuctra was clearly designed to prevent the

'landslide' in the Peloponnese which did take place when the Theban invasion took place: I hope to be able to throw more light on this question in a future article.

<sup>25</sup> Diod. xvi. 60, 5, probably from Theopompus; but the name of Theopompus does not make the statement immune from criticism, since Theopompus is no less liable than another to a judgment *post eventum*.

<sup>26</sup> Isocrates v, *passim*: and the ideas expressed here are new only in their application to Philip.

'peaceful penetration'; but the point is that he must have realised that he was very far from being in control of Greece already, and that in Athens, especially, a radical change of heart was needed before any lasting co-operation could be possible.<sup>27</sup> In short, to attribute either to Philip or to the Greeks in 346 the feelings and experience that were theirs in 337 is nearly as inconsequent as supposing that a man who has a white beard to-day had already a white beard in the year 1900. It is not impossible that it should have been so; but one requires good evidence that it was so before one will believe it, and in this case the evidence is lacking.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> See Demosth. xix, 132 for a good summary of Athenian dissatisfaction with the settlement of 346 and hostility to Philip at this time.

<sup>28</sup> My thanks are due to Mr. N. G. L. Hammond for reading this article in proof and making some very helpful suggestions.



## THE PYTHAIS OF 355 B.C. AND THE THIRD SACRED WAR

IN the seventh speech of Isaeus (§27) there occurs one of the few references to the Pythais, the occasional sacred pilgrimage from Athens to Delphi. This allusion used to be misinterpreted as a reference to the Pythian games, and was used to date the speech. Elsewhere (§38) the same speaker alludes to the system of trierarchies organised in symmories, and as this was established by the law of Periander, dateable to 357-6 B.C., it is clear that the speech was delivered after that date. Hence it was taken that the Pythian games intended were those of 354 B.C., as it seemed unlikely that Isaeus' speech was written as late as the subsequent festivals of 350 B.C. or thereafter.<sup>1</sup>

In 1918 Boethius (*Die Pythais*, pp. 19 ff.) showed conclusively that the reference was not to the celebration of the Pythian games, but to the special form of sacred pilgrimage known as the Pythais. In the fourth century B.C. this procession used to be dispatched from Athens in response to certain omens of lightning-flashes which were looked for on certain days during the three summer months. The priestly observers were stationed at the precinct of Zeus Asteropaeus near the Pythion, and watched in the direction of Harma on Mount Parnes. Only if the proper omen was reported, was the Pythais prepared and sent off. But the irregularity and infrequency of the manifestation had become proverbial. So it appeared to recent scholars that the allusion to the Pythais could not be used as a means to date the speech, and E. S. Forster,<sup>2</sup> when editing Isaeus subsequently to Boethius' work, contents himself with stating that this speech must have been delivered after 357-6 B.C. I propose to argue that we can find a precise date for this Pythais and the speech, and also confirm usefully Mr. N. G. L. Hammond's scheme of the Third Sacred War.<sup>3</sup>

One must admit that the Pythais did not fall in accordance with any cycle, but various practical considerations suggest that this particular one cannot have been held in any but one year of this period. The chief material fact which would have made it impracticable to send the Pythais about this time was the Third Sacred War. So long as it was supposed that the speaker referred to his participation in the Pythian games of 354 B.C. there was no great difficulty. I imagine that it was supposed that the sacred truce for the Pythian games enabled Athenians to reach Delphi, and I take it that they certainly could do so by sea, though I very much doubt whether by land the Thebans and other members of the Amphictyonic

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, II<sup>2</sup>, 552. Kirchner, *P.A.* no. 7336.

<sup>2</sup> Loeb edition, 1927, p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> *JHS*, lvii, 1937, pp. 44 ff. I have to thank

Mr. Hammond for reading the draft of this article which I sent to him and for kindly offering some comments.



side recognised any games organised by the sacrilegious Phocians. But if one is to apply the same principle to the Pythais, the case is completely altered. The Pythais could not go by sea. It was a religious procession which must go by land along the sacred road over Cithaeron and through a great part of Boeotia before it reached Phocian territory. Could such a procession set out in the summer during the Sacred War? Admittedly it was a religious mission and so it might make special claims to privilege. But I do not believe that the Thebans would have suspended hostilities against Phocis in the campaigning season so as to allow a large mixed body of Athenian magistrates and cavalry, as well as women and children, to proceed solemnly to Delphi and back. Yet this was what was meant by a Pythais. Even the religious character of the procession could scarcely have counted for much in the eyes of the Thebans, when it was being sent to Delphi which was at the time in the hands of Phocians who were under the ban of the Amphictyony.

This argument, if accepted, seems to exclude any summer after the Sacred War was declared till its conclusion in 346 B.C. But 345 and the next few years are also very unlikely, because as a consequence of Philip's entry into the Amphictyony and Athens' loss of *promanteia* the Athenians were estranged from Delphi and were very unlikely to send there an occasional pilgrimage which was meant as a special token of devotion to the Pythian Apollo. In fact, no year seems open for the Pythais, except before the Sacred War had broken out. When the outbreak of war was generally dated to 356 B.C. this solution would in itself have presented a difficult problem. For, as we have seen, the reference to Periander's law of 357-6 makes a date after that year desirable for the speech. It would be just possible to place the Pythais in the summer of 356 and suppose that the speech (which evidently was delivered in the spring after the pilgrimage) should be dated early in 355 B.C., by which time the law of Periander had been in operation for one naval season. But the allusion to the law is such a general one that it is best suited if the speaker and his audience accept the system of symmories as something not particularly novel or recent.<sup>4</sup> A still more serious objection is that our Delphic evidence can be taken as proving that Philomelus had occupied the town by the early summer of 356 B.C. (before July at latest).<sup>5</sup> This would have been a peculiarly unsafe time for the Athenians to send a special pilgrimage there. Everyone must have foreseen that Philomelus' intrusion would be challenged by the Locrians and Thebans, and clearly the land route to Delphi would be rendered quite unsafe till Philomelus' position was either assured or overthrown. It was not until the end of the campaigning season that it was clear that with his special forces of mercenaries he could cope adequately with the immediate danger from Boeotia and Locris. So I take it that the Athenians would have had no special motive to send a Pythais to Delphi in

\* ὁ μὲν γὰρ πατήρ αὐτοῦ . . . τριηραρχῶν . . . οὐκ ἐκ συμμορίας τὴν ναῦν ποιησάμενος ὥσπερ οἱ νῦν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ δαπανῶν.

<sup>4</sup> A. W. Pickard-Cambridge (*CAH* vi, pp. 213 ff.) puts the seizure of Delphi in the summer of JHS—VOL. LIX.

355, but admits much doubt as to the chronology. The seizure is fixed to the early summer of 356 by the equation between the Delphic archon Heracleius and the Athenian archon Agathocles. For a discussion see Hammond, *op. cit.* pp. 63 ff.



356 (summer) and would probably have been deterred by the dangers in which such a pilgrimage would have involved a large number of their citizens.

On the older interpretation of the events which followed the taking of Delphi, the summer of 355 B.C. would have been no more likely an occasion for the Pythais than the summer of 356. But I see in Mr. Hammond's new chronology a ready solution for our difficulty. According to him, the actual Sacred War was not declared by the Amphictyony till the autumn of 355 B.C. Philomelus had seized Delphi in the summer of 356 B.C., and hostilities had broken out between him and the Locrians and Thebans, but the fighting had ended with Philomelus more assured in his new position than before. During the winter he had sent embassies to various Greek states, presenting his case for the Phocian occupation of Delphi. In consequence the Athenians had entered into an alliance with him. An invasion of Delphi from the side of Locris in the spring of 355 B.C. was sharply defeated, and for the summer military operations were suspended. Further action was waiting on the decision of the Amphictyonic Council which in response to an appeal from Locris declared a Sacred War on Philomelus in the autumn of 355.

The standstill in military operations during the summer of 355 would have given a possible opportunity for the Pythais to be sent. Before the Sacred War was actually declared Thebes might not have been in a position to refuse an Athenian request for a passage through Boeotian territory on a sacred pilgrimage. Also the Athenians might have had a motive for wishing to send the Pythais at this very time. Athens had entered into alliance with Philomelus in the previous winter, and was favourably disposed towards the Phocian claim to Delphi. Philomelus' rise to power represented for Athens a useful reaction against Theban expansion in Central Greece, but the Athenians were too preoccupied with the Social War to be able to give him military or financial support at the moment. All that they could supply to the Phocian cause was moral support. In the summer of 355 the question must have been at issue whether or not the Amphictyony would declare a sacred war against Phocis.<sup>6</sup> A gesture of recognition to Philomelus might help to rally other members of the Amphictyony to support his cause, and how could the Athenians better show their acceptance of the Phocian occupation of Delphi than by sending a special sacred mission at this very time to the Pythian Apollo?

Of course in theory the Pythais was dispatched only after the proper omens had been observed. But as Boethius already suggested, there was room for pious pretence on the subject. One has only to think of the Roman ritual of watching for lightning. In fact the next instance of a Pythais seems to be an example of a similarly suspicious coincidence between the observation of the omen and another motive for sending the procession. A Pythais was sent to Delphi in 330 B.C. in which the most important

<sup>6</sup> Xenophon (*de Vectigalibus*, V, 9) in a pamphlet which he published in this summer suggested a compromise. The Athenians were to rally international support for a solution whereby the Phocians

should evacuate Delphi, but the place should be guaranteed against any consequent encroachment from Thebes and Locris.

members of the Athenian state took part, and it is generally supposed that this pilgrimage coincided with the dedication of the newly restored temple there.<sup>7</sup> Just as lightning-flashes were appropriately seen in 330 B.C., it would have been quite possible to find them in 355 B.C.

So I suggest on this interpretation the allusion in Isaeus can suit three suppositions; (i) that a Pythais was sent to Delphi in the summer of 355 B.C.; (ii) that the Sacred War was not declared till autumn of 355, and (iii) that this speech was delivered in the spring of 354. The year 355 B.C. would have been specially appropriate for a demonstration from Athens in favour of the Phocians who seemed at that moment to be in good hopes of establishing themselves permanently at Delphi.

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<sup>7</sup> Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 296 and cf. *RE* iv, 2567, etc.



## THE OLBIAN INSCRIPTION CIG 2080 REDISCOVERED

IN the Museum of the Society of the Friends of the Sciences in Wilno is preserved a stone thus registered in the inventory-book: 'No. 556/4—slab with Greek inscription bequeathed in 1910 by Jan Szwarnski.' The Keeper of the Museum asked me to decipher this inscription, and as I supposed that it had not been published, he kindly granted me the permission to take a photograph of it and to publish it.

The inscription is engraved in 7 lines on a slab of smoke-discoloured marble, the dimensions of which are: height, 0.22 m.; breadth, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m. The middle part of the front surface is so much worn and has become so smooth, as if by long attrition, that there remain no traces whatever of the deeply engraved letters. There is also a serious breakage at the right-hand margin which has carried away the last letter of l. 2 and damaged two letters of ll. 2 and 3. The lowest part of the stone is broken off in such a manner that only the top of the right-hand portion of l. 7 remains. All mutilations and gaps seem to be very ancient, and no damage of recent date is noticeable. The back has been left rough. The accompanying photograph (fig. 1) shows the actual preservation of the stone, while the following facsimile, based upon a squeeze (fig. 2), represents the legible letters and the remaining portions of the damaged letters.

The remaining upper portions of the letters in l. 7 can be easily restored; they form the word ΠONTAPXH. Ποντάρχης, 'the Lord of the Pontus', is a well-known epithet of Achilles, given him by the inhabitants of Olbia, the colony of Milesians on the right bank of the Bugh-Hypanis. This hero was especially worshipped by the Olbiopolitans as the tutelary deity of the North Euxine, and possessed in Olbia his temple and his own priests. The remaining upper portions of the last two letters of the preceding word confirm this reading; they are EI and form, no doubt, the end of the word: AXIΛEI. Thus the whole l. 7 runs: AXIΛEI ΠONTAPXH.

Lines 1-2 and the first word of l. 3 are clearly legible; they contain the formula: ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ and the dating phrase: ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΕΡΙ . . . but the name of the eponymous archon, being in the centre of the stone, is partly effaced; the existing vestiges at the beginning of it suggest the letter Π and the remaining 4 final letters: . . . ATON testify that the ending of this name was . . . ΑΤΟΣ.

Line 4 begins with the patronymic of the eponymous archon of which only the last letter is missing, but it can be obviously restored as Υ, giving ΔΑΔΑΓΟΥ (Δάδαγος).

E. H. Minns in his capital work *Scythians and Greeks*,<sup>1</sup> remarks about

<sup>1</sup> E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*. Cambridge, 1913, p. 473.



FIG. 1.—THE OLBIAN INSCRIPTION CIG 2080.

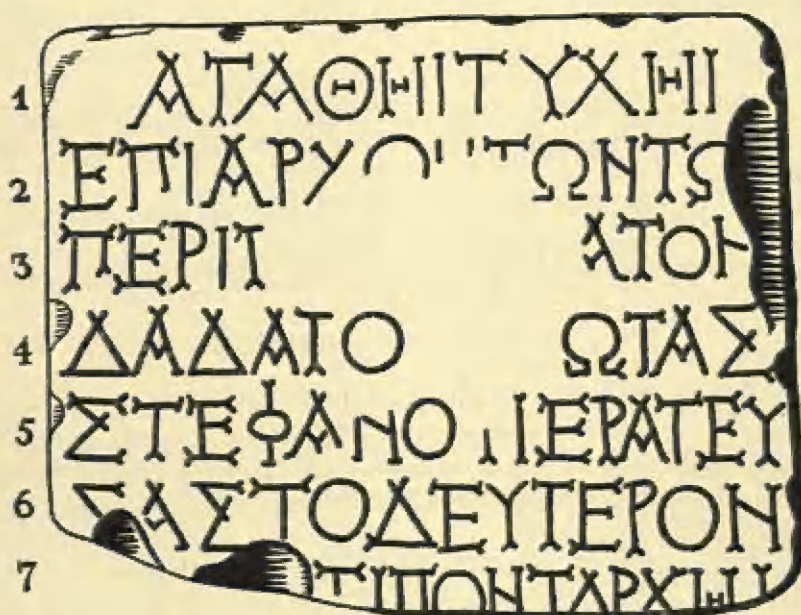


FIG. 2.—TRANSCRIPTION OF THE OLBIAN INSCRIPTION CIG 2080.



the Olbian archons that 'in two cases we have names and patronymics on coins which we can match on inscriptions . . . but . . . the coin ΠΙCICTPATOY ΔΑΔΑΚΟΥ (Pick xi, 7; Burachkov viii, 173) has so far no corresponding stone.' Now it seems that in our inscription the name of the archon can be conjectured as ΠΙCΙCΤPATOY, because the remaining four last letters are . . . ATON, the vestige of the first letter can be read as Π, and the lacuna just permits us to insert the letters . ΙCΙCΤP . . . As the patronymic of the archon in our inscription is Δάδαγος, and about this name Boeckh remarks that 'sibi respondent nomina Δάδαγος et Δαδάκης, Φάρναγος et Φαρνάκης,' it seems to be very likely that the archon in our inscription Π[ΙCΙCΤP]ATON ΔΑΔΑΓΟΥ is the same person as that on the coin, Pick xi, 7.<sup>2</sup>

Unfortunately, the name of the archon on this coin is mutilated; it runs (fig. 3) ΠΙCΙ . . TPATOY ΔΑΔΑΚΟΥ; but Prof. E. H. Minns has drawn my attention to a similar coin in the British Museum acquired in 1929.<sup>3</sup> From the cast of this coin which the Keeper of the Department of Coins in the British Museum has kindly sent me (fig. 4) it appears that the name of this archon runs: ΠΙCΙCCTPATOY ΔΑΔΑΚΟΥ. It is possible that on the coin, Pick xi, 7, as in our inscription, where the middle portion of the name of the archon is effaced, the spelling of this name is similar: Π[ΙCΙCΤP]ATON.

The rest of l. 4 and l. 5, as we may suppose, contain the name and the patronymic of the man who set up the stone. Of his name only the four final letters remain: . . . ΝΤΑΣ, and the lacuna gives space for one or two letters.

In l. 5 we read ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟ . , and as the missing letter at the end of this word seems without doubt to be Υ, the patronymic of the agent person is Στέφανος.

The rest of l. 5 and the whole of l. 6 can be easily deciphered; they run: ΙΕΡΑΤΕΥΣΑΣ ΤΟ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ, 'having filled the priesthood for the second time.'

Thus, taking into consideration l. 7, already deciphered, the reading of our inscription is as follows:

Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ.  
Ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων τῶ[υ]  
περὶ Π[ισιστρ]άτου  
Δαδάγο[υ] . . ωτας  
Στεφάνο[υ] ἱερατεύ-  
σας τὸ δεύτερον  
[Ἀχιλλεῖ] Ποντάρχῃ

The broken-off final portion of the inscription can be paralleled on many similar Olbian dedicatory inscriptions. It would be something like this: [ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως εὐσταθίας καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ὑγείας χαριστήριον].

'Good fortune! In the archonship of P[isistr]atos, son of Dadagos and

<sup>2</sup> B. Pick, *Die Antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands*. Bd. I, Pl. xi, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Num. Chron.*, 1930, Ser. v, vol. x, 1930, pl. xix, 8.

his colleagues . . . otas, son of Stephanos, having filled the priesthood for the second time, [dedicated this in gratitude] to Achilles, Lord of the Pontus, [for the welfare of the city and his own health].<sup>3</sup>

While attempting to restore by conjecture the letters wanting in the names of the eponymous archon and of the priest, I was looking over the Olbian inscriptions, edited by B. Latyshev,<sup>4</sup> and I was surprised to find that our inscription, which I supposed to be hitherto unknown, had already been published three times, each time however not from the stone, which



FIG. 3.—OLBIAN COIN, Pick xi, 7.

was regarded as lost, but from an erroneous facsimile of it. Thus this is the first publication based on the original stone.

At the beginning of the 19th century this stone belonged to Count Felix Potocki and was preserved in the museum of Tulczyn House, his estate in Podolia. Besides this stone the museum of Tulczyn contained two other Olbian inscriptions; all three Count Jan Potocki, a Polish historian and archaeologist, published in his: *Histoire ancienne du gouvernement de Cherson*<sup>5</sup> . . . as 'trouvées à Olbia,' but being unable to decipher the whole



FIG. 4.—OLBIAN COIN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.  
(*Nun. Chron. Ser. v*, vol. x, 1930, pl. xix, 8).

of our inscription he sent a copy of it to H. K. E. Koehler, Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Petersburg.

After the tragic death of Count Jan Potocki in 1815 Koehler, in search of materials for his archaeological studies, undertook in the year 1817 a journey to South Russia and on his way visited Tulczyn to look for the inscriptions preserved there. But the museum of Tulczyn must already have been destroyed, for after a long search, Koehler found in the park

<sup>3</sup> Latyshev B., *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini. Petropoli. Vol. I*,<sup>1</sup> 1885, No. 81;<sup>2</sup> 1916, No. 139, II-1890, IV-1901. [*JosPE*].

<sup>4</sup> *Histoire ancienne du Gouvernement de Cherson pour*

*servir de suite à l'Histoire Primitive des Peuples de la Russie par le Comte Jean Potocki. St. Pétersbourg, 1804, p. 29 ff.*



one stone only; the other stones, and among them our inscription, could not be traced, and he supposed that 'déposés dans une cour ils s'étoient perdus et avoient été détruits par les ouvriers et les maçons.' Thus, when in 1826 Koehler published his *Mémoire sur les Isles et la Course consacrées à Achille dans le Pont-Euxine*, he inserted in it two inscriptions of the Tulczyn collection: the inscription from the stone which he had found (*CIG* 2077, *IosPE* <sup>1</sup> 78; <sup>2</sup> 134) and another, namely our inscription, taken from the copy obtained 'par la complaisance du comte Jean Potocki . . .' and drawn 'avec la plus grande exactitude.' <sup>3</sup>

In his facsimile-copy of our stone Koehler has conjecturally restored in l. 3 the name of the eponymous archon as: ΝΕΙΚΗΡΑΤΟΝ, taking it from the stone he found at Tulczyn, similar by its contents to our inscription, on which the eponymous archon is named Νεικήρατος Νεικηράτον. In this facsimile-copy Koehler forgot to bracket the letters: ΝΕΙΚΗΡ, as restored, but in the transliteration into ordinary type he inserted the brackets. The patronymic of the archon he read: ΔΑΔΑΤΟΥ. The name of the dedicating priest Koehler has left unrestored, reading the second letter as Γ: . . . ΩΓΑΣ, but ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟ. he gave, probably upon the basis of Count Potocki's erroneous copy, as ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ - στέφανον 'crown' and translated the whole inscription as follows:

'Avec la bonne Fortune. Sous Niceratus fils de Dadatus et ses archontes . . . ogas remplissant la seconde fois la charge de prêtre a consacré une couronne à Achille Pontarque.'

Koehler's remarks about the dedication of crowns are naturally made void by the new reading Στεφάνου. Boeckh (*CIG* 2080) reprinted Koehler's text, remarking that Potocki's *apographa non satis certa sunt*. He kept Νεικήρατος, but read Δαδάγον on the analogy of many names from Olbia, Τουμβάγος (*CIG* 2061), Μακάγος (2071), Ἀβράγος (2072), etc. Δαδάγον actually occurs in 2077b,<sup>7</sup> but his copy of it was imperfect. On our stone the Γ has lost its right bar and has an exaggerated serif to the left, but this serif appears in the Γ of Ἀγαθῇ in l. 1. Boeckh restored the following name as Ἀψίωγος on the analogy of a name on a vase published by Blaramberg.<sup>8</sup> He kept στέφανον and took it as evidence that the priests did not use patronymics, *ad CIG* 2077, where he reads ΜΟΥΚΟΥΝΑΚΥΡΟΥ as one name, but he suggests himself that it might be two.

Count A. S. Uvarov<sup>9</sup> suggests that our Niceratus was the father of the man in *CIG* 2077.

Latyshev, *IosPE* I<sup>1</sup> 78, <sup>2</sup>139, reprints Boeckh's text, keeping στέφανον. He points out (p. 112) that this seems to be the only dedication of a named object made to Achilles Pontarches, the formula being χαριστήριον (which probably concluded the inscription). He is followed by Miss G. M. Hirst (*The Cults of Olbia* in *JHS* 23, 1903, p. 47). Actually, even if στέφανον were right, it would probably be followed by χρύσειον or the like. But there can be no doubt of the reading, for there is no room on the stone for a N, and the vertical of the Y is clearly preserved.

\* *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, Tome X, 1826, pp. 642-643.

<sup>1</sup> *IosPE* I<sup>1</sup> 79, <sup>2</sup>137.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal d'Odessa*, 1826, no. 76.

<sup>3</sup> *Izsledovaniya o drevnyakh Yuzhnoy Rossii etc.* I, p. 52: St. P. 1851.



The name Στέφανος is not common north of the Euxine except upon amphora handles, which hardly count. There is, however, a Σαββίων Στεφάνου at Panticapaeum (*IosPE* II 197) and a strategus at Olbia Κουνοῦς Στεφάνου (*IosPE* I<sup>2</sup> 95).

As to the priest's own name, -ΝΤΑΣ seems beyond a doubt. The termination is not common; there is Ἀτώτου in *IosPE* II 151, Ἀτώτεω *ib.* 164 from Kerch, Ἀτώτα *IosPE* I<sup>2</sup> 712 from Chersonese, all 4th century B.C. The name seems Paphlagonian: nominatives in -ας alternate with -ης.<sup>10</sup>

The inscription, like its analogues, belongs to the early second century; the lettering points to this and the coins appear to be of that date.

Neither Count J. Potocki nor Koehler mentions the place where our inscription was discovered, and its origin remains uncertain. As we have said, the inscription was preserved in the museum of Count Felix Potocki at Tulczyn and was copied there by Count Jan Potocki. After the death of Count Felix Potocki the objects in his museum were dispersed, and our inscription fell at the end of 19th century into the hands of Jan Szymański, who had been for a long time administrator of the estates of Countess Branicki at Biala Cerkiew in Ukraina, not very far from Tulczyn. As Szymański passed the last days of his life near Wilno, he bequeathed this inscription with some other archaeological objects to the Society of Friends of the Sciences in Wilno.

The recovery of this Olbian inscription which was considered as lost for over 100 years, allows the correction of some wrong deductions made from its erroneous copy.

In the first place, as we have seen, Koehler, Boeckh and Latyshev read the patronymic of the priest in this inscription as στέφανον, 'the crown,' which this priest offered to Achilles. Moreover, Boeckh generalised the supposed fact that the name of the priest of Achilles is used in our inscription without the patronymic, and corrected Koehler's reading of the priest's name in another inscription (*CIG* 2077) as Μουκουνακύρου, instead of Μούκου Νακύρου or Μουκούνα Κύρου, referring to our inscription to prove that the name of Achilles' priest could be used without the patronymic. Now we see that our rediscovered inscription does not allow of this deduction.

In the second place, the erroneous copy of our inscription led Latyshev, followed by Miss Hirst, to observe that there was one curious point of contrast between the Olbian dedicatory inscriptions consecrated to Achilles and those consecrated to Apollo Prostates, namely, that in the latter the gift is always mentioned, whereas in the former it is merely called χαριστήριον, except in our inscription where it is a στέφανος, crown, given by a priest, and except *IosPE* I<sup>1</sup> 77;<sup>2</sup> 130, where even χαριστήριον is omitted. Now that the rediscovery of our inscription permits us to state that the word στέφανος does not mean 'the crown,' but is the proper name Στέφανος, this exception falls to the ground, and the rule holds in all cases.

<sup>10</sup> Another possibility is Ἀγρότας I<sup>2</sup> 189, 201 at 438); there seems to be room and it is a good Olbia, or much more likely Φιλώτας not at Olbia Greek name. E.H.M.  
but in the Bosporan kingdom (*IosPE* II 261, 403,



Though the number of dedicatory Olbian inscriptions consecrated to Achilles is not great, it is, however, clear that the form of the dedication to this hero cannot be considered as accidental, and requires explanation.

It seems that the provenance of these inscriptions can supply us with some indications which may help to solve this problem. It is worth noticing that out of the total number of Olbian dedicatory inscriptions, the origin of which is exactly known, many consecrated to Apollo and Hermes were found in the ruins of Olbia: out of eleven inscriptions dedicated to Apollo<sup>11</sup> only two were not found at Olbia.<sup>12</sup> As to the two Hermes inscriptions<sup>13</sup> the provenance of one is not known, but the other was found in Olbia.

On the contrary, among the inscriptions dedicated to Achilles, the provenance of which is known, one only<sup>14</sup> which was bought in the city Akkerman, was said to have been found in the ruins of Olbia, the rest of them were discovered at some distance from Olbia: *IosPE* I<sup>1</sup>, 77 and 78 (<sup>2</sup> 130, 134)—near Tuzla; 80, 82 (<sup>2</sup> 138, 142)—on the coast of Liman Tiligul; 79 (<sup>2</sup> 137)—near Ochakov; 83 (<sup>2</sup> 144)—on the coast of the Liman Karabash; 179 (<sup>2</sup> 328)—in Cursu Achillis; *IosPE* I<sup>1</sup> 244 (<sup>2</sup> 672)—near Simferopol; IV 63 (<sup>2</sup> 327)—in the sea near Kinburn spit; 172 (<sup>2</sup> 326)—on the island of Leuce and two inscriptions—on the island of Berezan, *IosPE* I,<sup>2</sup> 131, 136.

This fact has been observed by Professor E. H. Minns (*op. cit.* p. 481) who says: '... it is clear that these dedications have nothing to do with any temple, for they are scattered along the coast from Koblevka and the Tiligul past Beykush to Ochakov and again several upon the Tendra . . . Achilles seems even to have invaded the "Grove of Hecate," for an altar to him was dredged up off Kinburn spit.'

Count Uvarov<sup>15</sup> attempts to explain this dispersion of the Achilles inscriptions by the fact that the stones from the ruins of Olbia had been carried away for many centuries and served as building material not only for many neighbouring villages, but even for the Turkish fortress and city of Ochakov, and therefore Olbian inscriptions could be found far from their place of origin. Nevertheless, this does not explain why there is such a great disproportion between the Apollo and Achilles inscriptions, if both had been carried away from the ruins of Olbia. We must therefore look for another explanation, and it seems that a solution can be found in connexion with the cult of Achilles Pontarches in Olbia, and on the northern shores of Euxine.

It is generally stated that from the remotest times Achilles had been worshipped on the northern Euxine as the tutelary deity. Koehler (*op. cit.*) early in the 19th century first dealt with this question. He tried to demonstrate that Berezan, a small island at the mouth of Dniepr-Bug Liman, was also consecrated to Achilles, like the famous island Leuke, situated off the mouth of the Danube. He maintained that on Berezan

<sup>11</sup> *IosPE* I<sup>1</sup>, 50, 54, 55, 58, 61, 62, 68, 70, 74; IV, 15, 16. In *IosPE* I<sup>2</sup> there are, with fragments, 49 to Apollo 80-125 and 175; all the new ones come from Olbia.

<sup>12</sup> *IosPE* I<sup>1</sup>, 50 (80); IV, 15 (86).

<sup>13</sup> *IosPE* I<sup>1</sup>, 75, 76; (I,<sup>2</sup> 128, 129).

<sup>14</sup> *IosPE* IV<sup>1</sup>, 18 (I<sup>2</sup> 141).

<sup>15</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 36.



there had stood in remotest times a shrine consecrated to Achilles Pontarches. During all the 19th century Koehler's assertions were violently contested by many scholars, especially by Latyshev, but in consequence of the systematic excavations which E. von Stern, Professor of Odessa University and subsequently at Halle, carried out on Berezan in 1902 and subsequent years, Koehler's opinion proved true, because inscriptions consecrated to the hero were found on the island.

Another opinion of Koehler's, that the early Milesian settlers had found the cult of Achilles already firmly established among the natives of the land where they settled, and had adopted it from them, was combated by Miss Hirst.<sup>16</sup> She thinks that Herodotus (iv, 59) would not have failed to mention Achilles among the deities worshipped by the Scythians as he mentions Hestia, Zeus, the Earth, Apollo, Aphrodite, Ares and Herakles. But this applies only to the Scythians, and Koehler's theory does not exclude the possibility that the deity which the Olbians worshipped under the name of Achilles Pontarches was the most ancient divinity of the pre-Scythian inhabitants on the northern shores of the Euxine. The Milesian colonists who founded Olbia adopted this deity and added to its primitive character as a god of fishermen and sailors the exploits of Achilles, the hero of the Trojan war.

Two places of this kind have long been recognised: the Tendra (Δρόμος Ἀχιλλέως) and the 'Grove of Hecate' (\*Ἄλσος Ἑκάτης,) where an altar consecrated to Achilles was dredged up off Kinburn spit.<sup>17</sup> A third place was certainly the island Berezan where Professor von Stern discovered in 1905 and 1907 the two inscriptions dedicated to Achilles. No doubt a temple of Achilles Pontarches existed in Olbia itself, but it looks as if the principal seats of the cult were outside the city on the open shore of the Euxine. Other places where dedications have been found are Tuzla, Ochakov, the shore of Liman Tiligul and Liman Karabash; but, as Professor E. H. Minns (*l.c.*) has remarked, 'these dedications have nothing to do with any temple.' In these places, sanctified by their antiquity, the Olbian priests of Achilles having filled their office made the traditional dedications 'for the welfare of the City and their own health.' As these rites were performed on open spaces, no valuable objects, such as: στέφανος χρύσεος, στρέπτὸς χρύσεος, φιάλη ἀργυρᾶ, Νίκη ἀργυρᾶ, and so on, could be offered to Achilles Pontarches, as was the custom when the offerings were made in the temples.

This, I think, is the reason why in all the Olbian inscriptions consecrated to Achilles no gift is ever mentioned, only the word χαριστήριον being used.

NICHOLAS DZIKOWSKI.

*Wilno, University Library.*

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 248.

<sup>17</sup> *IstPE* I<sup>1</sup>, 179-183; IV, 63 (I<sup>2</sup> 327-332).



## THE MAUSOLEUM\*

[PLATE IX]

To attempt a new restoration of the Tomb of Mausolus may seem to some a hopeless, and to others an unnecessary, task. But I have never felt satisfied with any of those hitherto proposed; and only that of Cockerell<sup>1</sup> (dating originally from before the excavation of the monument by Sir Charles Newton in 1857) and that of Mr. J. J. Stevenson<sup>2</sup> appear to me to explain in any way its reputation in antiquity, especially for lightness and beauty, or its inclusion among the 'Seven Wonders.' The sources of evidence as to the construction of the building are the well-known description given by the elder Pliny and the facts disclosed by Newton's excavation; it will be best therefore to quote the passage and briefly to state the facts. Pliny's words are:<sup>3</sup> *Scopas habuit aemulos eadem aetate Bryaxim et Timotheum et Leocharem, de quibus simul dicendum est quoniam pariter caelavere Mausoleum.*<sup>3a</sup> *Sepulchrum hoc est ab uxore Artemisia factum Mausolo Cariae regulo, qui obiit Olympiadis cvii anno secundo.*<sup>4</sup> *Opus id ut esset inter septem miracula hi maxime fecere artifices. Patet ab austro et septentrione sexagenos ternos pedes, brevius a frontibus, toto circumitu pedes ccccxv,<sup>5</sup> attollitur in altitudinem xxv cubitis, cingitur columnis xxxvi. Pteron vocavere circumitum. Ab oriente caelavit Scopas a septentrione Bryaxis a meridie Timotheus ab occasu Leochares, priusque quam peragerent regina obiit. Non tamen recesserunt nisi absolute iam, id gloriae ipsorum artisque monumentum iudicantes, hodieque certant manus. Accessit et quintus artifex. Namque super pteron pyramis altitudine inferiorem aequavit,<sup>6</sup> viginti quatuor gradibus in metae cacumen se contrahens. In summo est quadriga marmorea quam fecit Pythis. Haec adjecta cxxxx pedum altitudine totum opus includit.* The equivalents in English measure of the figures given by Pliny depend of course upon the length of the foot referred to by him. The 'Italic' foot of 11.66 in. is approximately  $\frac{1}{2}$  in. less than the English foot; the Greek feet of 12.15 in. and 12.45 in. are respectively  $\frac{3}{4}$  in. and  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. greater than it.<sup>7</sup> On the supposition (see p. 99 below) that the <sup>2</sup> *totus*

\* I am indebted to Mr. Theodore Fyfe for the working out of the design and for the completion of the drawing according to my ideas and the known architectural facts; also to Mr. Erwin Bamberger, who set out the perspective and the general lines of the drawing under Mr. Fyfe's supervision.

<sup>1</sup> See *BM Sculpture* II, p. 74 and Pl. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> *A Restoration of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus*, London, 1909. (Reprinted, with amendments, from *The Builder*, August 27, 1896.)

<sup>3</sup> *N.H.* xxxvi, 30.

<sup>3a</sup> Vitruvius (VII Praefatio 13) says as to the sculptors employed: *singulis frontibus singuli artifices sumpserunt certatim partes ad ornandum et probandum Leochares, Bryaxis, Scopas, Praxiteles non nulli etiam putant Timotheum.*

<sup>4</sup> 351 A.C.

<sup>5</sup> Cod. Bamb. ccccxv.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* aequat.

<sup>7</sup> As to these feet see Flinders Petrie in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,<sup>14</sup> vol. XV, pp. 142 ff., and Prof. D. S. Robertson's *Greek and Roman Architecture*, pp. 82 and



*circumitus* ' was 440 ft. (the reading of the Bamberg codex), and that it was in the form of a square, each side would have been in English measure, on the basis of the foot of 12.45 in., about 114 ft. in length, and on that of the foot of 12.15 in. about 111 ft. 4 ins. As these dimensions exceed the lengths of the eastern and western sides of the foundation disclosed by the excavation it seems probable that Pliny's foot is the 'Italic' one of 11.66 in., on the basis of which, in English measure, the pteron was almost exactly 61 ft. 3 ins. in length, the '*totus circumitus*' a square of 107 ft. a side, the height of the pteron 36 ft. 6 ins., and the total height of the building 136 ft.

The excavation<sup>8</sup> showed that the foundation was in the form of a rectangle, 127 ft. in English measure on the longer northern and southern sides by 108 ft. on the fronts;<sup>9</sup> the area so enclosed having been cut out of the rock on the side of a hill sloping southwards to the harbour of Halicarnassus (now called Budrum), and filled up with slabs of a coarse green stone, strongly bound together by iron clamps. In Newton's opinion the site had originally been a quarry. The Mausoleum appears to have been overthrown by an earthquake sometime during the 13th or the 14th century A.D.<sup>10</sup>

The restorations proposed down to 1908 were discussed, with reproductions, by Professor W. R. Lethaby,<sup>11</sup> who divided them into restorations of the 'large plan' and the 'small plan' types. The former category includes, besides that of Newton and Pullan, those of Fergusson, Petersen, Bernier, Oldfield,<sup>12</sup> Adler,<sup>13</sup> and Professors Six,<sup>14</sup> Dinsmoor<sup>15</sup> and Krischen,<sup>16</sup> while Stevenson and Professor Krüger,<sup>17</sup> like Cockerell, have adopted the 'small plan.' In the 'large plan' the thirty-six columns mentioned by Pliny are arranged in a single row, with eight intercolumniations on each front and ten on each side; in the 'small plan' the columns form a double row, twenty-two in the outer range and fourteen in the inner one, having in each outer range five intercolumniations on the fronts and six on the sides. The 'large plan' schemes are based on Newton's con-

149. (Cf. Frazer, *Pausanias*, Vol. III, p. 497). The foot of 11.66 in. was widely spread by Roman influence, varying up to 11.8 in. On the last basis (11.8 in.) the length of the pteron would have been in English measure all but 62 ft., its height all but 37 ft., the total height of the building 137 ft. 8 in., and each side of a square of 440 ft., 108 ft. 2 in.

<sup>8</sup> The results were published by Newton in his *History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae* (London, 1862) (hereinafter cited as '*Hist. Disc.*'), containing a restoration of the monument by Newton and Mr. R. P. Pullan, the architect attached to the expedition.

<sup>9</sup> In his later work, *Travels and Discoveries in the Levant* (London, 1865), Newton states (Vol. II, p. 93 and notes 39 and 40) that the length of the fronts had been estimated by Lieut. Smith (who commanded the party of sappers sent by the British Government for the excavations), at 107 ft. and at

108 ft., of which the latter figure was more likely to be correct; and that the longer sides were 127 ft. on the north and 126 ft. on the south.

<sup>10</sup> It was standing in the 12th century (see *Hist. Disc.*, pp. 72-3), and the Knights of St. John were using the materials for building their castle of St. Peter from about 1404 onwards (*id.*, pp. 73-4 and 645 ff.).

<sup>11</sup> In *Greek Buildings Represented by Fragments in The British Museum* (1908), pp. 37-70. See also for restorations *BM Sculpture II*, pp. 75-8.

<sup>12</sup> *Archaeologia* liv, pp. 273-362. The disposition of the sculpture is discussed by him, *id.* lv, pp. 343-90.

<sup>13</sup> *Das Mausoleum zu Halikarnass* (Berlin, 1900).

<sup>14</sup> *JHS* xxv (1905), 1.

<sup>15</sup> *AJA* xii (1908), pp. 3 ff., 141 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Bonner Jahrbücher* 128 (1923), p. 1.

<sup>17</sup> *Id.* 127 (1921), p. 84.



clusion that certain marble steps discovered by him are those of the pyramid above the pteron to which Pliny refers, and in his and Pullan's restoration that pyramid is given a base of 105 ft. by 85 ft. 5 ins., two of the sides being constructed wholly of steps having a tread of 1 ft. 9½ ins., and the other two sides wholly of steps having a tread of 1 ft. 5 ins.<sup>18</sup> Portions of steps with these treads, including four or five angle steps having a tread of the one dimension in one direction and of the other in the other,<sup>19</sup> were found by Newton, with other broken slabs of marble, in a space about 60 ft. in length by 20 ft. in width, just beyond the northern wall of the peribolos of the Mausoleum and about 40 ft. from the site of the building itself. They were forty to fifty in number, 3 ft. and 2 ft. in width, and averaged 4 ft. in length, and were marked with treads in a way which showed their purpose. Besides the steps above mentioned there were found a step with a tread of 10½ ins. and one with a tread of 9 ins. fitting exactly on to one with the tread of 1 ft. 5 ins. The steps are ridged at the side in such a way as to make effective weather joints. Each step is 11¾ ins. high on the face of the riser but 12¼ ins. at the back. With them were found fragments of statuary, from which have been made up the colossal figure of Mausolus and that usually identified as Artemisia,<sup>20</sup> placed by Newton side by side in the quadriga surmounting the building; some heads of colossal size, and fragments of lions, of the horses of the quadriga, and of a wheel of the chariot.<sup>21</sup> These remains, as explained by Newton,<sup>22</sup> had been protected from marauders by a deposit of soil which in the course of years had covered them. Steps with various treads, among others of 6 ins. and 4 ins. respectively, were also found on different parts of the site during the excavation. It is clear that an upper pyramid of the dimensions above named is irreconcilable with Pliny's figure of 63 ft. for the length of the pteron; and advocates of the 'large plan' type of restoration are disposed to set aside his statements.

Lethaby<sup>23</sup> refers to the fact that most of the steps found by Newton were wide. But it may be pointed out that the smaller steps were easier to move, and therefore, during the long period before the soil covered the spot, more likely to be carried away; and further, that the discovery of the remains beyond the northern wall of the peribolos appears to have been made at about its centre. Above the wall, and some 15 ft. beyond it, Newton believed<sup>24</sup> that there ran an ancient street, connecting the eastern and western gates of the city, and it seems to me very probable that this important street was also connected with the peribolos, at the centre of its northern side, by a flight of broad marble steps, which, shattered by the fall upon them of parts of the building, may have contributed some of the slabs discovered. Lucian,<sup>25</sup> no doubt, makes Mausolus claim *μνημα παμμέγεθες ἡλίκον οὐκ ἄλλος νεκρός*, and other writers refer to the magnitude of the

<sup>18</sup> *Hist. Disc.*, pp. 163 ff.; *BM Sculpture* II, p. 86; Lethaby, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>19</sup> Two are described in *BM Sculpture* (Nos. 987, 988).

<sup>20</sup> It has also been considered to represent a goddess, acting as charioteer.

<sup>21</sup> Other fragments were found on the southern part of the site.

<sup>22</sup> *Hist. Disc.*, p. 107.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>24</sup> *Hist. Disc.*, p. 115.

<sup>25</sup> *Dial. Mort.* xxiv.



monument. But is not the comparison with other tombs, rather than with buildings generally? The Artemision and other temples in Asia were much larger than was the Mausoleum, on any hypothesis; while the 'Nereid' monument<sup>26</sup> from Xanthus has a substructure of 33 ft. 1½ ins. by 22 ft. ¾ ins. only, and the 'Lion tomb' near Cnidus, the 'tomb of Payava,' and others are smaller still. An Asiatic monument on a larger scale has however recently become known—namely the tomb excavated in 1933 at Belevi, a few miles north-east of Ephesus, by Austrian archaeologists, and published<sup>27</sup> by Dr. Josef Keil. It is just under 100 ft. in length, and as restored consists of a podium of rock, faced with marble, and surmounted by a Corinthian pteron enclosing a cella: podium and pteron being each about 30 ft. in height. A pyramidal roof, of low pitch, is surmounted by a raised platform on which statues are placed. The size, as well as the architectural and sculptural enrichment, of the structure, evidenced amply by the remains, make it probable that it was erected in honour of some eminent personage, and Dr. Keil, who dates it at about the middle of the 3rd century B.C., suggests that it was the burial place of Antiochus II (Theos), who died at Ephesus in 247 B.C., and whose burial at Antioch may have been precluded by the outbreak of the Laodicean war. Yet this large and elaborate monument, possibly the tomb of a monarch of much higher rank than Mausolus, is, equally with the smaller and earlier Lycian and Carian ones, unmentioned by any extant ancient author, while testimony to the splendour of the Mausoleum abounds. Strabo,<sup>28</sup> Vitruvius,<sup>29</sup> and Aulus Gellius,<sup>30</sup> like Pliny, record and approve its inclusion among the Seven Wonders. It is one of the two remarkable tombs selected for mention by Pausanias,<sup>31</sup> from among the many that he knew, on account of its size and the perfection of its architecture; and he adds that the Romans, in their admiration of it, called their own famous monuments 'Mausolea.' Lucian<sup>32</sup> extols the beauty of its workmanship and its statues of horses and men in the finest marble, difficult to match even in a temple. These facts seem to me to justify the inference that the Mausoleum was regarded in antiquity as a unique masterpiece of architecture as well as of sculpture; the Lycian and other tombs, consisting of a basement, a pyramid and a trophy,<sup>33</sup> being merely examples of a local architectural style, and negligible comparatively as works of art. The 'large plan,' with its pyramid of wide steps at the summit, necessarily, in view of the dimensions of the foundation,

<sup>26</sup> A new model of which is in the British Museum. (See *BMQ* (1929), p. 95, and for the other two monuments *BM Sculpture* Nos. 1350, 950).

<sup>27</sup> *ÖJh* xxix, *Beiblatt*, pp. 105 ff. See also *id.* xxviii, *Beiblatt*, pp. 27 ff. and xxx, *Beiblatt*, pp. 175 ff.; and Fyfe, *Hellenistic Architecture*, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>28</sup> 656.

<sup>29</sup> ii, 8, 10. Mausoleum ita egregius opibus est factum ut in septem spectaculis nominetur. See also *id.* vii, *Praefatio* 13.

<sup>30</sup> xviii, 4. Sepulchrum illud memoratissimum dignatumque numerari inter septem omnium terrarum spectacula.

<sup>31</sup> viii, 16, 4. Μέγας δὲ αὐτῷ δὴ τί ἐστι μέγας καὶ

ἐξ κατασκευῆς περιβλεπτός τὴν πᾶσαν ὥστε καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι μέγας δὴ τί αὐτὸν θαυμάζοντες τὰ παρὰ σφίσι ἐπιφανῆ μνημεῖα Μανσάλεια ὀνομάζουσιν.

<sup>32</sup> *Dial. Mort.* xxiv. οὕτως ἐς κάλλος ἐξηρακμένον ἵππων καὶ ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον εἰκασμένων λίθου τοῦ καλλίστου οἶον αὐτῇ νεῶν εἴροι τις ἂν βραδύως.

<sup>33</sup> Reproduced in the model of the Mausoleum constructed in the British Museum in 1926 (see *BMQ*, I, p. 87). Prof. D. S. Robertson (*Greek and Roman Architecture*, p. 157), considers the pointed arch shown in the base of this model to be 'quite incredible'; and no less so, to me, is the placing on a great work of Art of two lines of frieze, one immediately above the other, as in Krischen's restoration.



gives to the entire structure the form of a large temple placed on an unbroken base, without the proportions associated with Greek temples and without approaches, gradations, or relief of any kind. The 'small plan,' on the other hand, allows of an orderly progression from summit to base, and is also alone in accordance with Pliny, our sole authority for details, whose description appears to me entitled to acceptance unless it can be shown to be at variance with established facts. I believe, on the contrary, that a restoration based on his figures, and fully consistent with the results of the excavation, can be arrived at.

It is necessary, before any scheme of reconstruction can be devised, to decide whether it is to include one pyramid of steps, or two,<sup>34</sup> a question which turns on the acceptance or rejection of the emendation *altitudinem inferiorem* for *altitudine inferiorem* in Pliny's description above quoted. This emendation was adopted by Newton admittedly<sup>35</sup> because *altitudine* involves grammatically the understanding of *pyramidem* as the substantive agreeing with *inferiorem*; and the existence of a lower pyramid is impossible on his hypothesis of the dimensions of the building, since it would have extended beyond the area of the foundation. There is, however, no MS. authority for *altitudinem*, and the reading becomes unnecessary if the 'small plan' type of restoration be accepted, for this allows room for a pyramid below the pteron, to which the larger steps can be assigned.

I consider therefore, with Oldfield, that the part of the Mausoleum below the pteron included a pyramid of steps equal in height to that which surmounted the pteron; but I do not break this lower pyramid, as he did, by projecting blocks. I conceive of it rather as rising unbroken on all sides, and giving to the structure above it the dignity and impressiveness which an external staircase imparts. To take familiar illustrations, it is its position on the ground level which robs the Scott Monument in Edinburgh of much of its effect; while the Albert Memorial in Kensington Gardens, in itself inferior, owes such dignity as it possesses to its being approached by flights of steps.

Pliny, as we have seen, gives the total height of the Mausoleum as 140 ft. (136 ft.)<sup>36</sup> including the '*quadriga quam fecit Pythis*.'<sup>37</sup> Oldfield develops a theory, based on the reading *aequavit*, that Pythis, after the rest of the monument had been completed, added a pedestal, carrying the quadriga, upon the six topmost steps of the upper pyramid. Whether or not this is to build too much upon 'the use of a tense in a doubtful text,'<sup>38</sup> and whether or not such a later alteration is probable, Pliny evidently

<sup>34</sup> Cockerell and Stevenson, like the authors of the 'large plan' restorations, included one pyramid only in their schemes. Prof. Krüger places a lower pyramid, extending to the ground level, below a podium equal in height to the pteron. The chief defects of his restoration are, to me, the ungainliness inseparable from the high podium (on which two friezes are placed), and the absence of a base.

<sup>35</sup> *Hist. Disc.*, pp. 191-2.

<sup>36</sup> In English measure (see p. 94, and note 7, above).

<sup>37</sup> It is uncertain whether 'Pythis' is identical with Pythios or Phyteus, who is said by Vitruvius, (vii, *Praefatio* 12), to have composed, with Satyrus, a treatise upon the Mausoleum; and whether Pliny derived his knowledge of the building from this work (now lost) or from information supplied by his own contemporary C. Licinius Mucianus. (See Jex-Blake and Sellers, *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art*, pp. lxxxv ff.)

<sup>38</sup> *B. M. Sculpture*, II, p. 72.



reckons the height of the quadriga as additional to that of the rest of the fabric. The wheels of the chariot are estimated,<sup>39</sup> from the fragments in the British Museum, to have been 7 ft. 7 ins. in diameter, and the horses can hardly have been less than 12 ft. in height to the top of the neck. Stevenson considered them to have been 10 ft. or 10 ft. 6 ins. in length from head to tail, and made the base or platform on which the quadriga rested 18 ft. 6 ins. square. Professor Percy Gardner's arguments<sup>40</sup> against placing in the chariot the colossal figures of Mausolus and Artemisia appear to me convincing; but while 18 ft. may be sufficient for the width of the whole group, chariot and horses, I think that 21 ft. was more probably its length. The base on which the horses stood was 10 ins. in thickness; and if we add, with almost all restorers, a pedestal (composed very probably, as Stevenson suggested, of steps with a rise of 2 ft. and a tread of 4 ins., of which a specimen survives) say 6 ft. in height, we have 19 or 20 ft. for the height of the quadriga and about 118 ft. for that of the rest of the structure. The next portion to be dealt with is the upper pyramid, for the 24 steps of which I allow a height of 24 ft. 6 ins., each step being  $12\frac{1}{4}$  ins. in height; and I think that it probably had a base some 6 ft. in height, enabling it to rise clear above the cornice of the pteron. Taking, as suggested above, 21 ft. as the length of the quadriga, and subtracting this from 61 ft. (the approximate length of the pteron being 61 ft. 3 ins.), we have 40 ft., or 20 ft. on each side, for the possible spread of the upper pyramid to the east and west. But I suppose the weight of the pyramid, resting on the walls of its base, to have been borne by the columns of the inner row, standing some 6 ft. behind the outer one;<sup>41</sup> and a space of that depth would thus be left round the base and be available for inspection and repair. I take, therefore, the actual spread in each direction to have been 14 ft., which (= 168 ins.) divides into twenty-four steps, each having a tread of 7 ins.<sup>42</sup> Deducting again 18 ft. for the width of the quadriga from 54 ft. (which, as will be seen, I regard as the width of the pteron at the fronts), we have 36 ft., or 18 ft. on each side, for the spread of the upper pyramid to the north and south; and (allowing the balance for the space round the base) 12 ft. (= 144 ins.) for the actual spread in each of these directions, dividing into twenty-four steps, each with a tread of 6 ins. Descending, we come to the pteron, the height of which, including no doubt the entablature, is given by Pliny as 25 cubits (36 ft. 6 ins.).<sup>43</sup> Lions' heads, placed as spouts at intervals along the gutter, carried off the water from the roof. The columns appear to have been about 28 ft. 6 ins. in height.<sup>44</sup> In a restoration of the 'small plan' type they must, as already said, be arranged in a double row: but the

<sup>39</sup> *Id.* p. 94.

<sup>40</sup> *JHS* xiii, p. 188; *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 240.

<sup>41</sup> Stevenson, who in his restoration much increased the weight upon the columns by placing the two colossal figures in the chariot and including large steps in the pyramid, calculated the total weight to be borne at 800 tons, and considered each column to be capable of supporting a weight of 180 tons, or 20 tons per square foot 'which is not very different from

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the present practice.' (*Op. cit.* pp. 28-9.)

<sup>42</sup> The significance of Pliny's comparison of the upper pyramid to a 'meta' has been much, but inconclusively, discussed. Newton (*Hist. Disc.*, p. 195) pointed out that 'meta' is used by Latin authors with reference to a variety of objects the forms of which have in common only a base much wider than the apex.

<sup>43</sup> In English measure (see p. 94 above).

<sup>44</sup> See Lethaby, *op. cit.*, p. 60.



question arises whether they enclosed a cella, as Newton and others have supposed. Nothing in Pliny's words, or in those of any other authority, requires or indicates the existence of this feature, nor can any of the remains discovered be ascribed with certainty to it; and I agree with Oldfield, Stevenson, and Krüger that it must be excluded. In the first place, as Oldfield pointed out,<sup>45</sup> its presence gives no force to Pliny's *vocavere*. For columns surrounding a cella 'pteron' was the ordinary and universal term; *vocavere* must surely imply that in the case of the Mausoleum the word was applied exceptionally to a colonnade which had no building within it. Secondly, as Oldfield also observed,<sup>46</sup> a cella makes Martial's reference to *aere vacuo pendentia Mausolea*<sup>47</sup> unintelligible; for nothing more solid and less aerial can well be imagined. Lethaby, upholding the existence of a cella, said<sup>48</sup> that 'hanging in void air' is rhetoric for 'high,' and Mr. Fyfe suggests<sup>49</sup> that 'the cella would have made the support of the pyramid not a very difficult matter, but it appeared to be difficult from an external point of view.' While I must doubt whether, with a cella, the support of the pyramid would have appeared to be difficult, the absence of one, though structurally possible, may seem to many a departure from Greek tradition and practice which is very improbable. On the present evidence certainty cannot be attained, but I may perhaps suggest a parallel. Rembrandt's 'Night Watch' is, in its origin and general character, merely one of the commissioned portrait groups of which many already existed in Holland, as the Mausoleum was an addition to a series of existing sepulchral monuments. But Rembrandt made the 'Night Watch,' in the words of his pupil, Samuel van Hoogstraten, a 'thing by itself,'<sup>50</sup> differing from and surpassing all other works of the kind; and if the picture, and all indisputable evidence as to its composition and features, had perished, any reconstruction of it based upon the portrait groups of Van der Helst and others, even of Frans Hals, would have been erroneous. So, as it seems to me, the Mausoleum was in the estimation of the ancient world a thing by itself, something apart from the other monuments of its class; and I cannot regard the inclusion in it of any feature as precluded merely because it would have been novel.

As regards the pteron, the interaxial distance was no doubt about 9 ft. 9 ins.,<sup>51</sup> which gives for six columniations on the long sides of the pteron about 58 ft. 6 ins., making with the addition of some 3 ft. for the half diameters<sup>52</sup> of the columns at the ends of the range between 61 ft. and 62 ft. Pliny gives no figure for the length of the fronts, merely saying that they were shorter; but on the same measurements their five interaxial distances would work out at about 52 ft. It is an additional objection to the 'large plan' type of restoration that it gives an even number of inter-

<sup>45</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 288. I am not sure that much turns on the retention or omission of 'circumitum' here.

<sup>46</sup> *Id.*, pp. 278-9.

<sup>47</sup> *Lib. Spect.*, i, 5. It may be that in certain lights, or from certain points of view, the eye did not distinguish the columns, so that the entablature, upper pyramid and chariot appeared to be

hanging in air.

<sup>48</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>49</sup> *Hellenistic Architecture*, p. 54.

<sup>50</sup> D. S. Meldrum, *Rembrandt's Paintings*, p. 98.

<sup>51</sup> See Lethaby, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>52</sup> The diameter of the upper part of a column appears to be about 3 ft. and that of the lower part about 3 ft. 6 ins. (See *id.*, pp. 41-2, 60).



columniations at the fronts, and I think that very probably the central intercolumniation of each front was some 2 ft. longer than the others, a statue of importance perhaps standing in the opening. The total length would thus have been approximately 54 ft., and I do not think it a mere coincidence that the lengths of the fronts and sides of the pteron would thus be about half those of the corresponding limits of the foundation as discovered by Newton. In the centre of the pteron I place a colossal figure of Zeus Labraundos. In the British Museum is a sunken panel of white marble, representing a colossal figure of Zeus, standing with a double axe held over his right shoulder and a spear in his left hand. On either side Idrieus and Ada, the immediate successors of Mausolus and Artemisia, stand in adoration of their ancestral god.<sup>53</sup> The base or pedestal on which such a statue would be raised may have been decorated by the reliefs in frames of which fragments survive.<sup>54</sup> So far we have arrived at about 67 ft. as the height of the upper pyramid, with its base, and the pteron. Pliny's figure of 140 ft. (136 ft.)<sup>55</sup> for the total height cannot well be accounted for merely by the quadriga, upper and lower pyramids, and pteron; and it seems to me most probable that the latter was placed upon a podium, and the lower pyramid upon another podium or base. The upper podium I conjecture to have had a height of some 12 ft., about one-third of that of the pteron, and round its four sides I place the frieze representing an amazonomachia. Of this (though only four slabs were found on the site)<sup>56</sup> the British Museum possesses seventeen slabs, in total length 85 ft. 9 ins.: on my hypothesis rather more than one-third of the whole, the four sides amounting in length together to about 230 ft. The frieze was coloured, as were other sculptures and the architectural members;<sup>57</sup> and is likely in any case to have been placed where it would be seen at some distance, though hardly above the architrave, as in Pullan's, Adler's and Dinsmoor's restorations.<sup>58</sup> Before dealing with the construction of the lower pyramid, the size of the base of the monument (to which I take Pliny's *totus circumitus* to refer) must be considered. In regard to this, as already noted, the MSS. vary, the Codex Bambergensis giving 440 ft. and the other chief MSS. 411 ft. The difference between the figures I and L is so slight, and the authority of the Bamberg codex so high, that it seems permissible to adopt its figure and to suppose the base to have been a square, in Pliny's measurements of 110 ft., in English measure of about 107 ft.<sup>59</sup> a side. This is in harmony with the form of the peribolos, which was most probably a square of about 335 ft. a side;<sup>60</sup> while 107 ft. is practically identical with 108 ft., Newton's figure for the length of the foundation on the fronts.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>53</sup> See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 593, where the panel is reproduced. In Mr. Fyfe's design (Pl. IX) the pedestal is assumed to be 8 ft. in length by 6 ft. 6 ins. in width and 7 ft. in height, and the statue to be 15 ft. in height.

<sup>54</sup> *B M Sculpture*, Nos. 1038-42.

<sup>55</sup> In English measure (see p. 94 above).

<sup>56</sup> Twelve were recovered in 1846 from the Castle of St. Peter at Halicarnassus (Bodrum), which was built by the Knights of St. John largely from the

stones of the Mausoleum (*cf.* note 10 above).

<sup>57</sup> See *Hist. Disc.*, pp. 185, 232, 238, and Lethaby, *op. cit.* pp. 67-8.

<sup>58</sup> In the reconstitution of the Order made in 1927 (see *BMQ* II, p. 60), no frieze is placed above the architrave.

<sup>59</sup> See p. 94 above.

<sup>60</sup> *Hist. Disc.*, p. 135.

<sup>61</sup> See n. 9 above.



Subtracting then 61 ft. 3 ins. (the approximate length of the pteron in English measure) from 107 ft. we have about 23 ft. at each end of the pteron, 15 ft. 6 ins. of which I suppose to have been the spread of the lower pyramid at each front; and again subtracting 54 ft. (the width of the pteron) from 107 ft. there remain 26 ft. 6 ins. on each of the northern and southern sides, 20 ft. of which in each case I take as the spread on that side. This lower pyramid, like the upper one, I make 24 ft. 6 ins. in height; and in it I place the larger steps, having treads of 1 ft. 9½ ins. and 1 ft. 5 ins. respectively, some of which, as above mentioned, were found by Newton immediately beyond the northern wall of the peribolos. The space, however, does not allow of a pyramid composed wholly of those steps, nor does that seem necessary or probable, since, as already mentioned, the step having a tread of 9 ins., found with the others, fits exactly on to a step with the tread of 1 ft. 5 ins. I suppose rather that the three lowest steps of the pyramid, at each front, had a tread of 1 ft. 5 ins., and the three above them one of 9 ins., altogether 6 ft. 6 ins.; eighteen steps, each with a tread of 6 ins., completing the total spread of 15 ft. 6 ins., and the number of twenty-four steps. On the sides, where the spread is 20 ft., I commence the pyramid in the same way with three steps of a tread of 1 ft. 9½ ins., which the angle stones show to have been the steps at right angles to those with a tread of 1 ft. 5 ins.; and above them I place three steps with a tread of 10½ ins., making altogether 8 ft. The remaining 12 ft. of the spread are accounted for by eighteen steps, each having a tread of 8 ins. As already mentioned, steps having each of the treads (except those of 7 ins. and 8 ins.) above suggested for the pyramids were found during the excavation.

The space unoccupied by the lower pyramid I suppose to have been a platform of marble, bordered at its edge by statuary. Timotheus, Pliny tells us, *caelavit a meridie*; and the torso of an equestrian figure,<sup>62</sup> one of the finest pieces of sculpture recovered, has certainly a resemblance in style to the Amazon from the pediment of the Temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus, the connexion of Timotheus with which is established by epigraphic evidence.<sup>63</sup> I suggest that this equestrian figure, alone or as part of a group, stood at the centre of the southern side, facing the harbour, perhaps on a projecting block of marble. Again, the colossal female head with a triple row of curls round the face, found about 2 ft. beyond the northern wall of the peribolos, seems to me akin to the heads of Asclepius which have been assigned<sup>64</sup> to Bryaxis, the sculptor of the northern side. Some 103 ft. of the height in English measure (apart from the quadriga and its pedestal) have now been accounted for, and I complete the building with a base 15 ft. in height. Among the most beautiful pieces of sculpture from the Mausoleum is certainly the figure of a charioteer, one of nearly a hundred fragments of a frieze representing a chariot race, which is of a finer and whiter marble than that employed in the other friezes.<sup>65</sup> The figure has

<sup>62</sup> *BM Sculpture* No. 1045.

<sup>63</sup> See Collignon, *Hist. de la Sculpture Grecque*, II, pp. 195-8; A. W. Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, p. 264. The torso was found in the central part of the site, not beyond the wall of the peribolos

(*Hist. Disc.*, Pl. IV).

<sup>64</sup> By Prof. Six (*JHS*, xlii, 31).

<sup>65</sup> Prof. Percy Gardner stated (*New Chapters in Greek Sculpture*, p. 103) on the authority of Mr. A. H. Smith, that the marble used for some of the



been ascribed <sup>66</sup> to Scopas, a hypothesis which would place it on the eastern front; personally I should prefer to place it on the western front; <sup>67</sup> and I suggest that commencing on the northern wall of the base it ran from left to right along the western wall, and was returned at an obtuse angle in the centre, so as to pass below the statues of Mausolus and Artemisia, standing on the platform at the foot of the lower pyramid.<sup>68</sup> It may have been recessed in the wall, or protected by a cornice.<sup>69</sup> Along the southern wall of the base I would place the frieze representing a Centauromachia, fragments of which survive, and on the eastern wall the remainder of this or a frieze now wholly lost. Whether any public entrance to the building existed is unknown, but a staircase leading to the platform may perhaps have been constructed at the eastern front or on one of the sides, and there was doubtless a mode of access to the tomb in the base <sup>70</sup> and some internal means of ascent to the upper pyramid,<sup>71</sup> perhaps within an angle of the pteron.

Beyond the ends of the northern and southern sides of the base I place blocks of marble, each 10 ft. in length and lower than the base, thus completing the 127 ft. of the foundation on the sides, and on each block a recumbent lion. The spaces at the fronts between these blocks I suppose to have been paved with marble, extending to the lines of the foundation on

sculptures, including a head which is probably of Apollo, is neither Pentelic nor Parian, but 'a crystalline micaceous stone, not used for the masonry.' Parian, however, was used for the statues of Mausolus and Artemisia (J. Watson, *Marbles* (1916), p. 158), and Pentelic, Newton thought, for the lions (*Hist. Disc.*, p. 232). In the building itself white Proconnesian marble may have been used, as it was by Mausolus in his palace at Halicarnassus (Plin. *N.H.* xxxvi, 6). See J. Watson, *op. cit.*, p. 244, and F. W. Hasluck in *JHS*, xxix, pp. 1, 12.

<sup>66</sup> By Prof. E. A. Gardner (*Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 393).

<sup>67</sup> The figure was found on the western side of the site (*Hist. Disc.*, p. 99).

<sup>68</sup> It is tempting to place in Artemisia's hand the statuette of Victory of which the torso (*BM Sculpture* no. 1101) survives; but though it was obtained from Halicarnassus (Budrum), its connexion with the Mausoleum appears not to be established.

<sup>69</sup> Of the chariot frieze nearly 100 fragments remain, enough to make up in part about 20 chariot groups (*BM Sculpture* II, p. 120). Each group appears to have been about 6 ft. in length, and the frieze cannot therefore have been placed on one side only of the base. From the fact that the joint between the slabs has not the final polish, and other indications, it has been argued that the frieze cannot have been intended to be exposed to the weather (*id.*, p. 119). But a frieze which contained some of the finest and most highly wrought work in the building must surely have been placed where it could well be seen, not in the interior, or even in so dark a position as on the wall of the cella (if that

existed). As regards exposure, not only could the frieze have been protected in some such way as above suggested, but it has a flat ogee moulding at the foot, which Newton said was 'clearly intended to be seen from below' (*Hist. Disc.*, p. 246). He considered the climate of Halicarnassus to be 'perhaps the most genial in the Levant' (*Travels and Discoveries*, Vol. II, p. 140); and some of the marble lions, which must have had exposed positions, had resisted decay so well that much of their surface was 'as fresh as when it left the chisel' (*Hist. Disc.*, p. 232). Some portions of the lions were removed by Newton, under a firman from the Porte, from the Castle of Budrum, in which many architectural and sculptural remains are still embedded; the Castle, as above mentioned, having been built in great measure out of the ruins of the Mausoleum. Prof. A. B. Cook informs me that on a visit to Budrum he saw lions' heads projecting from the walls.

<sup>70</sup> On the western side of the quadrangle Newton excavated a staircase cut in the rock, which he supposed to have been made in order to convey the body of Mausolus to the tomb, and to have been covered with soil when it had served its purpose (*Hist. Disc.*, pp. 198 ff.). Oldfield and others have discussed the probable internal structure of the building, but there is in fact no evidence as to the way in which the superincumbent weight was supported (*cf. Hist. Disc.*, p. 96).

<sup>71</sup> In the Temple of Zeus at Olympia there was constructed ἀνοδος ἐπὶ τὸν ὄροφον σκολιὰ (Pausanias V, 10, 10). From the remains there appear to have been two staircases (Frazer, *Pausanias*, Vol. III, p. 501).



the east and west; and the other lions, panthers, boars and rams, of which portions were found, to have been placed on the platform above the base, on the external staircase if it existed, at other points about the building and the peribolos, and on the staircases giving access to the latter from the town. It seems to me probable that the earthquake which undermined the building, originating in the sea, projected parts of the western and northern sides of the lower pyramid and of the base, with the statuary upon the latter, over the wall of the peribolos to the spot, some 40 to 80 feet away, where they were found.<sup>72</sup> The chariot group, the upper pyramid, the pteron, and the rest of the sculpture will have fallen either then or in a subsequent shock or storm, and (except the fragments found) have been used for building or for lime. As has been stated above, the space in which Newton found the steps, figures, heads and portions of the quadriga was 60 ft. in length, practically the length of the pteron; and the relative positions of the objects in this considerable area are not clear.

The peribolos was probably approached, as Newton suggested,<sup>73</sup> from the agora below by a series of terraces, connected by flights of steps. It would very naturally also have been approachable from the east and west, as well as by the staircase which I have supposed to exist on the north; and it may well, like the precinct of the Cnidian Aphrodite described in the *Erotes*,<sup>74</sup> have been planted richly with fragrant shrubs and trees.

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<sup>72</sup> I am supposing the lower pyramid, at its base, to have been 15 ft. above the ground (see p. 100 above); and the north wall of the peribolos when discovered was rather over 6 ft. in height, and

probably had not been carried more than one or two courses higher (*Hist. Disc.*, p. 108).

<sup>73</sup> *Hist. Disc.*, p. 136.

<sup>74</sup> xii.

## TONDO COMPOSITION IN ARCHAIC AND CLASSICAL GREEK ART

[PLATES X-XI]

THE four centuries with which this study of Greek tondos is concerned cover a period which begins in the reign of Gyges of Lydia and ends shortly before the accession of Alexander the Great. Most of the tondos which have survived are of small size. The Strangford shield is an exception. No doubt other statues had decorated shields, but we know nothing about them, nor have we any evidence that the round form was used for large pictures. We are concerned with circles seldom more than a foot, and sometimes as little as a quarter of an inch, in diameter, with cups and plates, mirrors and coins. Nevertheless, in spite of their small size, and the consequent restriction of the composition to a small number of figures, these works are often of the first quality, and always reflect the style and ideas of their period.

The geometric style gave Greek artists certain principles which they never entirely forgot, although they adhered to them more strictly at some times than at others. These principles are definition and symmetry. On Geometric vases, scene is marked off from scene and part from part; transitions are never slurred, and the defining lines are clearly drawn. The great structures and the minor parts within them are held together by the echoing of motives and figures, symmetrically balanced. Other features of the geometric style are less long-lived, the filling ornament, the angularity of the figures and the refusal to represent depth; yet they are not finally and completely abandoned until the sixth century or even later.

One of the earliest Greek tondos which have survived is a late geometric lid, recently found in Crete<sup>1</sup> (fig. 1). The centre is occupied by a plastic dog's head. The circular surface is divided into quarters, three of which are filled with geometric designs. In the fourth, below the dog's nose, a human or divine figure approaches a tripod. The figure is angular, the tripod is drawn in section and the background is filled with birds and other ornament. The quartering of the circle and the identity of the lateral quarters exemplify the two great principles of geometric decoration, definition and symmetry. The same geometric tradition<sup>2</sup> is strong in the earlier Rhodian plates, which were designed in the seventh century. In these the circle is not quartered, but halved. The lower half is filled with tongues, the upper with an animal. One of these plates has a rider in the upper section<sup>3</sup> (Pl. X *d*). That the two halves of the upper section may

<sup>1</sup> *JHS* 1933, 295.

stags with interlacing horns.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Melian dish, Pfuhl, *MuZ*, fig. 107; seventh century, the lower quarter filled by two symmetrical

<sup>3</sup> Inv. 3724.



balance, the artist has made the rider very small, and has slanted the horse's body downwards from tail to forelegs so that his raised hindquarters may be a rough equivalent to his head and the rider. The background is filled with rosettes and other ornament, and the angularity of the geometric silhouette has been preserved.

On this plate the base line has already sunk below the centre of the circle, and is approaching the small exergue of many later tondos. It is, in fact, recognised that, however desirable division and definition may be in the organisation of larger areas, cups and coins are too small to be



FIG. 1.—LID FROM KNOSSOS.

divided into quarters, or even halves. But the natural divisions of the circle, the diameters which divide it into eight equal parts, can be guiding lines for the composition; this principle, with the principle of symmetry, lives on. Thus on an early Corinthian coin <sup>4</sup> the Pegasus is so arranged that the wings and forelegs lie along a slanting diameter; the head and hindquarters balance about this line. Many coins of the seventh and early sixth centuries are decorated with a single animal symmetrically disposed about a diameter.<sup>5</sup>

The strength of this desire for symmetry can be seen from a glance at

<sup>4</sup> Hill, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*, pl. i, B, 39; cf. Pfuhl, fig. 122 (Rhodian plate).

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Hill, i, A, 10 (Phocaea), i, B 47 (Siphnos),

37 (Aegina); cf. Buschor, *Greek Vase-painting*, fig. 60 (Rhodian plate).



the well-known Euphorbus plate in the British Museum;<sup>6</sup> it was painted in the first quarter of the sixth century. It is easy for the artist to paint two warriors in exactly the same posture, advancing on one another from either side of the plate. The third figure, Euphorbus, is more difficult, if symmetry is to be preserved. The body and head of Euphorbus lie on the ground between and partially concealed by the legs of Menelaus: his legs are bent and form a triangle between the two warriors. Corresponding to this the artist has made an elaborate palmette and volute ornament depending from the top of the circle, which balances the legs and shield of Euphorbus and the filling ornament round them, and because this pendant ornament looks like a nose, he adds an eye on either side.

Before we trace the use of these principles in further compositions of the sixth century, we must pause to examine a group of tondos which lies outside the main line of development. Although the Cretan shields contain many Oriental elements in their decoration, it has been convincingly shown that they are the work of Greek craftsmen;<sup>7</sup> Cretan art, particularly in the eighth and seventh centuries, has a tradition of its own. There is, indeed, an affinity between the earlier shields of the mid-eighth century and the geometric lid which has already been described. The shields, like the lid, have a plastic animal head in the centre, and the decoration is symmetrically disposed round the rim; one, for instance, has a heraldic pair of animals above and below the centre, the heads of both pairs being towards the top of the shield.<sup>8</sup> It is possible that these shields set a tradition for shield design. The Strangford shield, made three hundred years later, also has a central Gorgoneion, and the Greeks and Amazons are disposed about it in two concentric circles, all with their heads towards the top of the shield.

The sixth century can conveniently be divided about the year 530, since about that date the red-figure style begins; the earlier part of the century is the period of the black-figure style. The two periods differ in more than the technique of a single art; the earlier is experimental, in the later a solution has been achieved. Moreover, we have in the earlier period Ionian, Corinthian and Laconian vases as well as Attic, in the later Attic alone. Archaic artists, as we shall call them to distinguish them from ripe archaic artists (530-480 B.C.), are adventurers who have abandoned the geometric division of the surface into small areas and choose many new themes to represent.

If the artist is using the whole circle for his composition, he must bring his picture into some relation with the circular frame. He may make it into a window through which the scene is beheld. This is a common solution: on many cups<sup>9</sup> the frame cuts off part of a bed or cauldron at the side of the picture or half an architrave or capital at the top, but everything essential is well within the frame. The Laconian artists of the archaic period are more violent, and clap the frame over a frieze without

<sup>6</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 117.

<sup>7</sup> See Kunze, *Kretische Bronzeschilder*.

<sup>8</sup> Kunze, no. 4, pl. 6. The Assyrian group (e.g., no. 74, Winter, *K.i.B.*, 101, 4) are more

elaborately composed with emphasis on the vertical diameter and on horizontals and diagonals.

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Pfuhl, fig. 462 (early fifth century).



consideration for what they put in or leave out. A cup in Berlin (Pl. X *a*) is typical of Laconian composition.<sup>10</sup> The painter has made an excerpt from a procession in which pairs of warriors carry home the dead after a battle. One pair is complete; on the left the curve of the frame leaves room for the hanging legs of a second dead man and one leg and part of the body of the front carrier; on the right we see the head of a third dead man and one leg and part of the body of the back carrier. The painter has made no attempt to adapt his subject to the circle, but has put the circle on to the procession and painted what was included.

Directly opposed to the 'window' is the use of the circle as a background to a group which overlaps it.<sup>11</sup> The painter of an Athenian cup in Würzburg<sup>12</sup> (Pl. X *b*) has been hard put to it to fit Heracles and an Amazon into his circular frame. Arms and feet, spears and helmet overlap on to the border of the circular space. But overlapping alone will not solve his problem. The Amazon has been forced on to her knee. Heracles lunges forward to administer the *coup de grâce*. If the painter had drawn Heracles' right leg straight, as it would naturally have been in this posture, it would have projected out of the circle across the border into the ground. Therefore he draws Heracles kneeling. The frame has become part of the picture, its curved boundary is a real factor in the scene, Heracles kneels on it. On a Rhodian plate (Pl. X *c*)<sup>13</sup> Perseus, as he runs home with the Gorgon's head in his bag, plants his left foot on the curved ground to the right, while his right foot has not yet left the curved ground to the left.

This artist has composed his tondo on a simple scheme. He has put an equilateral triangle<sup>14</sup> in the circle. The feet and head of Perseus form the apices, and the dog which runs beside him forms the base: a certain amount of filling ornament still remains although contemporary Athenian painters have nearly dispensed with it. The Athenian cup of which we have spoken is a more elaborate version of the triangular scheme. The triangle is inverted, so that the base is upwards: its three points are the raised hand of Heracles, the helmet of the Amazon and the overlapping feet of both figures. Ultimately this type of composition rests on the same feeling for form that inspired the geometric painter to divide his circle into quarters before starting to decorate it.

Allied to the triangle is another type of composition which also recurs later; it may be called the 'pyramid': the picture is contained by two slanting lines which meet on the circumference of the circle. An Athenian 'Siana' cup in Toronto<sup>15</sup> will serve as an example. A warrior 'crouches well beneath his shield,' as Tyrtaeus says. The base of the pyramid is formed by his feet, the point of his sword and the edge of his shield, the apex by the crest of his helmet.

The figure of the crouching warrior still has something of the angularity of geometric art. His limbs and weapons make a rectangular pattern. His head and body are vertical, his right leg is horizontal; his shield and

<sup>10</sup> Inv. 3404; cf. Boar hunt, *BSA*, xxxv, pl. 41a.

<sup>11</sup> E.g., in Corinthian cups, 'Siana' cups, 'Little Master' cups.

<sup>12</sup> *Cat.* 452.

<sup>13</sup> Inv. 3917, cf. Pfuhl, figs. 359, 413 (ripe archaic).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *Met. Mus. Studies*, v, 103 (Siana cup); *JHS* 1932, pl. vi, 1 (Little Master Cup).

<sup>15</sup> Iliffe, p. 276; *Met. Mus. Studies*, v, 93, no. 18.



crest are also at right angles to each other and make an angle of forty-five degrees with the vertical; the shield is echoed by lower arm and sword, the crest by upper arm, left leg and scabbard. The figure is hard and the angles are abrupt: no attempt is made to soften the corners or to echo the circular frame with curving forms. Many archaic cups and coins have this angularity, and even in the later Athenian 'Little Master' cups it has not always been overcome.<sup>16</sup>

The two geometric principles of symmetry and emphasis on the natural divisions of the circle survive in the archaic period. We noticed the heraldic pair of stags on a Melian dish of the seventh century. This kind of composition can easily be adapted to the whole circle, and many variations of it will meet us in the course of our survey. One of the prettiest heraldic pairs of the sixth century is the pair of goats on a 'Little Master' cup by Tleson in Castle Ashby.<sup>17</sup> The two goats have reared on their hind legs and are butting each other. The space between them looked empty, and therefore the painter inserted a floral ornament of volutes and palmettes; its outline repeats the outline of the goats, and the volutes at the bottom echo the curves of their feet and horns. The whole is made gayer by the triangular white spots on the sides of the goats and the added red of the floral ornament. The painter of the battle between Heracles and the Amazon which we have already described has also felt the influence of heraldic grouping. It was natural to him to contrast two similar figures, and therefore he found an obvious solution of his spatial problem by opposing a kneeling Heracles to his kneeling Amazon.

The other principle of composition is emphasis on the natural divisions of the circle. We can compare the riders on the Athenian Siana cups<sup>18</sup> of the early sixth century with the Pegasus of the Corinthian coin at the very end of the seventh. The body of the horse lies along the horizontal diameter. The head and body of the rider and the rosette (a small remnant of the profuse geometric filling ornament) are on the vertical diameter. One diagonal is given by the forelegs of the horse, the legs of the rider and the 'directional' bird, the other by the spear. The composition, like many others which we shall observe, is a variant on the theme of the Union Jack. The difference between this rider and the earlier Rhodian rider represents the advance of perhaps two generations.<sup>19</sup> The Siana horses kick right out of their frames, and this adds to their energy. The later riders of the Little Master cups are neater and less angular.<sup>20</sup> The basis of composition is the Union Jack as before. But the curves of the rider's body and the horse's neck, tail and forelegs are brought into some relation with the curve of the frame.

In more ambitious compositions, where the artist fills the whole circle

<sup>16</sup> E.g. *JHS* 1932, 177, fig. 9, pl. vi, 2; cf. Corinthian, *CVA Copenhagen*, pl. 92, 5; coins, Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pl. vi, 16 (Thrace); Hill, 1, A 26 (Cyzicus).

<sup>17</sup> Beazley, *Attic B.f.*, pl. 5, 1; cf. Corinthian, Payne, *NC*, nos. 995, 1047, 1054; Laconian, Pfuhl, fig. 196; Thracian coin, Hill, 1, B 5.

<sup>18</sup> E.g., *Metr. Mus. Studies*, v, 105; cf. also for

composition Little Master cups, *CVA Cambridge*, pl. xx, 3; Beazley, *Attic B.f.*, pl. 5, 2.

<sup>19</sup> Between them as a design the Ionian cup, *AM*, 1934, pl. viii, 1, which is composed on verticals and horizontals alone; cf. Laconian, Pfuhl, fig. 194; Coin of Potidaea, Hill, 1, B, 9.

<sup>20</sup> E.g., *CVA Cambridge*, pl. xx, 1; cf. *BSR*, 1929, pl. III, 6.



with his picture, the two forms of composition are combined. Let us take two famous cups as examples: the cup by Exekias with Dionysus crossing the sea and the Laconian Arkesilas cup.<sup>21</sup> The Laconian artist, as always, has less regard for formal beauty than the Athenian. No Athenian of the same quality would have been so ruthless in his application of the frame as the Laconian painter of warriors with their dead. The painter of the Arkesilas cup has to depict a complicated scene. Arkesilas, the king of Cyrene, is seated on the deck of his ship, watching the weighing of bags of wool (or silphium), which are then duly stowed for export in the hold below.<sup>22</sup> The picture hangs together, because it is divided into three horizontal zones by the weighbeam and the deck of the ship, and there is a certain balance between Arkesilas and the figure at the scales, and below between the overseer and the sacks of wool. Exekias also divides his picture of Dionysus at sea into three zones. He has illustrated the Homeric hymn. Dionysus 'has shown forth wonders.' The mast has turned into a vine and the recalcitrant sailors have become dolphins leaping around the ship. The central zone is bounded by the lower edge of the sail and the water-line of the ship. The mast occupies the vertical diameter, and on either side of this line the boughs and clusters above and the dolphins below are symmetrically disposed.<sup>23</sup>

The Athenian painters of the third quarter of the sixth century, Exekias and the painters of the Little Master cups, show a formal elaboration and perfection which distinguish them clearly from earlier artists and point forward to the ripe archaic period (530-480), which begins in the time of the tyrant Pisistratus and his sons, and ends with the end of the Persian wars. The end of the archaic period saw the solution of its problems: the solution continues valid until the early fifth century, and then new problems are set. We can measure the distance which tondo composition has gone in the ripe archaic period, if, while Exekias' Dionysus at sea is still fresh in the memory, we look at a cup by Duris in Munich (fig. 2).<sup>24</sup> This cup may well have been painted after 480 B.C.: but, as Duris is a ripe archaic painter, and most of his work was produced in this period, it seems justifiable to include it here. He has worked on the same principles as Exekias. The two halves of the picture balance about the vertical diameter.<sup>25</sup> But the balance is far less obvious, and new elements of psychology and realistic representation enter into the composition: these elements point forward to the early classical period. Formally the vertical diameter is marked by the stream of wine falling from oenochoe to cup, and the tree and seated Heracles on the left are the equivalent of Athena and her helmet and seat on the right. The diameter and the symmetry are the basis underlying the composition, but the artist can treat them as he will,

<sup>21</sup> Exekias, Pfuhl, fig. 231; Laconian, Pfuhl, fig. 193.

<sup>22</sup> Notice that the ship's side is removed and we see the ship in section; cf. the representations of cauldrons and tripods in section on geometric vases, e.g., fig. 1; *AJA*, 1915, pl. xviii; *AM*, 1892, pl. x; and, later, Pfuhl, figs. 346 (Nicostrates ptr.), 467 (Duris).

<sup>23</sup> Essentially, the composition (division into three zones and emphasis on the vertical diameter) is the same in Gorgoneia on shields (Pfuhl, figs. 175, 226); cups (Payne, *NC*, figs. 25A-B, 45B-C); and coins (Hill, 1, B, 26, Athens).

<sup>24</sup> Munich 2648.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Pfuhl, fig. 467 (Duris).



and he treats them with complete freedom. He is satisfied with an easy balance of masses, and does not require an exact correspondence of detail. Nevertheless the old geometric idea is still there as a basis, and Duris, like other ripe archaic painters, feels its influence so strongly that he does not allow himself the violent overlapping of the frame which we noticed in the early sixth century. Like Exekias, he uses the frame as a window through which he looks at a picture which occupies the whole of the frame. Unlike Exekias, he wants to give some account of the depth of the scene.



FIG. 2.—CUP BY DURIS, MUNICH 2648.

The seats on either side are slanting because they are turned inward; the oenochoe from which Athena pours is foreshortened. That the exergue represents the ground in front of the seats is shown by the position of Heracles' club. Duris has not, however, thought his ground out;<sup>26</sup> it stops abruptly at the seats and forms a base-line for the feet of Heracles and Athena. Nevertheless he has made an important step towards spatial composition. He is also interested in his characters, the tired hero and the protective comforting goddess.

Duris' Heracles and Athena represents the end of ripe archaic art, where it fades into early classical art. The earlier Theseus and Amphitrite

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the later cup, Berlin *Führer*, pl. 65 (Aristophanes).



by the Panaitios painter can be compared with it as composition.<sup>27</sup> Here, too, a seated figure on one side balances a standing figure on the other; here, too, the vertical diameter is stressed, although the Panaitios painter's Athena is far more important both in meaning and in the structure of the picture than the thin stream of wine which falls from oenochoe to cup. The painter has disposed his figures skilfully, so that Athena stands rather to the left of the centre to assist the slim Theseus to balance the solid Amphitrite, and he has given movement to the whole scheme by the strong diagonal of Athena's spear crossed by the slanting lines of hands and arms. The heads, feet and dolphins lead the eye round the outside of the picture in a curve which is related to the curve of the rim. This complicated surface movement prevents us from asking any questions about spatial relationships. It seems that Athena stands farther back than Amphitrite and the Triton who carries Theseus is behind Athena. How, then, is Theseus in front of Athena's spear? This is a question which has not interested the artist. Nor is he much interested in the character of the actors. He has given us a charming and courtly narrative, the visit of the young hero to the Queen of the Sea, a narrative symbolical of Athenian naval supremacy. Perhaps there was a great fresco in Athens of the same subject, and this fresco inspired both the Panaitios painter and Bacchylides when he wrote his paean. 'And he [Theseus] saw his father's loved wife, reverend, dark-eyed Amphitrite in her lovely home. She cast a purple robe about him and set on his thick hair a blameless wreath, which guileful Aphrodite gave her at her marriage, dark with roses.' Bacchylides' Homeric epithets belong to the court style, like the elaborate folds and carefully dressed hair of the Panaitios painter's figures.

In both the cups of which we have been speaking a standing figure is balanced by a seated figure. We could quote many cups of this period which have free variants of the old heraldic scheme.<sup>28</sup> The two goats on Tleson's cup are exactly alike; the archaic Heracles and Amazon have the same posture and like accoutrements. But now the most general similarity can hold together two figures which are totally different in detail. Two well-known cups will illustrate both the survival and the transformation of the heraldic pair. The Sosias cup in Berlin has a pair of balancing figures.<sup>29</sup> Achilles is binding up Patroclus' wounded arm. The two figures balance about the centre, which is marked by the bandage on Patroclus' arm; Patroclus' wound is both the centre of interest and the centre of the composition. The two figures have about the same mass, but otherwise differ in posture and in detail. Achilles is in profile half kneeling; Patroclus is frontal and seated on his shield. Achilles wears helmet and sandals; Patroclus is bearded and barefooted, and wears a felt cap and a quiver on his back. We have spoken already of the use of the frame as part of the picture; here Patroclus kicks against the frame, and the gesture expresses his pain. In spite of these differences, the painter has

<sup>27</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 398; cf. figs. 426 (Brygos ptr.), 461, 470 (Duris); Langlotz, *Gr. Vasenmaler*, fig. 16 (Makron).

<sup>28</sup> E.g., Langlotz. *op. cit.*, fig. 3 (Epictetus);

Beazley, *V.A.*, fig. 5 (Cerberus ptr.); Pfuhl, fig. 463 (Duris); New York *Handbook*, 119 (Duris); Schaal, *Griechische Vasen*, pl. 34 (Briseis ptr.).

<sup>29</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 418.



carefully marked the correspondence between the two figures. There is an echo of Patroclus' head and quiver in Achilles' helmet; Patroclus' bent right arm corresponds to Achilles' left arm, and Patroclus' right shin corresponds to Achilles' left thigh. As in the Theseus cup by the Panaitios painter, the whole picture is held together by the diagonals which run across it.

The second heraldic cup is the well-known picture by the Brygos painter of the girl holding the boy's head while he vomits.<sup>30</sup> The bodies and legs of the two have the same pose. The heads and arms are different. The heavy vertical folds of the boy's cloak give more weight to the left half of the picture, but this is balanced by the thick vertical stick to the right of the centre. The slanting line from the boy's left elbow to the girl's shoulder holds the two figures together. This cup is the ancestor of many later groups; many mirrors of the late fifth century have pairs of seated figures, whose slanting lines alternately approach and withdraw from the central axis.<sup>31</sup> The heraldic grouping of the late sixth and early fifth centuries continues the tradition of the archaic period, but is much more elaborate, varied and subtle. It is the foundation on which the painter builds a complicated structure of lines.

The other principle of composition which is embodied in the Panaitios painter's Theseus and Amphitrite is the emphasis on the vertical diameter, as a natural division of the circle. This also is inherited from the archaic period, and is used with greater freedom and complication by ripe archaic artists. Cups, plates, and coins are decorated with a single standing figure with perhaps a couch or a mirror, or a strigil in the background to indicate place. The woman smelling a rose on a cup by Duris in London is a good example of the type.<sup>32</sup> She is in her bedroom. The end of the bed is on the left, her mirror hangs on the wall and her wool basket is on the floor. At first sight it is a dull and academic composition, and yet there is great charm in the swing of the lines from head to right elbow, which is echoed in the right leg, in the opposite swing of the left arm, and in the reverse repetition of the shape of the wool basket in the folds of the cloak. Here again Duris has a foretaste of early classical simplicity.

Peithinos' Peleus and Thetis is more elaborate.<sup>33</sup> The clothing is in the richest Court style. The sea-goddess turned herself into a lion and then a snake to escape her lover. The artist has shown this by making a little lion run down Peleus' back and a snake bite him in the forehead. We can compare the convention of the Sosias cup, by which the arrow which wounded Patroclus sticks in the ground at his feet. The composition is symmetrical about two diameters, vertical and slanting. The vertical diameter runs from behind Thetis' head to Peleus' left foot; her head is to the left, his to the right; their joined hands are to the left, the bottom of her overfall to the right. The slanting diameter runs across from Thetis' left

<sup>30</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 421.

<sup>31</sup> E.g., New York, *Handbook*, 175.

<sup>32</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 462; cf. 275 (Menon ptr.), 452, 457 (Duris); Langlotz, *Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 137 (Epictetus); Gr. *Vasenbilder*, fig. 28 (Skythes);

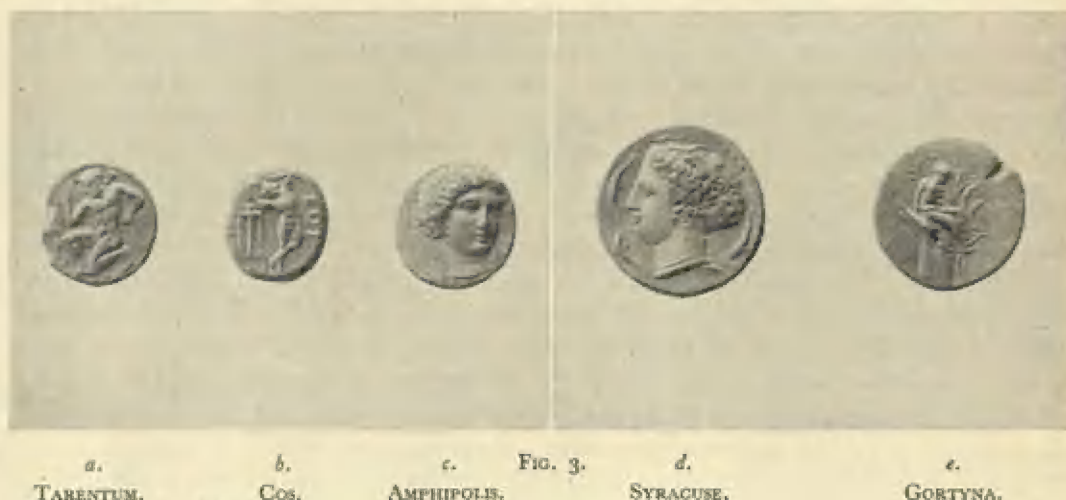
Beazley, *Panmaler*, pl. 9, 5; *CVA Oxford*, pl. ii, 8 (Antiphon ptr.); Regling, *Antike Münzen*, fig. 248 (coin of Sergention).

<sup>33</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 417; cf. 329 (Epictetus), 338 (Skythes), 349 (Nicostrates ptr.).



wrist below Peleus' scabbard. The masses balance each other on either side of this line, and the painter has made much of the swag of skirt which Thetis holds in her left hand, because it has to balance the lion on the right. The artist has developed the Union Jack scheme of the archaic period.<sup>34</sup>

One of the boldest uses of this scheme is seen in Duris' picture of Eos and Memnon.<sup>35</sup> It is unfortunate that the damage to the surface has obliterated a certain amount of the black ground, and therefore the composition appears overweighted in the right side. The constructive lines of the composition are the slanting diameter from the tips of Eos' wings to her left foot and the diameter at right angles to it. On either side of each of these the masses are roughly equivalent, and these two lines give the main directions of the composition. The expressive falling arms of Memnon are designed to balance the wings of Eos. The exergue represents the wall<sup>36</sup> on which the goddess stands when she has raised her son's body from the



battlefield. If we recall for a moment the Laconian painter's picture of the warrior dead, we see how masterly is Duris' solution of a difficult compositional problem.

The triangular compositions of the early sixth century continue in the ripe archaic period.<sup>37</sup> But the ripe archaic artist does not content himself with placing a triangle in the circle; he often composes a quadrilateral, a pentagon or a hexagon, and he applies these schemes to many different types of subject. A coin from Tarentum (fig. 3a) is decorated with a running boy, who carries a lyre.<sup>38</sup> The whole figure makes a pentagonal

<sup>34</sup> Developments of this scheme for single figures; cups, *CVA Oxford*, pl. i, 2; *BSR*, 1929, pl. 5, 1 (Oltos); Beazley, *VA*, fig. 15 (Euthymides); Pfuhl, fig. 408 (Panaitios ptr.); Regling, fig. 205 (coin of Thasos).

<sup>35</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 466.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Beazley, *VA*, fig. 9 (Epictetus); Pfuhl, figs. 400 (Panaitios ptr.), 424 (signed by Brygos as potter).

<sup>37</sup> E.g., Pfuhl, figs. 358-9 (Oltos); Berlin *Führer* pl. 37 (Menon ptr.); Pfuhl, fig. 411 (Panaitios ptr.), 428, 432; Beazley, *VA*, fig. 64 (Brygos ptr.); Pottier, *Duris*, fig. 24 (Duris); New York, *Handbook*, 116; Pfuhl, figs. 439, 440, 442 (Makron); coins, Hill, i, C, 5 (Tarentum); 9 (Posidonia); 13 (Caulonia).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *CVA Oxford*, pl. ii, 4 (Makron); Langlotz, *Griechische Vasenbilder*, fig. 34 (Brygos ptr.); Beazley, *VP*, pl. viii, 1 (Panaitios ptr.). Hexagon composi-



shape against the background. The lines of body, arms and legs are either vertical or horizontal or at forty-five degrees to these directions. The whole composition is vigorous, and even violent; it gives a vivid impression of the haste of the runner. This coin belongs to the late sixth century. But the polygonal scheme is used throughout the ripe archaic period. A cup in Munich (Pl. XI *a*) with Greek attacking Centaur belongs to the end of the period.<sup>39</sup> The composition is pentagonal. The Greek has his shield raised and his left foot on the Centaur's body as he draws his spear from the Centaur's flank. The Centaur's tail is twisted up towards the Greek's right hand to make the side of the pentagon; the line is echoed by the Greek's spear. Inside the bounding scheme the bodies of Centaur and Greek and the Greek's shield make a triangle. The artist, who is called the Foundry painter,<sup>40</sup> shows a masterly skill in adapting his complicated and violent composition to the circle. The Foundry painter's Centauromachy has already something of the magnificence of the Centauromachy on the Olympia pediment and its contemporaries on Athenian vases.

A number of much simpler compositions of this type gain a peculiar life and movement because portions of the boundary line are left to the eye to supply. This can be seen in a very simple form on a cup by Epictetus.<sup>41</sup> A boy is sitting on a low stool sculpting a herm, which he holds between his knees. His hammer hangs in the background. The hammer has an important function in the composition. Without it we should have had a rather tight, angular archaic scheme, of which there are many examples.<sup>42</sup> The hammer gives the whole a quadrilateral form, and leads the eye upwards from the right foot of the sculptor, directs it to the head of the herm, from the head of the herm it passes to the eye of the sculptor. Here the gaps across which the spark of intelligent vision has to leap are small:<sup>43</sup> but all one side of the design is filled by the slim hammer in the background. The 'boy chasing a hare' by the Panaitios painter<sup>44</sup> can be contrasted with the tighter and more crowded composition of the runner on the Tarentine coin. Here, too, the general shape is pentagonal, but much of the outline is left to the imagination to supply. The eye is led from the boy's left hand in one direction to his left foot and so to the hare, in the other to his head and right hand and so to the hare. The hare is the focus of the composition; its form echoes the larger form of the boy's body, and it is the object of the boy's chase.

The most accomplished master in this kind is Onesimos. He paints quiet scenes with single figures of boys and girls. Superficially they are comparable to Duris' 'woman smelling a rose' because the figure is set along the vertical diameter, but when we look closer, we see that they are

tion; coin from Thasos, Hill, i, B, 4; cf. Pfuhl, figs. 412 (near Panaitios ptr.), 458 (Duris).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. men with animals, Pfuhl, fig. 391 (Euphronius); Schaal, *Bilderhefte*, fig. 14; coins, Hill, i, A, 30 (Erythrae), i, B, 14, 15 (Thrace).

<sup>40</sup> I am indebted to Dr. Hans Diepolder for the reference to E. Dohan, *Philadelphia Museum Journal*, xiii, 1, 40.

<sup>41</sup> Langlotz, *op. cit.*, fig. 5.

<sup>42</sup> E.g., Schaal, *Gr. Vasen*, pl. 29 (Euergides ptr.).

<sup>43</sup> So, too, in the two-figure scenes by the Panaitios ptr., Pfuhl, fig. 405; Langlotz, *op. cit.*, fig. 11; Schaal, *Bilderhefte*, fig. 20.

<sup>44</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 413; cf. Langlotz, *Gr. Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 153, nos. 476, 477; *CVA Oxford*, pl. i, 8 (Colmar ptr.); *CVA Cambridge*, pl. xxv, 1 (Skythes).



much nearer akin to the 'boy chasing a hare.' On a cup by Onesimos in Vienna (fig. 4) a young dandy sets out after a bath.<sup>45</sup> Oil flask, sponge and scraper hang in the background. They are the focus for the lines of the pentagonal composition. One bounding line runs from the boy's head to the top of the strap by which the oil flask is suspended; another runs from the bottom of the sponge to the boy's left foot. Inside the pentagon the boy's right hand lies at the junction of the line which connects the top of the strap with his left hand and the line from the oil-flask to his eyes. The two ends of his cloak lie in the same line as the sponge and his knees. Thus the



FIG. 4.—CUP BY ONESIMOS, VIENNA 1848.

group of oil flask, sponge and scraper focus the whole design and are themselves important because the boy had a bath before setting out. Onesimos specialised in this form of composition and ten or more of these charming cups have survived.<sup>46</sup>

Every scheme that we have described—pentagon, Union Jack, heraldic group and the rest—is an elaboration or further development of an earlier scheme, and in each case the artist has solved the problem of circular

<sup>45</sup> 1848; cf. Pfuhl, fig. 407 (Panaitios ptr.); Pottier *Duris*, fig. 21 (Duris); *CVA Oxford*, pl. li, 6 (Apollodorus); Langlotz, *op. cit.*, pl. 153, No. 485

(Antiphon ptr.).

<sup>46</sup> See Technau, *RM*, 1931, pls. 17-21.



composition and does not feel himself constrained by his frame. The overlappings and distortions are small; where the frame is used as a window, it cuts off nothing essential and causes the spectator no disturbing surprise. The old forms of composition are the basis of the artist's work, the foundation on which he builds his new and daring structure. At the end of the period the cups have a new violence and a new emphasis on character-drawing, tendencies illustrated by Duris' Heracles and Athena, and by the Foundry painter's Centauromachy.

The early classical period is a great period of experiment. In tondo composition the old schemes of composition remain as the basis on which the artists try their experiments. We find the same schemes recurring as in the ripe archaic period, but they are put to new uses. Even the 'focal' composition of the Panaitios Painter's 'boy chasing a hare' occurs again on a cup by the Euaeon painter in Frankfurt (Pl. XI *b*).<sup>47</sup> Theseus meets Skiron on the shores of the Saronic Gulf. The giant used to throw all strangers into the sea, and a turtle swimming about under the rocks caught them as they fell in. At first sight the Euaeon painter's tondo is a heraldic composition, but then we notice that the exergue represents the sea<sup>48</sup> and the lines of the composition are focused on the turtle (as on the hare in the Panaitios painter's cup), because the turtle is the end of the story. Schaal points out, in his admirable description of the cup, the ethos of the picture, the giant's seeming politeness as he invites Theseus to wash his feet in the bronze bowl and Theseus' surprise at his behaviour. The painter has represented the moment before Skiron is cast to the turtle, just as the Olympia sculptor chooses the moment before the chariot-race of Oenomaus and Pelops. The early classical artist is more interested in his characters than in the action: the ripe archaic Theseids show Theseus hurling Skiron into the sea. Much nearer to Onesimos, although dated 460, is the discobolus on a coin of Cos (fig. 3*b*).<sup>49</sup> He has lifted the discus to the level of his head and is bringing it round to throw it. The composition is completed by the tripod in the background, which again is the end of the story because it is the prize in the contest. Here the engraver is not doing anything new; he has continued the ripe archaic manner of composition.

The name-cup<sup>50</sup> of the Penthesilea painter shows a development of the ripe archaic 'polygon in a circle'; it stands rather in the same relation to the Centauromachy of the Foundry painter as the West pediment of Olympia to the East pediment of Aegina. The basis of the picture is a hexagon, the points of which are the head of the fallen Amazon, the head of Achilles, the head of the Greek warrior, Penthesilea's right foot, Achilles' right foot, Achilles' left foot. The scheme is, however, more complicated than the ripe archaic schemes; the lines are echoed and re-echoed and the spaces filled. A great group has been forced into a small circle, but the boldness and violence are justified; we accept unquestioningly the position

<sup>47</sup> Historisches Museum.

<sup>48</sup> Not quite thought out, cf. the ground in Duris' Heracles and Athena, above p. 109.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Regling, figs. 291, 292, 296 (Cyzicus).

<sup>50</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 501; cf. figs. 502 (Penthesilea ptr.); 449 (Telephos ptr.); *CVA Oxford*, pl. lii, 3 (Euaeon ptr.); chariot group on Syracusan coin, Hill, II, C. 54.



of the fallen Amazon as she lies along the rim of the cup, and we are not troubled by the distortions of Achilles' left arm curled within his shield.

The distortion and angularity of many early classical works<sup>51</sup> remind us of the archaic period. But early classical angularity differs from archaic angularity. Early classical angularity is a reaction from the complicated curves of the ripe archaic period, and expresses the violent emotions of the scene. Archaic pictures are angular because the lines of composition are thereby made clear and intelligible. The Penthesilea cup reflects the painting of Polygnotus and Micon more accurately than any other tondo. The painter has allowed himself gold, red, yellow, and grey—a polychromy which the vase painter usually avoids. His figures are large and of heroic breed. Above all, he has ethos. He has not drawn simply the death of Penthesilea, but also the meeting of two great heroes which is expressed in the meeting of their eyes.

The squatting satyr on a Naxian coin is not so heroic.<sup>52</sup> It is instructive to compare him with a satyr on a cup by the Panaitios painter.<sup>53</sup> The Naxian satyr was engraved about 460 B.C.; the Panaitios painter painted about 490 B.C. The Naxian satyr is squatting on the ground and holds a kantharos in his right hand, towards which he is looking. The Panaitios painter's satyr is sitting on a wine-jar and looks to the right, his hands are free. Otherwise, their positions are largely similar, as both compositions are roughly quadrilateral in shape. Yet there is a great difference between them which is in part attributable to the difference of period. The earlier satyr is free and joyous, and easily set in the surrounding space; the later is much larger, and the sharp angles of legs and arms are stressed.

The other side of the same coin is occupied by a profile head of Dionysus. This again is very large for the circle, and krobylos and beard cut the rim. It is interesting to compare the head with an earlier Naxian Dionysus on a sixth-century coin.<sup>54</sup> It is true that the largeness and overlapping of the later design show its early classical date. Yet the treatment of the head, the slightly smiling lips, the careful and decorative strands of hair and beard suggest that his conception of Dionysus originated in the eighties of the fifth century rather than the late-sixties when the coin was struck.<sup>55</sup> The earlier Dionysus must belong to the very beginning of the ripe archaic period, if not rather to the archaic period; it has the angularity of black-figured cups. The beard juts out at right angles to the hair. The forehead and nose make a right-angle with the line of nostrils and lips. The main contrast between hair and face stands out clearly, because the face and neck are little modelled and the texture of the hair and beard are not differentiated. The head is in the same tradition as the heads on Corinthian cups and plates of the early sixth century.<sup>56</sup> The later artist has based his composition on the same scheme, but he has enriched and

<sup>51</sup> E.g., Pfuhl, figs. 446 (Telephos ptr.), 499 (Pistoxenus ptr.); Beazley and Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture and Painting*, fig. 80 (Akestorides ptr.); coins, Regling, figs. 364 (Tarentum), 348, 350 (Macedonia).

<sup>52</sup> Hill, 11, C, 48. See Ashmole, *JHS*, 1938,

p. 242, pl. XXI.

<sup>53</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 414.

<sup>54</sup> Hill, 1, C, 26.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Dionysus, Pfuhl, fig. 426 (Brygos ptr.).

<sup>56</sup> E.g., Payne, *NC*, nos. 951, 944, 993, 995a, 998; cf. coins, Hill, 1, A, 35 (Calymna); 1, B, 31 (Athens).



elaborated his engraving by the careful modelling of cheeks and neck, and by the distinction in texture between the beard and hair. We have not had an opportunity before of discussing the use of profile heads in tondos, and indeed the great period of profile heads only begins in early classical times; the hair commonly balances the rest of the face and the line between them is a slanting diameter of the circle.<sup>57</sup>

We may now consider how the early classical artists use three types of composition which we illustrated by three cups painted by Duris, the 'woman smelling a rose', the 'Eos and Memnon,' and the 'Heracles and Athena.' We said that Duris showed a foretaste of early classical simplicity in the figure of a 'woman smelling a rose,' who is set along a vertical diameter. Yet when we compare his cup with a coin from Metapontum,<sup>58</sup> decorated with a standing figure of Achelous, we have no doubt that we were right in treating Duris as a ripe archaic artist. Achelous stands stark, uncompromising and angular before us. The engraver was an accomplished artist, and has skilfully balanced the rightward thrust of the body and left arm by the leftward thrust of the head and right arm. But the poise appears violent and almost crude when set beside the standing figures of the ripe archaic period—*e.g.*, Onesimos's young dandy. Moving figures<sup>59</sup> also are often set along the vertical diameter and lack the abandon of their ripe archaic predecessors.

We treated Duris' 'Eos and Memnon' as a special case of the Union Jack scheme. The early classical engravers use the opposition of diameters for scenes of violent motion. Herakles and the bull is the subject of a coin of Selinus.<sup>60</sup> The body of the bull stretches horizontally across the centre of the circle; Herakles occupies the vertical diameter; thus the circle is divided into two full and two empty quarters. The violence of the movement comes partly from the poise of the two figures, partly also from the fact that neither is quite horizontal or quite vertical, and that neither could maintain its position without the other. This work is not unworthy of comparison with the bull metope of Olympia, where again the sculptor has composed on the diagonals of his square.

The Carlsruhe painter's Apollo and Muse in Boston<sup>61</sup> is ultimately a heraldic pair of the same kind as Duris' Herakles and Athena. But the later painter has stripped off all the trimmings. Tree, seats, jug and cup, helmet—are all gone. He has left only the contrast between the two personalities, and has therefore been able to express clearly the ethos of the scene, the emotion of the Muse when Apollo discovers himself. A nineteenth-century artist would have entitled the picture, 'Inspiration.'

The early classical period is a time of experiment like the archaic period. The artist is discovering means to conquer new territory. He wants to be able to represent the world as it appears, and he wants to be

<sup>57</sup> *E.g.*, Hill, ii, A, 23 (Mytilene), ii, B, 2 (Aenus), ii, C, 54, 55 (Syracuse).

<sup>58</sup> Regling, fig. 366; cf. Hill, ii, C, 42 (Himera), 52 (Selinus); Beazley, *VA*, fig. 82 (Penthesilea ptr.); *CVA Oxford*, pl. iii, 9.

<sup>59</sup> *E.g.*, Pfuhl, fig. 525; *CVA Oxford*, pl. ii, 3;

coins, Hill, ii, C, 21; Regling, fig. 376 (Terina).

<sup>60</sup> Hill, ii, C, 53; cf. ii, C, 41 (Himera).

<sup>61</sup> Langlotz, *Gr. Vasenbilder*, fig. 52; cf. Beazley, *VP*, pl. 8, 3 (Telephos ptr.); Schaal, *Gr. Vasen*, pl. 38 (Euæon ptr.); Pfuhl, fig. 527 (Sotades ptr.); *CVA Oxford*, pl. iii, 4 (Penthesilea ptr.).



able to draw character. While he is achieving his aim, he is simple and sometimes violent. With its achievement we reach a new period of stability, like the ripe archaic period. In classical sculpture a line of distinction can be drawn between the grand and ideal figures which are attributed to Phidias and Alcamenes and the loose composition and sometimes excessive elaboration of the Nike balustrade. It is difficult to see these differences in the tondos at our disposal. The circle is too small to allow of looseness of composition or of the over-elaboration of particular parts. But here and there we can see the grandeur of conception of the one school and the excessive attention to detail of the other. We can also see the technical accomplishment of the period in the ease of the poses and the mastery over foreshortening and perspective. After the end of the century we should have few tondos larger than coins, were it not that many bronze mirrors have been preserved. Toreutic steps in where vase-painting fails.

We can see the direction of classical art if we compare the Codrus painter's well-known cup in Berlin<sup>62</sup> with the Karlsruhe painter's Apollo and Muse. The Codrus painter has painted Aegeus consulting Themis. He stands before her, resting on the stick under his right arm-pit, while she sits on the oracular tripod with a phiale on one hand and a spray of laurel in the other. The figures are fuller, their clothing richer, and their poses more restful than the Karlsruhe painter's Apollo and Muse. The festal solemnity of the whole scene recalls the Court style of the ripe archaic period, but recalls still more Sophocles' remark that he created the sort of characters which should be created. Moreover, the painter has, as far as possible, made his figures equal in mass and like one another, in spite of the differences in their positions; the column between binds them together, so that the whole composition is closed. The architecture divides the picture into two halves and it becomes a heraldic group with emphasis<sup>63</sup> on the central diameter.

The Codrus painter has made a more elaborate composition of the same kind on a cup in Würzburg (fig. 5).<sup>64</sup> A central vertical group is formed by Dionysus leaning on Ariadne's shoulder. Aphrodite and Eros to the left are balanced by a satyr to the right. Again the composition is closed; the eye is led round from the satyr to the kantharos, from the kantharos to Dionysus and Ariadne, and from Ariadne to Aphrodite. The heavy verticals are varied by the strong diagonals of the thyrsus and the left arms of Aphrodite and Dionysus. The foot of Aphrodite and the satyr cut across the border. This overlapping is surprising in a picture so carefully composed for its circular frame. Probably the painter is consciously copying appliqué bronze groups. In any case, the figures are not kicking out of the picture like the horses on Siana cups; but their feet are turned in towards the centre so that the overlap does not disturb the circular movement of the whole.

<sup>62</sup> Berlin *Führer*, pl. 65; cf. Beazley, *VP*, pl. 29, 2; *BSR*, xi, 1929, pl. xi, 2 (Eretria ptr.); Pfuhl, fig. 620 (bronze mirror).

<sup>63</sup> Emphasis on vertical diameter as principle of composition for single figures (sometimes in new

poses); *CVA Oxford*, pl. iii, 7; coins, Hill, ii, C. 19 (Pandesia); ii, C. 51 (Segesta); Regling, fig. 529 (Terina), 570 (Selinus).

<sup>64</sup> *Cat.* 491; cf. *RM* 1931, 122 (silver cup).



A Naxian coin of the late fifth century <sup>65</sup> is decorated with a classical version of the seated satyr, of which we have already spoken. The later engraver is more elaborate than the earlier; his satyr is softer and more rounded; he has added a thyrsus and a rock and an ivy spray in the background. The satyr has lost the wild hair, the sharp angles, and the thrust of the legs, which gave the earlier satyr wildness and ferocity. The later satyr is not a wild man of the woods, but tame and slightly pathetic. The addition of the thyrsus closes the composition and makes its quadrilateral



FIG. 5.—CUP BY THE CODRUS PAINTER, WÜRZBURG 491.

basis <sup>66</sup> much more obvious. Another ripe archaic scheme which is common again in the classical period is the triangle in the circle. We see this scheme used for Selene on a silver cup (Pl. XI *c*) recently found in Bulgaria. <sup>67</sup> Selene is riding her horse over the sea. The surface of the sea forms the basis of the triangle; its apex is Selene's head. The exergue, as in the Euaeon painter's Theseus and Skiron, represents the sea. The

<sup>65</sup> Hill, ii, C, 49.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Regling, figs. 560 (Zancle); 471 (Larissa); Hill, ii, B, 44 (Olympia); mirror, *BCH*, 1900, pl. i b; cups, Pfuhl, figs. 586 (Aristophanes), 573

(Codrus ptr.), 576 (Aison).

<sup>67</sup> *Jdl* 1930, pl. 9; cf. Hill, ii, C, 13 (coin of Thurii); cup, Langlotz, *Gr. Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 162.



folds of Selene's garments are rendered in a beautiful, formal arrangement of curves; they are like the drapery of the Nike balustrade. Such decorative folds have not been seen since the Panaitios painter's Theseus and Amphitrite; but classical folds are more decorative than ripe archaic folds, because they consist of curved instead of straight lines and their curves have some relation to the surrounding circle.

On the silver cup, as on the Codrus painter's Dionysus and Ariadne, the lines lead the eye round a lesser curve within the circle. The same method of closing the composition is found on the decadrachms of Acragas issued about 410 B.C.<sup>68</sup> On one side two eagles are tearing a hare on the top of a mountain. The eye is led round an outer circle from the rock to the cicada and to the raised wings of the further eagle, and also round an inner circle from the bent head of the further eagle along the hare's body to the tail and wings of the nearer eagle. Notice how the ears and tail of the hare enter into the scheme. The strong upward thrust of the nearer eagle's head and neck contrasts with this circular movement. The great chariot group on the other side of the coin is similarly composed. Mr. Seltman well describes the charioteer as 'hovering Phaethon-like between sky and sea, an eagle above, a crab below.' The artist uses the eagle and crab as a 'focus' like the oil-flask and strigil of Onesimos. The eye is led round from the crab to the chariot wheel through the charioteer to the eagle and thence to the horses' heads and back to the crab. The circle is, as it were, pinned down by the diagonals running from the charioteer to the horses' chests and from the eagle to the chariot wheel. Chariot groups on coins go back to the ripe archaic period, and the engravers have used several different types of composition; the Acragas chariot is the most magnificent of the series.

In the classical period for the first time frontal heads become common on coins. Sporadically frontal heads have a long history which reaches back to the early sixth-century Gorgoneia on Athenian and Corinthian cups.<sup>69</sup> Two principles determine the earlier compositions: exact symmetry about a central line and the circle within a circle. The heads balance exactly about the vertical diameter which runs down the centre of the nose, and the hair (or helmet) forms an encircling mass framing the face.<sup>70</sup> Some of the frontal heads on classical coins are composed in the same way, and are classical only in the treatment of the hair and the modelling—in fact, in style.<sup>71</sup> Other artists boldly forsake the purely frontal arrangement, and, although the rounded face in the centre echoes the circular frame, the vertical diameter runs to one side of the nose. On a coin of Amphipolis (fig. 3c)<sup>72</sup> the head is turned slightly to the right, so that the vertical diameter runs to the left of the nose. The balance is maintained by the heavier mass of the hair on the left-hand side. The folds of the cloak round Apollo's neck, which are slightly heavier on the right-hand

<sup>68</sup> Regling, fig. 531.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. above, n. 23.

<sup>70</sup> E.g., Regling, fig. 80 (island coin); Hill, i, A, 23 (Cyzicus).

<sup>71</sup> E.g., Regling, figs. 547 (Catana), 501 (Aenus);

Lamb, *Greek Bronzes*, pl. lxviii a (bronze mirror); cf. lion's scalp, Hill, ii, A, 29 (Samos), iii, C, 24 (Rhegium).

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Hill, ii, C, 68, 69 (Syracuse); Lamb, *Greek Bronzes*, pl. lxviii b (bronze mirror).



side, act as a counterpoise in the bottom right-hand corner. Mr. Seltman aptly compares this head to the seated Apollo of the Parthenon frieze, and clearly the Amphipolitan engraver is strongly influenced by Athenian art.

Profile heads also become increasingly common at this time. One of the most satisfying is the Arethusa head signed by Cimon (fig. 3*d*) on the Syracusan medallion of 412 B.C. It is unnecessary to describe these coins, because their merit is so obvious. The principle of composition is very simple:<sup>73</sup> it is the principle on which all Greek coins with profile heads are designed from the early sixth century. Hair and face must be roughly equivalent in mass, and the dividing line between them should coincide with a slanting diameter of the circle. Very often the ear is placed on the centre of the circle. One of the problems of composition is clearly the termination of the neck. Cimon has solved this by echoing the terminating line in the necklace above and the dolphin below. Thus he makes a little system of curved lines between the straight hair-band and the curved rim—curls, necklace, base of neck, dolphin. The serene accomplishment of this head makes a fitting end to our treatment of the classical period.

In the first half of the fourth century the main schools of the classical period continue. The new contribution of the fourth century to art and literature is a change of spirit. Classical severity changes either into a softer sweetness or into violent passion. To a certain extent we can see both the continuance of the old and the beginning of the new in the coins and mirrors of the same period.

We have quoted classical compositions in which the design takes the form of a triangle in a circle. Such compositions are common in the fourth century. The triangle is often sufficiently small to leave a considerable field round it which may itself be occupied by a further design. The swan on a coin of Clazomenae<sup>74</sup> occupies a triangular space which is rather less than half of the field. Its wings are partly raised and its neck is thrown right back. The relation between the smooth body and the feathered wings and neck is like that between the face and hair of profile heads: they are equivalent in mass and divided by a slanting diameter. Europa, seated in the fork of an oak tree, makes a small triangular figure on a Cretan coin (fig. 3*e*).<sup>75</sup> She leans slightly forward with her cheek resting on her hand, so that head, arm, knees and feet are in line. Behind her and around her the oak tree spreads its trunk and boughs. Europa and most of the oak tree are to the left of the centre. The right side of the composition is left empty, so that again there is a pleasing opposition of smooth and engraved surfaces.

The picture of Aphrodite and Pan on a mirror in the British Museum<sup>76</sup> has the same circular composition as the classical group on the coin of

<sup>73</sup> Cf. above, n. 56. Cf. also now, Hill, ii, C, 13 (Thurii), 66, 67 (Syracuse). The principle of composition is applied to other subjects: Hill, ii, B, 14-16 (Mende), ii, C, 23 (Terina), ii, C, 18 (Croton); *BCH* 1900, pl. i a (bronze mirror).

<sup>74</sup> Regling, fig. 647; cf. Hill, iii, B, 29 (Opus);

plate from Ceglie in Berlin, *Führer*, pl. 79; mirror in London, *Cat.* pl. xxxii.

<sup>75</sup> Cf. mirrors, Pfuhl, figs. 621, 625.

<sup>76</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 622; cf. Lamb, *Greek Bronzes*, pl. lxix a; coins, Regling, figs. 684 (Ambracia), 686 (Dyrrhachium); Hill, iii, B, 49 (Pheneus).



Acragas. The eye is led round from Paris' right arm to Aphrodite's head, down past the little Eros to her feet, across to the swan, and so back to the left arm of Pan. The balance of the picture is cleverly arranged. Aphrodite is larger than Pan. She is poised so that the centre of the circle is a little to the right of her left hip. The small Eros turned towards Aphrodite, the continuation of the line of his wings in Aphrodite's drapery, Aphrodite's head and right arm, and the duck give the necessary rightward thrust to counteract the leftward movement of Aphrodite's body and legs and Pan. It is a masterpiece of clear composition and drawing.

The quadrilateral or band composition of the classical period is also repeated in the fourth century, but here we are, I think, justified in seeing a new development, a movement towards something freer and more violent than the earlier closed compositions. A comparison of the seated Heracles on an Arcadian coin <sup>77</sup> of 370 B.C. with the seated Pan on a coin of Zancle which we have already quoted will show this. On the Zancle coin the parallels of the hare's body and the body of Pan restrict the picture to a tight band across the coin. On the Arcadian coin also the composition is bounded by parallel lines, but inside this parallelogram there is greater freedom, because more space is left unengraved and because the club, arms and legs of Heracles run in directions which counter the bounding lines; the bounding lines themselves are not continuous, but consist of inscription, right hand and head above, cloak and foot below.

The new freedom and violence are clearer still in another Arcadian coin.<sup>78</sup> Heracles is striding forward. His head, body and left leg are along the slanting diameter. The forward leg is balanced by the club which Heracles has swung behind his head and the lion skin and bow in his left hand. Again most of one half of the field is left bare of design. This storming figure is not unworthy of comparison with the most violent of the warriors on the Mausoleum frieze.

There remain the heraldic groups, of which little need be said. Many mirrors are decorated with two seated figures turned towards one another; the slanting lines of the drapery and limbs of each correspond to the slanting lines of the other, and contrast with the vertical opposition of their poses. Something of the new violence has taken possession of the two dancing women on a mirror in the Louvre.<sup>79</sup> The two figures in their flowing drapery correspond roughly in shape, but under their draperies one woman is frontal and the other in profile. The artist has made different parts of the two figures correspond, so that the actual outlines of the two are not unlike. The curves of the left-hand figure, head, shoulders, back, hips and skirt, are reversed by the curves of the right-hand figure, head, forearm, folds of himation and skirt. But instead of being turned towards each other like most heraldic pairs, these two women are dancing out from each

<sup>77</sup> Hill, iii, B, 48; cf. iii, C, 11, 12 (Heraclea), iv, B, 23 (Crete); normal band composition, mirrors, Berlin, *Führer*, pl. 42; *AA* 1935, 367, 370; *Mon. Piot.* 1897, 78; coins, Hill, iii, A, 27 (Lampsacus), iii, A, 35 (Ephesus). Coin of Zancle, see above n. 66.

<sup>78</sup> Hill, iii, B, 50; cf. for composition along a diameter, mirrors, *Bronzes antiques du Louvre*, fig. 29; Lamb, *op. cit.*, pl. lxviii c; Berlin, *Führer*, pl. 43.

<sup>79</sup> Pfuhl, fig. 623; cf. for heraldic composition, 624; New York, *Handbook*, 175; *Bronzes antiques du Louvre*, figs. 30, 32.



other, and only the circular frame keeps them together. In this we see the new violence of the fourth century.

Permanence and change are equally evident in the Greek tondos of the four centuries which our survey has covered. The two great ideas of the geometric age, the division of the circle by diameters, and lateral symmetry, survive throughout the period. The various types of composition which we have examined, such as the heraldic pair, the Union Jack, and the triangle in a circle, are all based on these simple geometric principles. The basis is an intellectual basis: it is reasonable thus to divide the circle and thus to balance this with that. And it is this rational foundation which gives Greek art, like Greek literature, its peculiar clarity and definition. On this foundation we can watch the play of style, which changes from period to period. The art of the seventh century is still in the geometric tradition, just as the poems of the early elegist are still under the spell of Homeric language and metre. Therefore, the earliest Greek tondos have a tidiness which contrasts with the violence of the cups of the early sixth century. The Athenian Siana cups should rather be compared with the early pediments of the Acropolis, where the artist is struggling to fit his stuff into the given form. In the late sixth and early fifth centuries, painter, engraver, sculptor and poet have reconciled form and matter, but the reconciliation is only temporary, and the new desire to represent character and to represent space sets new problems. For the ethos of the early classical period we must go to Pindar and Aeschylus, and there is a formal parallel, too, between their violent and distorted language and the violence and angularity of early classical coins, cups and metopes. The classical period finds a solution again, and produces the art of Phidias and Sophocles. Towards the end of the century artists (and poets) tend to formalism, as we see in the Nike balustrade, and even in such a beautiful work as the silver Selene (Pl. XI c). The formal style continues into the early fourth century. But in the temple sculptures of Tegea, in the Mausoleum frieze, and in some coins a new violence has been born which heralds the Hellenistic age.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> I should like to express my gratitude to the authorities for permission to publish photographs of works in the British Museum, Berlin, Frankfurt, Munich, Sofia, Vienna, and Würzburg.



## ALEXANDER'S PLANS

I RETURN to this subject, on which I wrote in 1921,<sup>1</sup> because there is a good deal to be said which is new and which should, I think, be pretty conclusive. I have recently been compelled to write once again on Alexander's universalism,<sup>2</sup> and the two matters are interconnected; also Professor Wilcken has put forward a new view of the principal plan,<sup>3</sup> that for the conquest of the Mediterranean basin, which I think is untenable. The importance of the question of this plan for our ideas of Alexander needs no emphasising.

The document which contains the plans is given in Diodorus xviii, 4, 2-5, and Wilcken, like every German scholar to-day,<sup>4</sup> believes that that document comes from Hieronymus and is therefore true. I have traced this belief back as far as I can, and cannot find that anyone has ever attempted to prove it<sup>5</sup>; it arises from the unquestioned fact that (Agathocles apart) the basis and much of the detail of Diodorus' books xviii-xx are from Hieronymus. But the question of xviii, 4, 2-5 stands thus. xviii, 5 is certainly from Hieronymus. xviii, 2, xviii, 3 (except for the satrapy list), and xviii, 4, 6-7 are a patchwork of items which not infrequently contradict Hieronymus; no one has attempted to controvert my proof of this in 1921, though some have ignored it. Consequently it is impossible to affirm off-hand that § 4, 2-5 goes with § 5, which is Hieronymus, rather than with the surrounding patchwork. To assume that § 4, 2-5 is from Hieronymus, and is genuine, is doubly a *υστερον πρότερον*; it would be necessary, as a first step, to show that these items *could* be from Hieronymus—i.e., that they do not exhibit material which he could not have known; and, as the second step, to show that they contain nothing later than Alexander's death.

I begin with the last plan in the Diodorus list: Alexander intended to build for his father, Philip, a tomb like the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt, which people reckon among the seven wonders of the world.<sup>6</sup> (The lists of the seven wonders are Hellenistic, and Diodorus' reference to these is his own addition, repeated from his description of the Pyramids; I, 63, 2.) That *παράπλησιον* here means 'like'—i.e., in shape—and not merely 'as big as,' is certain.<sup>7</sup> To explain this fantastic 'plan' I start

<sup>1</sup> *Alexander's ὑπομήματα and the 'World-kingdom,' JHS* xli, 1921, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Alexander, Cynics, and Stoics*, in *A J Phil.* lx, 1939, p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Die letzten Pläne Alexanders des Grossen*, SB (Berlin), xxiv, 1937, p. 192.

<sup>4</sup> But not yesterday. Niese and Beloch rejected these 'plans,' and Wilamowitz called them 'fantastic.'

<sup>5</sup> Endres' argument in *Rh. Mus.* 1917-8, p. 440, which I dealt with *JHS* 1921, p. 15, is sometimes

cited, but can hardly be called an attempt at a proof.

<sup>6</sup> Diod. xviii, 4, 5: τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς Φιλίππου τάφον πυραμίδι παράπλησιον μὲν τῇ μεγίστῃ κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ὅς ἐν τοῖς ἑπτα τοῖς μεγίστοις ἔργοις καταριθμοῦσιν.

<sup>7</sup> *Παράπλησιος* means 'like.' Like in size is always π. τὸ μέγεθος (instances in Dindorf's Stephanus, the fullest thing); so π. τὴν ἡλικίαν, π. τὸν ἀριθμὸν, but τὸν ἀριθμὸν can be omitted if ambiguity be impossible, as *παράπλησιος νῆς* in a battle. I went through Diodorus' book I (Egypt), and he is very careful to avoid ambiguity: eighteen instances



from two lines in Lucan,<sup>8</sup> on the death of Pompey: why should Pompey's corpse be tossed on the waves

Cum Ptolemaeorum manes seriemque pudendam  
Pyramides claudant indignaque Mausolea.

H. Thiersch, in a notable article<sup>9</sup> which seems never to have got into circulation among historians, called attention to these lines and to then current mistranslations of them; there is no doubt what they mean—'Seeing that the Manes of the Ptolemies and their shameful line are buried in pyramids, disgraceful tombs'<sup>10</sup>—and the main point, burial, is given in the latest translations of Lucan.<sup>11</sup> That Lucan, through his uncle Seneca, was in a position to know a good deal about Egypt is not in doubt. Thiersch collected all that is known of the tombs of the first four Ptolemies, and it shows that their tombs were not pyramids; he consequently assigned the pyramid tombs to the later Ptolemies without specifying more closely, as indeed follows from Lucan, who could not have called the early Ptolemies 'shameful.' The earliest possibility of a Ptolemaic pyramid tomb would then be that of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (died 181); but the known history of Epiphanes and of his successor Ptolemy VI Philometor, who would have built the tomb, hardly suggests Egyptianising, and more probably the first pyramid tomb would have been that of Philometor (died 145), built by his successor Euergetes II, whose Egyptianising policy is known. In any case, these tombs cannot have begun *earlier* than 181, and it was from them that the 'plan' to build a pyramid tomb for Philip was taken. This plan then is certainly later than 181, and probably later than 145. And this is also common sense; for Alexander's own culture was Greek, not Egyptian; he was not a megalomaniac; and the man who forbade Deinocrates to carve Mt. Athos into a bust of himself was not going to build another Great Pyramid at Aegae.

I do not think that the Semitic custom of the *naphshā* gives any help in dating the first Ptolemaic pyramid tomb. The *naphshā* was a memorial placed beside a tomb, and is said to have represented the soul or personality of the deceased;<sup>12</sup> Greeks called it a *μνημεῖον*,<sup>13</sup> but it must not be confused with the

of π. alone as 'like'; one case, 21, 5—Isis makes a model of each of Osiris' limbs—which could be ambiguous, as a model need not be life-size, so he writes π. τὸ μέγεθος; while of the second pyramid (64,2) he says, τῇ μὲν τεχνῇ παραπλήσιαν τῇ προειρημένῃ (the first) τῷ δὲ μεγέθει πολὺ λεπτομένην. This excludes any idea of ambiguity in the passage I am considering; the tomb is to be of pyramid shape, and is also to rival the Great Pyramid in size, because of the mention of that particular pyramid.

<sup>8</sup> *Pharsalia* viii, 696 sq.

<sup>9</sup> H. Thiersch, *Die Alexandrinische Königsnekropole*, in *JdI* xxv, 1910, p. 55.

<sup>10</sup> Line 697 does not mean tombs of two different sorts, Egyptian and Greek, for Lucan could not have called Greek tombs 'disgraceful'; the indignitas lay in Greek kings being buried in native tombs.

<sup>11</sup> Mm. Bourgery and Ponchont, 1929: quand les mânes des Ptolémées, une honteuse ligne, sont

enfermés sous des pyramides et de scandaleux Mausolées; J. D. Duff, Loeb ed. 1928: though the dead Ptolemies and their unworthy dynasty are covered by pyramids and mausoleums too good for them.

<sup>12</sup> S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology*, 1930, p. 19.

<sup>13</sup> So translated in a Nabataean bilingual: Cook *ib.* p. 19, n. 3. *μνημεῖον* could mean any funeral monument which was not a tomb; Josephus calls Simon's monument at Modin (below) a *μνημεῖον*, and Plutarch, *Mor.* 821 D, uses the word for the stupas erected by the cities who, in the legend, divided up Menander's ashes (see Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 264). But in Hellenistic Greek *μνημεῖον* more often meant the actual tomb, e.g. Diit.<sup>2</sup> 1234, LXX *Genesis* xxiii, 6, 9, etc., and commonly in the Gospels.



tomb itself which held the body. It took many forms, but at some period the form of a pyramid rather came into vogue, presumably under the influence of Egypt. Thiersch (*op. cit.* p. 69) refers to a number of pyramids, known from archaeology, in the countries near Egypt; I do not know if they are tombs or memorials, but most seem to be of Roman times and do not therefore affect the chronology question.<sup>14</sup> The earliest pyramids used for this purpose (memorials) which I have met with in the East are those before the great μνημεῖον at Modin which Simon the Maccabae (143-2 to 135) built for his parents and brothers.<sup>15</sup> If they are really the first, it might be argued that Simon was influenced by the new custom started in Egypt with Philometor's tomb; but I am not familiar with Oriental archaeology, and there may be earlier cases. There is certainly said to have been an earlier case in the West: Diodorus says that Hiero of Syracuse (c. 275-215) built 'tombs of many pyramids,'<sup>16</sup> and if Hiero adopted this Semitic custom he presumably took it from Carthage. The *nāpshā* pyramids then do not help us to decide whether 145 was the date of the first appearance of the Ptolemaic pyramid tombs; 181 must remain open, while on the other hand it would satisfy the Lucan passage if they did not begin till (say) the death of Euergetes II in 116.

However that may be, the 'plan' to build a pyramid tomb (τάφον) for Philip is later, perhaps much later, than 181, and clearly originated in Alexandria. Hieronymus therefore cannot be the source of the document called Alexander's ὑπομνήματα, and as one plan in that document is very late, the others are under suspicion; the burden of proof is shifted, and the principal plan, that for the conquest of the Mediterranean basin, has to prove its claim to be genuine. Of that plan there are two versions, in Diodorus and Curtius, and Wilcken has said very frankly, 'For those of us who are convinced of the genuineness of the Diodorus tradition, it follows . . . that Curtius' account must also be genuine.'<sup>17</sup> Nothing turns on the fact that Curtius attaches *his* plan to the meeting of Alexander and Nearchus in Carmania, while Diodorus makes *his* plan discovered after Alexander's death; for there is nothing to show at what time the Diodorus plan is supposed to have been thought of or written down. I take Curtius first.

Curtius<sup>18</sup> begins by saying that Alexander desired<sup>19</sup> to *know* more (conquest is not mentioned). He decided, after conquering all the maritime region towards the east, to go from Syria to Africa, to be hostile to Carthage (or, being hostile to Carthage), and then march through the solitudes of Numidia to Gades, where report said the Pillars of Hercules

<sup>14</sup> The Ethiopian pyramids are much older, and are I imagine quite a separate matter.

<sup>15</sup> I *Macc.* 13, 27 *sqq.*; *Jos. Ant.* xiii, 211. The pyramids of Helena of Adiabene, cited by Cook *op. cit.* p. 19, n. 1, are much later.

<sup>16</sup> xvi, 83, 3, τὰς πυραμίδων πολλὰν.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 14 [203].

<sup>18</sup> Curtius x, 1, 16-18. Rex cognoscendi plura cupidine accensus . . . Ipse animo infinita complexus statuerat, omni ad orientem maritima

regione perdomita, ex Syria petere Africam, Carthagini infensus, inde Numidiae solitudinibus peragratissimum Gadis dirigere—ibi namque columnas Herculis esse fama vulgaverat—Hispanias deinde adire . . . et praetervehi Alpes Italiaeque oram, unde in Epirum brevis cursus est. Igitur he orders his governors in Mesopotamia to build 700 septiremes.

<sup>19</sup> Cupidine is doubtless meant to represent his πόθος, so often mentioned in Arrian.



stood, then go to Spain and sail past the Alps<sup>20</sup> and the shore of Italy, whence there is a short passage to Epirus (*i.e.*, from Brindisi or thereabouts). He therefore ordered the building of 700 heptereis.—The writer is ill-informed; he thinks Gades (Cadiz) is in Africa, while the Pillars (Gibraltar and Ceuta) are not in fact (as he puts them) at Cadiz. But let that pass. The passage from Brindisi to Epirus belongs to much later history; but let that pass also. The number of the heptereis is merely ridiculous; no war-fleet in Hellenistic times even remotely approached 700 (nothing much over 300 is known), let alone such a number of heptereis; the largest recorded number of these, true or false, is 37 in what is probably the navy list (on paper) of Ptolemy II.<sup>21</sup> And Alexander always operated with forces comparatively small, but highly trained and efficient. However, Antony and Octavian together did have more warships than 700 at sea in 31 B.C., and there are real battles in which the numbers are vastly exaggerated, like first Salamis and Issus; so let that pass also. But two things cannot pass: the actual septiremes (heptereis) and the name Alpes.

I gave the date of the hepteres very briefly in 1921, as being well known, but I was too optimistic, and must therefore now do it in full; the facts which show that it was invented eight years after Alexander's death really are from Hieronymus, this time. When in 315 Antigonos started to create a fleet in Phoenicia to get the command of the sea,<sup>22</sup> Ptolemy had previously carried off all the Phoenician ships to Egypt;<sup>23</sup> he got nothing larger than quinqueremes, for at Salamis in 306 his largest vessel was a quinquereme.<sup>24</sup> Demetrius however at Salamis, in addition to quinqueremes and quadriremes, had ten hexereis (sixes) and seven heptereis (sevens).<sup>25</sup> Antigonos in 315 is said, in Diodorus' text, to have built, beside quinqueremes and quadriremes, three ἐννῆρεις (nines) and ten δεκῆρεις (tens);<sup>26</sup> but the δεκῆρης did not in fact appear till after 306, possibly even not till after 301,<sup>27</sup> and it is certain that these two words are either corrupt or one of Diodorus' slips in transcription. This is shown, not merely by the sudden and impossible jump in the figures (for progress in the power of warships went step by step), but by a comparison with Demetrius' fleet at Salamis given above: the ten 'δεκῆρεις' are clearly the ten ἑξήρεις (sixes) of Salamis, and the three 'ἐννῆρεις' are three of Demetrius' new ἑπτήρεις (sevens) which were the largest ships he had in the battle and which played such a part in it.<sup>28</sup> Read then in Diodorus xix, 62, 8, ἑπτήρεις δὲ τρεῖς ἑξήρεις δὲ δεκά. Diodorus explicitly says that Antigonos' shipbuilding was not yet finished; and four more heptereis were built before Salamis. The hepteres then was invented by (or for)

<sup>20</sup> In my 1921 article this was wrongly given as crossing the Alps. Professor Wilcken pointed this out (*SB Berl.* 1928, xxx, p. 20 [593] n. 1), and I should like to thank him for the courteous manner in which he treated it; I daresay it astonished him as much as it did myself. The error was against myself; it made the earliest possible date of the Curtius passage a little too early.

<sup>21</sup> *Athen.* v, 203 d. On Callixenus' figures here see Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 456.

<sup>22</sup> *Diod.* xix, 58. This and all the Diodorus

passages in this paragraph are from Hieronymus.

<sup>23</sup> *Diod.* xix, 58, 2.

<sup>24</sup> *Id.* xx, 49, 2.

<sup>25</sup> *Id.* xx, 50, 2 sq.

<sup>26</sup> *Id.* xix, 62, 8.

<sup>27</sup> Tarn, *Mariner's Mirror*, 1933, p. 69.

<sup>28</sup> The heavier sevens and sixes crushed Ptolemy's right while the thirty Athenian quadriremes turned it. Some day I must collect the evidence that the quadrireme was the fastest ship of the line.



Demetrius in 315, and was the vessel which started that extraordinary race in shipbuilding between himself and his son on the one hand and the Ptolemies on the other, which I have described fully elsewhere.<sup>29</sup> It is certain that Alexander never had anything larger than a quinquereme,<sup>30</sup> and that Pliny's statement, taken from a quite unknown writer Mnesigiton,<sup>31</sup> that Alexander invented all the classes of warships from sevens to tens,<sup>32</sup> is merely untrue, as are so many items in his lists of 'inventors.'

The appearance of the name Alps (Alpes) in Greek (and Latin) literature is very late.<sup>33</sup> In the fifth century, Herodotus did not know that these mountains existed; he gives a river Alpis as a tributary of the Danube, running in from the south, but it has nothing to do with the mountains; and it must be remembered that in Alexander's day he was no longer much read, and that both Alexander and the most learned man in his train, Callisthenes, were ignorant of him.<sup>34</sup> Also Pseudo-Scylax, whose sources are mainly fifth century, knows nothing of the Alps, mountains or name. In the fourth century, Ephorus, whose ideas about Celts were shadowy and unreal, knew nothing of either mountains or name, as is shown by their absence from Pseudo-Scymnus;<sup>35</sup> they did not exist either for Heracleides Ponticus late in the century.<sup>36</sup> Even as late as the last quarter of the third century, Apollonius Rhodius, though librarian at Alexandria, knew nothing of any mountains there at all,<sup>37</sup> and there is nothing to show that even Eratosthenes knew of them either; and if the view that there is a great deal of Eratosthenes running through Pseudo-Scymnus be correct,<sup>38</sup> the ignorance of Pseudo-Scymnus on the matter becomes very material. The Alps and their name were unknown to Greeks generally prior to the Hannibalian war,<sup>39</sup> and even after Hannibal's crossing, knowledge penetrated very slowly, for when after Cynoscephalae the second Lycophron wrote the *Alexandra*—the most probable year is 196–5,<sup>40</sup>—though he had heard of the mountains he had not yet got the correct name; he called them Salpia.<sup>41</sup> The name *Alpes* first appears in any extant literature with the

<sup>29</sup> *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, 1930, pp. 129 sqq.; *Mariner's Mirror*, 1933, pp. 69 sqq.

<sup>30</sup> See H. Droysen, *Griech. Kriegsaltertümer* in Hermann's *Lehrbuch*, II, 2, p. 272, n. 3, and E. Luebeck, *Das Seewesen der Griechen und Römer* I, p. 17, n. 6. Both naturally rejected as worthless the statements in Pliny and Curtius.

<sup>31</sup> E. Bux, *Mnesigiton* in *RE*. Not given in Susemihl.

<sup>32</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* vii, 208.

<sup>33</sup> See generally J. Partsch, *Alpes* in *RE* and *Die Stromgabelungen der Argonautensage*, in *Berichte d. sächs. Akad. d. Wiss.* 71, 1919, Heft 2, pp. 11 sq.; M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* 1929, pp. 121 sqq. (Cary).

<sup>34</sup> I gave some instances for Alexander in *CAH* vi, p. 402; add his perplexity about the Caspian. Callisthenes ascribed the destruction of the temple at Didyma to Xerxes (Tarn, *CR* xxxvi, 1922, p. 63) though Herodotus had correctly shown it was Darius I, as is confirmed by the inscription on the bronze knuckle-bone from Susa, *Mén. Délég. en Perse*

VII, 1905, p. 155.

<sup>35</sup> If the 'pillar of the north' in Ps.-Scymnus II. 188 sqq. be really some dim hearsay of the Alps (more it cannot be, *pace* Cary *op. cit.* p. 121), it shows anyhow that nothing was known. On this, and the 'Hercynian rock' of Apollonius Rhodius, see Partsch *op. cit.* (*Ber. sächs. Ak.*) p. 11.

<sup>36</sup> E. Wilken, *Die Kunde der Hellenen von den Lande und den Völkern der Apenninenhalbinsel bis 300 v. Chr.* 1937, p. 142.

<sup>37</sup> IV, 627 sqq.: he makes the Argo sail through from the Po into the Rhone. See on this story Partsch *op. cit.* (*Ber. sächs. Akad.*) pp. 9 sqq.

<sup>38</sup> U. Hofer, *Rh. Mus.* lxxvii, 1928, p. 127.

<sup>39</sup> See Partsch *op. cit.* (both works). Massiliote traders must have known something; but the secrecy they observed about their trade routes (Cary *op. cit.* pp. 124 sq.) shows that they did not talk.

<sup>40</sup> Ziegler's date in *RE*, after a very long examination. The exact year is not material here.

<sup>41</sup> *Alexandra* 1361.



elder Cato,<sup>42</sup> and does not appear in extant Greek literature till Polybius.<sup>43</sup> But even Polybius, though personally acquainted with the Alps, gave them wrongly as a simple chain running E-W,<sup>43</sup> while Curtius' words *praetervehi Alpes* imply express knowledge of the *Maritime Alps*, which means Roman knowledge; the earliest literary allusion to them is in Pliny,<sup>44</sup> though they were known long before that. The word *Alpes*, then, in the Curtius passage leads to much the same conclusion as does the pyramid-tomb for Philip, a date not earlier, and possibly a good deal later, than 196-5.

It might perhaps be contended that the name *Alpes* was interpolated by Curtius or an intermediary source, and the word *septiremes* by some intermediary source (not by Curtius, in whose day the hepteres had long been forgotten). But then the 'genuineness' of the Curtius passage would be gone; for if late interpolations be once admitted without any reason, there is no stopping-place; the whole passage might be a fabrication, and we are just where we were before.

I will now leave Curtius (I shall return to him later) and turn to Diodorus.<sup>45</sup> He says that Alexander's plan was to build 1000 warships larger than triremes in Phoenicia, etc., for the military expedition against Carthage and the other peoples who bordered on the sea in Libya, Spain, and the contiguous country on the sea as far as Sicily (this would include Rome), to prepare harbours and docks suitable for such a force, and to make a road along the coast of Libya as far as the Pillars. (The road shows that an army as well as a fleet was contemplated.) As the 700 warships of Curtius have now become 1000,<sup>46</sup> it is self-evident that the Diodorus passage is later than the Curtius passage (we shall come to an even more decisive reason for this), for in the growth of a story numbers grow but never diminish; this alone would make it pretty difficult to call the Diodorus passage a plan of Alexander's. Moreover, this enormous number of ships for an expedition against countries of which Carthage alone possessed a navy shows that, to the writer, Carthage had the reputation of being, or of having been, a very great maritime Power; and this reputation only dated from the battle in which she destroyed the fleet of her secular rival, Syracuse, in her war against Pyrrhus, long after Alexander's day; before that she had only been on a level with Syracuse. The phrase 'the military expedition' of course imports a known thing, not a new proposal, showing again that the passage is later than the Curtius passage and who knows what else. Wilcken has sought to meet this particular point by a theory that the idea of an expedition against the west originated when

<sup>42</sup> Servius on Aen. x, 13.

<sup>43</sup> Polyb. iii, 47, 6 *sqq.* shows that one or more writers had (naturally) written on Hannibal's passage of the Alps before him; it does not appear whether in Latin or Greek.

<sup>44</sup> III, 47-8; see Cary *op. cit.* p. 122.

<sup>45</sup> Putsch *op. cit.* (RE) col. 1601; Pliny N.H. iii, 47, 135.

<sup>46</sup> xviii, 4, 4; χιλίας μὲν ναῦς μακρὰς μείζους τριήρων ναυπηγήσασθαι κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κυλικίαν καὶ Κύπρον πρὸς τὴν στρατίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παρὰ θάλατταν κατοικοῦντας τῆς τε

Λιβύης καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῆς ὁμόρου χώρας παραθαλαττίου μέχρι Σικελίας, ἀκολούθως δὲ τῷ τηλικούτῳ στόλῳ λιμένας καὶ νῆαυς κατασκευάσας κατὰ τοὺς ἑπικαίρους τῶν τόπων, ὀδοποιήσαι δὲ τὴν παραθαλάττιον τῆς Λιβύης μέχρι στηλῶν Ἑρρακλείων. I have followed Wilcken in transposing the last two clauses, as against Fischer's arrangement; but it makes no difference to what I have to say.

<sup>47</sup> Wilcken *op. cit.* p. 16 [205] makes them two separate fleets, though the 700 were to be brought from the Persian Gulf. Such numbers belong to the realm of phantasy.



Alexander was at Susa, or, even earlier, when he met Nearchus in Carmania.<sup>47</sup> Of course, if the Curtius passage, and therefore *a fortiori* the Diodorus passage, exhibit late material, this theory falls to the ground, but apart from that, it is a difficult theory on its merits; for it is incredible that Alexander could have been occupied (*beschäftigt*) with such an expedition for over a year, and have begun preparations (*Ausarbeitungen*) for it, without Ptolemy of the Staff knowing; there were only eight Bodyguards at the time, and Ptolemy, Alexander's personal friend from youth, was one of the most important. And Ptolemy certainly knew nothing about it, not merely because he did not mention it in his history, but because, had he known of such a plan, he would have eagerly proclaimed the fact, seeing that it would have justified his own advance westward in Africa, his annexation of the Cyrenaica.

But what seems to settle the matter, if it needs settling any further, is the word ὁδοποιῆσαι, which means 'to make a road' and means nothing else; and in this case its conjunction with the preparation of harbours and docks for Alexander's στόλος shows that a military road is meant, a road to assist the advance of the land portion of the στόλος. Now we possess a vast amount of information about Alexander, true and false, but he is never recorded to have made a military road, or indeed a road of any kind. No Hellenistic king, so far as I know, is recorded to have made a road of any kind. Probably in Asia they did make some additions to existing roads for civil purposes, but I only recall one case in which this is even a probable deduction, and that is in the outlying province of Ferghana on the Jaxartes, which was never conquered or ruled by Alexander: Chang-k'ien in 128 B.C. crossed it on 'postal roads,' and it is probable, though not certain, that these roads were made by Euthydemus or by some Seleucid rather than by the Persians.<sup>48</sup> Of new military roads nothing is ever heard. Putting aside, as not here material, anything that may have been done in Persian or pre-Persian Asia, there was one nation, and one only, which prior to Diodorus' time made military roads, and that was the Romans. They did more than make them; such roads were a great instrument of their policy. Alexander's plan to make a military road is a statement that he was going to do as the Romans did; it cannot have been written *before* Rome's entry into the world of the eastern Mediterranean with her victory over Philip V at Cynoscephalae in 197, when Greeks first became acquainted with Roman methods, and it is not likely to antedate the Via Egnatia (after 148), the first Roman road to be constructed east of the Adriatic; indeed the first Greek writer (so far as is known) to mention Roman road-making was Polybius.<sup>49</sup>

But there is a further point about this road. Diodorus' text shows clearly that Wilcken is right in saying that the plan was to go right round the coast of the western Mediterranean as far as Sicily, and that the attempt to confine this plan to North Africa is wrong.<sup>50</sup> This being so, why was Alexander only going to make a road along the south coast of the Mediterranean and not along the north coast also? Why stop short half way? I

<sup>47</sup> *Id.* pp. 8, 16 [197, 205].

<sup>48</sup> Tarn, *Bactria and India*, pp. 474 sq.

<sup>49</sup> Polyb. xxxiv, 12 (= Strabo vii, 322); iii, 39, 8

(if genuine).

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 5 [194].



cannot do much more than pose the problem, but the answer *ought* to be that it was because the writer knew of the 'Heracles-road': Alexander's ancestor, Heracles, had already made the rest of the road,<sup>51</sup> running from Spain and Gaul through Liguria to Italy and passing between the sea and the Maritime Alps in the Ligurian section,<sup>52</sup> a section known from Polybius to have actually existed in his time.<sup>53</sup> No doubt there really was a very old mercantile route;<sup>54</sup> Heracles in the story turned it into a military road,<sup>55</sup> long before the Roman road through Liguria, the Via Julia Augusta, was constructed by Augustus (12 B.C.). The Heracles-road is mentioned twice in antiquity, by Diodorus (*loc. cit.*) and, much later, in [Aristot.] *de miris auscultationibus* 85, who gives the name 'Heracles-road.'<sup>56</sup> In both cases it is a matter of dispute whether the source be Poseidonius or Timaeus;<sup>57</sup> it seems to me to be very much guesswork,<sup>58</sup> and also to assume that there can have been no other authors who wrote on the West. In any case the Heracles-road is much later than Alexander; and an item drawn from his career appears in Diodorus' story of Heracles.<sup>59</sup> That the Alexander-road and the Heracles-road are connected inventions seems clear; but in the absence of any certain date for the first ascription of the northern road to Heracles, it seems impossible to say what the actual connection was.

It should now, however, be abundantly clear that the document called Alexander's ὑπομνήματα, which embodied the plans given by Diodorus, is not Alexander's, but is a very late document,<sup>60</sup> which cannot be *earlier* than some point in the second century B.C., and might of course be later; it is, however, Hellenistic, because of Diodorus' own date (27 B.C.), and the pyramid tomb for Philip shows that it first saw the light in Alexandria. The word ὑπομνήματα has many meanings—among others it could mean anything which purported to be an historical record<sup>61</sup>—and recently the meaning 'memoranda' has come into prominence from the papyri,<sup>62</sup> a fact which has led Wilcken to take the view that they were (Alexander's)

<sup>51</sup> Diod. iv, 19, 3 sq.

<sup>52</sup> *Ib.*, διεξιών τὴν ὀρεῖν τὴν κατὰ τὰς Ἀλπεῖς. This is always interpreted as *crossing* the Alps, I suppose because of διελθὼν τὰς Ἀλπεῖς in § 4. It seems to me an impossible translation; 'going through the mountain country which is over (or "on" or "through") the Alps' is nonsense; it is 'which is by (or "at" or "near") the Alps.'

<sup>53</sup> Strabo v, 209. It is the first of Polybius' four ὑπερβάσεις, διὰ Λιγύων τὴν ἑγγιστα τῷ Τυρρηναίῳ πλάγι.

<sup>54</sup> Schulten, *Tartessos* p. 28.

<sup>55</sup> Diod. iv, 19, 3, ὁδοποίησιν . . . ὥστε δύνασθαι στρατοπέδους . . . βάσιμον εἶναι.

<sup>56</sup> ὁδὸν Ἡράκλειον καλουμένην.

<sup>57</sup> For *de miris ausc.* see Gercke, *Aristoteles in RE*. Schwartz, Diodoros 38 in *RE*, col. 676, said Diodorus iv, 19 was from Poseidonius; Laqueur, Timaios 3 in *RE*, col. 1177, says from Timaeus.

<sup>58</sup> I can hardly believe, for example, that Diod. iv, 19, 1-2 on Alesia was written before Caesar's siege; Timaeus was not the only Greek who used absurd derivations.

<sup>59</sup> iv, 19, 1: Heracles, having conquered Spain, hands it over to the natives to rule, τοῖς ἀπλοῖς τῶν ἐγγισίων. This is Alexander handing over the eastern Punjab to the conquered Porus (*post*).

<sup>60</sup> For completeness I note two other things which are later than Alexander. One is the reference to Theophrastus in the 'plan' beginning σωμάτων μεταγωγῆς; I have dealt with this fully in *Alexander, Cynics, and Stoics* pp. 58 sq. and need not repeat it. The other is πόλεων συνοικισμοῦς. Alexander never used synoecisms; they belong to his successors. Those who claim that the plans are genuine always translate the Greek word by *Stadtgründungen*, which is not what it means.

<sup>61</sup> Diod. I, 4, 4; he even applies the word to paintings as historical records, i, 66, 5, as in *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 677. In 1921 I thought of the document as one of those books of extracts so very common in the Hellenistic period. This may be correct, but I would not now dogmatise on its form; it purported to give a historical record, and that suffices.

<sup>62</sup> E. Bickermann, *Arch. f. Papyrussf.* ix, pp. 165 sqq.



memoranda, officially kept for him,<sup>63</sup> concerning future things which could find no place in the official *Journal*, that being only a record of events. But this view presupposes that the contents of the ὑπομνήματα were all contemporary with Alexander, which we have seen was not the case. Certainly they contain one or two items which may be true, like the five temples which were to be built; but anyone putting forward, as a plan of Alexander's, anything so extraordinary as the conquest of the Mediterranean basin would naturally insert some true items in the supposed ὑπομνήματα if he could, to give verisimilitude to his story. But essentially this plan belongs, not to history, but to the incipient Alexander-romance, which in its full form later made him carry it out by conquering Carthage and Rome and sailing out through the Pillars. That in the late Hellenistic period the Romance was tentatively beginning, as Ausfeld supposed, is conclusively proved by Diodorus himself; for he had heard of Alexander's Testament and refers to the Letter to the Rhodians.<sup>64</sup>

It remains to ask two questions. The first is, *how* the plan for the conquest of the Mediterranean basin grew up. The embassies, real and alleged, which came to Alexander at Babylon, must certainly have played a part, because of Arrian's remark that they made Alexander *seem to be* lord of the world;<sup>65</sup> but I did the embassies sufficiently in 1921, and I now think that Alexander's schemes, real and alleged, of *exploration* were a far more important factor, and I must look at these. When he turned back at the Beas he *abandoned* a hard-won conquest: he handed over the Punjab east of the Jhelum to Porus,<sup>66</sup> who became completely independent in fact<sup>67</sup> and was Chandragupta's chief supporter<sup>68</sup> when he expelled the last Macedonian generals from India and set up the Mauryan empire. The abandonment of the eastern Punjab was a turning-point in Alexander's career, for once he had quitted India, he made no more conquests, but turned his thoughts to exploration instead. He tried to explore the coast of his own province<sup>69</sup> of Gedrosia, to help maritime trade; and when he died he had two explorations in hand, the Caspian and the coast of Arabia. The Arabian expedition was no more intended to be a *conquest*<sup>70</sup> than the Gedrosian, though army and fleet were to keep together, as had been intended in Gedrosia: the *Journal* calls it a πορεία<sup>71</sup> and a πλοῦς,<sup>72</sup> not a

<sup>63</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 5 [194]: possibly kept by Eumenes, who subsequently communicated them to Hieronymus.

<sup>64</sup> Diod. xx, 81, 3.

<sup>65</sup> Arr. vii, 15, 5, φανῆναι γῆς τε ἀπάσης καὶ θαλάσσης κύριον. But no embassies had come from the sea; γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης is the phrase of a later day (*post*), and Arrian is making the connection with the embassies himself.

<sup>66</sup> Arr. V, 29, 2 Πῶρον ἄρχην προσέθηκεν; vi, 2, 1, βασιλῆα ἀπέδωκε. Cf. Glotz-Roussel-Cohen, *Histoire ancienne* iv, i, 1938, *Alexandre et le démembrement de son empire*, p. 243: jouit d'une complète indépendance.

<sup>67</sup> Diod. xviii, 39, 6. Eudamus, though he subsequently killed Porus and took his elephants (Diod. xix, 14, 8, presumably in the war with Chandra-

gupta), was apparently not stationed in Porus' territory (Arr. vi, 27, 2); my remark that he was (*Bactria and India* p. 259) is a slip.

<sup>68</sup> *Cambridge Hist. of India* I p. 471; Tarn, *Bactria and India*, p. 46.

<sup>69</sup> Gedrosia had submitted long before, when he was in Seistan: Arr. iii, 28, 1.

<sup>70</sup> Wilcken *op. cit.* p. 6 [195] agrees that it was not to be a conquest, but envisages the occupation of certain points as harbours or stations; the difficulty is that Alexander had not attempted to do this in his own Gedrosia, where it was badly needed. Arrian vii, 20, 3 (from τό τε πλεῖθος to the end) is, as a comparison with vii, 20, 8 shows, only Hiero's report, and throws no light on Alexander's intentions.

<sup>71</sup> Arr. vii, 25, 2.

<sup>72</sup> *Id.* 25, 2, 4, 5.



στρατεία; Alexander himself was going with the fleet, not with the army; <sup>73</sup> and the preliminary dispatch of Hiero and Anaxicrates to try to get round the peninsula from different sides shows the importance he attached to its *circumnavigation*. A story was told that, after Arabia, he meant to circumnavigate Africa and enter the Mediterranean through the Pillars; <sup>74</sup> as he knew nothing of the size of Africa or of Herodotus' story of a Phoenician circumnavigation which took three years, the story has some chance of being true, <sup>75</sup> though he could hardly have gone in person.

But projects of exploration by a naval and military force will, in literature, pass with the greatest ease into projects of conquest. The (supposed) projected circumnavigation of Africa became a plan for conquering North Africa from the Pillars eastward. <sup>76</sup> The real plan of exploring the Arabian coast, known from the *Journal*, became, in the Curtius passage already discussed, the conquest of that coast; <sup>77</sup> and that passage exhibits a (supposed) projected circumnavigation of the Mediterranean in actual process of passing into the conquest of the Mediterranean basin. In that (the Curtius) passage, Alexander begins by wanting to know (*i.e.* explore), not to conquer, and army and fleet are to proceed along the coast of North Africa as along that of Gedrosia or Arabia. Then come the vague words *Carthagini infensus*, which might mean fighting his way, if necessary, through Carthaginian territory or might mean the conquest of Carthage. But after reaching Spain the army (*i.e.* any idea of conquest) drops out altogether and we only have the fleet, the original circumnavigation plan: he is to sail past the Alps and the coast of Italy to Epirus—no further word of the army. We see here vague and undefined military operations in Africa being superimposed upon a plan, true or false, for the circumnavigation of the Mediterranean by the fleet; and this presently develops into the full-blown plan for the conquest of the Mediterranean basin given by Diodorus. That the Diodorus passage is later, perhaps much later, than the already late Curtius passage, and has merely grown out of it, is surely now self-evident.

The plan in Diodorus which I have been discussing is then far later than Alexander, and my second question is this: allowing that these schemes of conquest grew up, as the Romance grew up, to glorify Alexander's memory, *why* was a document which contained this plan as its chief item put forward in the late Hellenistic period as being Alexander's? The answer is not difficult. I do not know if Diodorus' language means that Alexander was to conquer the Mediterranean littoral only or the countries round that sea—North Africa, Spain, Gaul, Italy; but even if the former meaning be the right one, the carrying out of the plan would have put Alexander in possession of what was to be, and from (say) the end of the second century B.C. was, the (territorial) kernel of the Roman State (Rome itself apart).

<sup>73</sup> *Id.* 25, 2, ἀρα οἱ πλείοντες.

<sup>74</sup> *Plut. Alex.* 68 (no mention of conquest).

<sup>75</sup> It has been suggested to me that this story must have been invented after the voyages of Polybius and Eudoxus down the Atlantic coast of Africa [say perhaps rather after Poseidonius, in the Eudoxus story, had told of a Gades ship doubling the Cape].

But as Alexander certainly thought of the circumnavigation of Arabia for himself, he *could* equally well have thought of that of Africa; he had no idea of its size.

<sup>76</sup> *Arr.* v, 26, 2; vii, 21, 1.

<sup>77</sup> *Omni ad orientem maritima regione perdomita.*



He was to have what Rome in fact did have—γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης σκῆπτρα καὶ μοναρχίαν,<sup>78</sup> as the second Lycophron had already written about Rome after Cynoscephalae, an easy prophecy which was to attain its full significance in the *terra marique* of Augustus. Now Livy, in a famous disquisition,<sup>79</sup> set himself to consider what would have happened had Alexander attacked Rome, and in the course of it he referred to certain 'very unimportant Greeks,' *levissimi ex Graecis*<sup>80</sup>—would that he had named them<sup>81</sup>—who had gone on asserting repeatedly (*dictitare solent*) that Rome could not have faced Alexander; one at least of them had made unpleasant remarks about Carrhae,<sup>82</sup> and between them they stung Livy's patriotism to the eloquent panegyric we possess on the Rome of Alexander's day. The words *dictitare solent* show that Livy was dealing with a circle of ideas spread over a certain period of time, not with a single utterance. This was the circle of ideas from which came the story of Rome's embassy to Alexander;<sup>83</sup> this was the circle of ideas in which the document giving Alexander's 'plans' saw the light; and this was the reason why that document attributed to him a plan for the conquest of the kernel of the Roman State. We can almost hear one of the *levissimi* speaking: 'So you Romans have now got the Mediterranean and its coasts, the sceptres of land and sea—γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης σκῆπτρα. Well and good. But if Alexander had lived, those sceptres would have been his—here's his plan—and where would you have been then?'

There is one further point. The importance of this 'plan' is that it has become in effect the sole support of the belief in Alexander's 'world-kingdom'; for Ammon's promise, or supposed promise, to him of the dominion of the earth is now well known to be merely an age-old formula,<sup>84</sup> a promise made to every Pharaoh, great or small, and a phrase which echoed on meaninglessly under the Ptolemies.<sup>85</sup> And the 'plan' itself affords no historical basis for a belief in the 'world-kingdom.' What the 'world-kingdom' exactly means to those who use the word I have never known.<sup>86</sup> In antiquity, Alexander was going to conquer either the οἰκουμένη,<sup>87</sup> or Europe, Asia and Africa,<sup>88</sup> or the world up to the bounds of Ocean;<sup>89</sup> but also Diodorus called his actual realm the 'world,'<sup>90</sup> as

<sup>78</sup> *Alexandra* 1229. Arrian made the connection, n. 65 *ante*.

<sup>79</sup> Livy ix, 17-19.

<sup>80</sup> Livy ix, 18, 6. Jacoby, *F.Gr.Hist.* ii no. 88 T 9 prints this passage among his testimonia for Timagenes, which is quite unwarranted; that Livy meant Timagenes has never been anything but guesswork, and *dictitare solent* cannot refer to a single writer.

<sup>81</sup> This helps to show how much of Hellenistic literature has perished without trace. For one possibility, see Tarn, *Bactria and India*, p. 51, n. 2.

<sup>82</sup> qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae favent. Gloria in this context cannot refer to anything before Carrhae.

<sup>83</sup> Pliny's ascription of this embassy to Cleitarchus has I think been sufficiently discredited.

<sup>84</sup> I gave all the evidence in 1921. Since Maspero

pointed it out it has been a commonplace.

<sup>85</sup> When in a petition in Egypt the petitioner ended by praying that the reigning Ptolemy might have the dominion of the whole earth, it meant precisely what the conclusion of an English petition means, 'And your petitioner will ever pray et cetera': that is, just nothing at all.

<sup>86</sup> Professor Berve, *Klio* xxxi, p. 168, has promised a study of Alexander's *Weltherrschaftsgedanken*. I hope that he will explain what the 'world-kingdom' is supposed to mean.

<sup>87</sup> That is the meaning of the Diodorus plan. The word is used in Diod. xvii, 113, 1.

<sup>88</sup> Arr. iv, 7, 5 shows that there was such a story.

<sup>89</sup> *Id.* v, 26, 2.

<sup>90</sup> Diod. xviii, 50, 2, τὰ δλα. The context shows clearly what is meant.



others used similar expressions of the realm of this or that Roman Emperor.<sup>91</sup> In modern times, any idea of further conquest has seemed to serve, but I fancy the *οικουμένη* is usually meant, though it has been common enough to call his actual kingdom a *Weltreich*,<sup>92</sup> as the Roman Empire gets called a World-state. It is all hopelessly vague. I have sometimes been told that it is impossible for me to believe that Alexander dreamt of the unity of mankind, as I do, without also believing that he desired to conquer the world, as I do not. That is merely a confusion of thought; but it is a conceivable *theory* that, if he both believed that all men were, or ought to be, one, *and* also desired to bring the peoples of his empire into unison, then he must have desired to bring all peoples under his rule in order to promote their unity. But the few facts known afford no support to such a theory. He never even possessed the whole Persian empire; when he died, a huge and contiguous block of territory was still unconquered: <sup>93</sup> Bithynia and Paphlagonia; <sup>94</sup> Cappadocia and Pontus, the realm of Ariarathes; the whole of Armenia, the fiction of a satrap of Armenia being abandoned by his generals the moment he was dead.<sup>95</sup> He had even, as I have already mentioned, *abandoned* one of his conquests, the eastern Punjab, and after quitting India had turned to exploration instead of further conquests. Cappadocia-Pontus is especially important, because under a Persian dynast this large kingdom flanked, and threatened, Alexander's sole line of communication across Asia Minor; yet those who believe that the 'plans' are his have also to believe that, while after his death Perdiccas saw that his first task must be to remove this threat, Alexander himself never thought about it and proposed instead to go off to the farthest West. All these things are pointers which point away from Alexander having held any ideas of unlimited conquest. Naturally, I am not asserting dogmatically that he did *not* hold such an idea; what I am saying is that there is no evidence for it and just a little against it. It is, I suppose, open to anyone, who so desires, to believe that Alexander *must* have wished to conquer and rule all the world or any further part of it; but he must realise clearly that, in the present state of our knowledge, such a belief is only a speculation from the land of dreams and has nothing to do with history.

W. W. TARN.

### *Muirtown, Inverness.*

<sup>91</sup> *IGR* 1, 901, Augustus is τὸν πάσης γῆς καὶ πάσης θαλάσσης ἀρχοντα; *ib.* I, 772, Alexander Severus is βασιπότης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ πάντος ἀνθρωπίνου γένους. So in Pliny *N.H.* iii, 39, Italy is chosen by the gods to be una cunctarum gentium in toto orbe patria.

<sup>92</sup> Most recently *e.g.*, by V. Ehrenberg, *Alexander and the Greeks* 1938 pp. 38, 61, 83, 'empire of the world.'

<sup>93</sup> Later times remembered this very well; see

the Livy-Trogus speech of Mithridates, which (Justin xxxviii, 7, 2) enumerates all the countries here given.

<sup>94</sup> Paphlagonia became independent when Calas was killed in Bithynia (references in H. Berve, *Das Alexanderreich* ii, p. 188); his successor Demarchus was not satrap of either country.

<sup>95</sup> No satrap of Armenia was appointed at either Babylon or Tripuradeisos.



## NOTES

**A Sybarite Himation.**—Dr. Jacobsthal's learned and ingenious discussion of the himation described by Pseudo-Aristotle in *de miris auscult.* 96, 838a (*JHS* lviii, 1938, 205 ff.) is not wholly satisfying. In general it remains strange that so splendid a work should belong to one of the later revivals of Sybaris, and in detail the use of *ζῳδία* for views of cities is unnatural, while the interpretation of Πέρσαι as Persepolis, though just sufficiently attested, is hardly convincing.

The difficulty centres in Σούσις. Apart from this word everyone would translate Πέρσαι 'Persians,' and it is easy to imagine for the lower border a processional composition of Oriental warriors. Heyne's Σουσίσις is not plausible, since no Greek is likely to have differentiated Susians from Persians.

I would suggest that Σούσις is a corruption of Σούθαις. We need not press the ethnic names: it is enough to suppose two friezes of distinguishable barbarians. The assumed corruption is easy, since C and Θ are notoriously similar in uncials, while K is often confused with IC, I is often lost, and C is often confused with O. A little illegibility in an uncial ancestor would account for all the misreadings, and the names Σούσων and Περσῶν occur only two lines apart in c. 27 *supra*, and may have been running as a pair in the scribe's head. The tendency of manuscripts of this treatise to miswrite proper names is illustrated by their disagreement over Alkisthenes in this passage and by other corruptions, such as Μηδικήν for Μαιδικήν (c. 1), Κύπρω for Γυάρω (c. 25), and Κολούσις for Λουσις (c. 125).

The strange duplication of the group of Alkisthenes and Sybaris seems to rest upon a mistake. Jacobsthal prints Westermann's text, but in fact παρά δ'ἐκάτερον πῖρας Ἀλκισθένης ἦν, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ Σύβαρις would appear to be a conjectural restoration. Westermann, copying Bekker, notes in his *apparatus* ἐνθα ἐκατέρου CGL, ἐνθα ἐκατέρου EF, and though logically it should be safe to assume that the text (which is the Renaissance vulgate) is also that of the five relevant manuscripts (A B D H K) not here cited, it is clear from pp. v and vi of Westermann's preface that such an assumption would be false. Bekker, as Westermann showed, did not in fact use any of these five manuscripts except in a very

few passages, which do not include c. 96, save that he would seem to have consulted H for the reading Ἀρισθένης.

The only attested reading is therefore παρά δ'ἐκάτερον πῖρας Ἀλκισθένης ἦν ἐνθεν ἐκατέρου δὲ Σύβαρις (EF's ἐνθα may be ignored, since these two manuscripts are admittedly inferior.) This reading is obviously corrupt, but it confirms the suspicion that the words which follow παρά δ'ἐκάτερον πῖρας describe two separate pictures, Alkisthenes at one end and Sybaris at the other.

I suggest the correction παρά δ'ἐκάτερον πῖρας Ἀλκισθένης ἦν ἐνθεν, ἐκ θατέρου<sup>1</sup> δὲ Σύβαρις, and I would make the further slight change of μέν for ἦν. For the verbal arrangement we may compare the account of a wedding procession in *Etym. Mag.* 409, 39 (s.v. ζεύγος) κάθηται δὲ τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης· μέση μὲν ἡ νύμφη, ἐξ ἐκατέρου δὲ ὁ νυμφίος καὶ ὁ πόροχος.

If these corrections are accepted we are left with a much less puzzling design: in the centre six Greek gods, along the top a frieze of 'Scythians,' along the bottom a frieze of 'Persians,' at one end Alkisthenes, at the other end Sybaris. Such a himation might well have been made before 510 B.C.

I add the Greek text as I should print it, omitting the Alkisthenes-Antimenes variants.

Ἀλκισθένης τῷ Συβαρίτῃ φασὶ κατασκευασθῆναι ἱμάτιον τοιοῦτον τῇ πολυτελείᾳ, ὥστε προτίθεσθαι αὐτὸ ἐπὶ Λακωνίῳ τῇ πανηγύρει τῆς Ἡρας, εἰς ἣν συμπορεύονται πάντες Ἱταλιῶται, τῶν τε δεικνυμένων μάλιστα πάντων ἐκείνο θαυμάζεσθαι· οὗ φασὶ κυριαύσαντα Διονύσιον τὸν πρεσβύτερον ἀποδόσθαι Καρχηδονίοις ἐκατὸν καὶ εἰκοσι ταλάντων. ἦν δ' αὐτὸ μὲν ἀλαουργίς, τῷ δὲ μεγάλῃ πεντακαιδεκάπηχυν, ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ διεληπτο ζῳδίοις ἐνυφασμένοις, ἀνωθεν μὲν Σκύθαις,<sup>2</sup> κάτωθεν δὲ Πέρσαις· ἀνὰ μέσον δ' ἦν Ζεὺς, Ἡρὰ, Θέμις, Ἀθηνᾶ, Ἀπόλλων, Ἀφροδίτη. παρά δ'ἐκάτερον πῖρας Ἀλκισθένης μὲν<sup>3</sup> ἐνθεν, ἐκ θατέρου δὲ<sup>4</sup> Σύβαρις.

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<sup>1</sup> Epit. Vat. of Anna Comnena, *Alex.* i.7.4 corrupts ἐκ θατέρου το ἐκατέρου.

<sup>2</sup> Σκύθαις scripti Σούσις codd.

<sup>3</sup> μὲν scripti ἦν codd.

<sup>4</sup> ἐνθεν, ἐκ θατέρου δὲ scripti ἐνθεν ἐκατέρου δὲ CGL. ἐνθα ἐκατέρου δὲ EF ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ vulg.



**The inscription from Kythera.**—The inscription from Kythera (Fig. 1) to which Miss Thomas drew attention in the last part of the *JHS* (lviii, p. 256), is an early Babylonian cuneiform inscription which has already been the object of considerable study on the part of Assyriologists. It

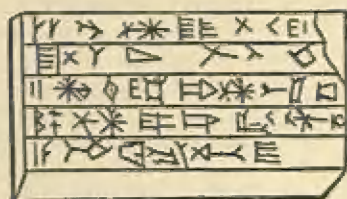


FIG. 1.—INSCRIPTION FROM KYTHERA.

was first discussed by Hugo Winckler (*SB Preuss. Akad. Wiss.* 1897, 262-4) as part of an article by Ulrich Köhler (*Ueber Probleme der gr. Vorzeit*, l.c., 258-274). Winckler successfully deciphered lines 4 and 5, and established the correct reading of some of the signs in the first lines. He thought the inscription dated between 1500 and 1200 B.C., and thus, as Köhler added, from the finest period of Mycenaean culture. Köhler (p. 265) further said that the cuneiform tablet might have been brought to Kythera at that time with other oriental bric-à-brac, like the Egyptian scarabs found in Rhodes and in the plain of Argos.

Many years later the study of this inscription was again taken up by Eckhard Unger (*Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* xiii (1929) p. 313, pl. 58A), who went beyond Winckler and succeeded in reading the third line as well. On the other hand, his deciphering of the first two lines, his restoration of the third and fourth, his assertions on its place of origin (according to him Tilmun in the region of the Persian Gulf), and the date he gives it are not proof against criticism. For this, however, he is hardly to blame, since it is only very recently that the American excavations in Western Asia have shed light upon the author of this inscription.

At the time when the inscription from Kythera was first published, little progress had been made with the deciphering of cuneiform, and nobody would then have been able to read this early Babylonian votive inscription. It is therefore not astonishing that the drawing of it published in 1853 leaves much to be desired, and, too, one may quite reasonably assume that the signs were not altogether perfectly preserved. If we still possessed the original, and it would be worth while to try to trace its whereabouts, it would

be a simple matter to restore the whole inscription.

<sup>1</sup> a-na <sup>2</sup> [.....] <sup>3</sup> [.....]  
[.....] <sup>4</sup> na-ra-am-sin [sar ēš-nun-na<sup>5</sup>]  
<sup>6</sup> māṣ <sup>7</sup> i-bi-ig-ad[ad sar ēš-nun-na<sup>8</sup>] <sup>9</sup> a-na  
ba-la-ṭi-šu [i-gi-ēš]

<sup>1</sup> To the deity [.....] <sup>2</sup> [.....]  
[.....] <sup>3</sup> Narām-Sin, [King of Ešnunna], <sup>4</sup> son  
of Ibiq-Ad[ad, King of Ešnunna], <sup>5</sup> for his life  
[dedicated (this)].

To interpret this inscription one must begin with lines 3 and 4 (line 5 is perfectly clear and already correctly interpreted by Winckler). As Unger has noted, one Narām-Sin, son of Ibiq-Adad, is named as the author of the inscription. As Narām-Sin places the determinative for divinity before his own name and that of his father, they must both have been kings, since only such would rank as gods in the Ancient East.<sup>1</sup> During the course of excavations conducted by the Oriental Institute of Chicago University in Tell Asmar—the ancient Ešnunna, some 50 miles north-east of Baghdad—inscriptions were found bearing the name of one Narām-Sin, son of Ibiq-Adad,<sup>2</sup> and in these, too, the determinative for divinity is placed before the names of both kings. This Narām-Sin reigned about 1950 B.C., and from the style of writing the Kythera inscription may well date from the same period; it seems to me as good as certain that it should be attributed to the above-mentioned kings of Ešnunna. The ends of lines 3 and 4 might, then, in both cases be restored as [sar ēš-nun-na<sup>3</sup>], i.e. King of Ešnunna.

In the first two lines the deity to whom the dedication was destined was named, with the addition of an epithet to express reverence. Unfortunately the drawing does not enable us to establish the deity's name. The chief god of Ešnunna was Tišpak, though other deities as well are to be met with in the inscriptions of the Kings of Ešnunna, as for example <sup>4</sup>Ištar (Inanna) *ki-ti-tum*.<sup>5</sup> It seems certain that here there is no

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Chr. Jeremias, *Die Vergöttlichung der babylonisch-assyrischen Könige in Der Alte Orient*, 19, 3/4 (Leipzig 1919); C. W. McEwan, *The Oriental Origin of Hellenistic Kingship* (Chicago 1934), pp. 7 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. H. Frankfort, Th. Jacobsen and C. Preusser, *Tell Asmar and Khafaje. The First Season's Work in Ešnunna, 1930/31* (Chicago 1932), p. 47; Jacobsen, *Philological Notes on Ešnunna and its Inscriptions* (Chicago 1934), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Jacobsen in H. Frankfort, *Progress of the Work of the Oriental Institute in Iraq, 1934/5* (Chicago 1936), pp. 83 f.



question of the deity's being Tīšpak, but I can suggest no other probable reading. At the beginning of line 2 Winckler and Unger read *sa*, which seems improbable to me. If we may add on the following sign which looks like NI, we should perhaps get *Jarru* 'king.' In that case we should expect the deity in line 1 to be masculine.

A date of ca. 1950 B.C. for the inscription from Kythera fits in with that of other early oriental finds from the Mediterranean area, as also with contemporary oriental records of relations with the west. Early Babylonian seal-cylinders have been found in Crete, and these have been correctly assigned to the period of the first Babylonian dynasty (ca. 1977-1678 B.C.).<sup>1</sup> The cuneiform texts from Mari on the middle Euphrates, recently discovered by the French expedition under André Parrot, reveal the existence of relations between Mari and the country *Kaptaru*<sup>2</sup> (in the Old Testament *Kaptôr*, Egyptian *Kft*). This *Kaptaru* has mostly been identified with the island of Crete.<sup>3</sup>

As a result of the information derived from the Mari inscriptions, a text preserved in a late Assyrian copy, published by Otto Schroeder (*Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, no. 92), now appears in a new light. It describes the extent of the kingdom possessed by a certain King Sargon.<sup>4</sup> Of the three rulers with this name only the two earliest need be considered, either Sargon of Akkad (ca. 2450 B.C.) or Sargon I of Assyria (ca. 1990 B.C.). Forrer pronounced in favour of the latter, all other scholars were of the opinion that it was a description of the kingdom of Sargon of Akkad. In line 41 of the text the countries *A-na-kū*<sup>5</sup> (Country of Lead or Tin) and *Kap-la-ra*<sup>6</sup> are mentioned. Forrer looked to find Anaku in south Spain, Albright, with greater probability, in Greece; *Kap-la-ra* is the *Kaptaru* of the Mari inscriptions. These date from the period round 1850 B.C., and Sargon I of Assyria reigned ca. 1990 B.C. So Forrer is perhaps right, after all, in assigning the text published by Schroeder to the time of the early Assyrian king.

At any rate the inscription from Kythera, the seal-cylinders from Crete and the early oriental records raise the question whether in the first

two centuries of the second millennium B.C. there did not exist trade relations, albeit of a limited character, between Western Asia and the Mediterranean area as far up as Greece. Naturally no conclusive proof of this can yet be adduced; the stone tablet with the inscription of Narâm-Sin [of Ešnunna] may well have reached Kythera as a souvenir or as a piece of booty. But if our theory is on the right track, then with the utmost reserve we may raise the further question, whether *Kaptaru(a)*, *Kaptôr*, *Kft* may not be brought into direct relation with the name of the island Kythera (Κύθηρα, Κυθήρη, Κυθηρίη νῆσος, Κυθηρία, Κυθηρίων νῆσος; cp. *RE* xii, col. 207). The orientalist must here depend for enlightenment on classical philologists and archaeologists.

According to Leake (*Trs. Royal Soc. Liter.*, 2nd series, vol. iv, 1853, p. 257) the inscription from Kythera is on a 'small rectangular piece of hard white stone . . . ; its lower surface has deep cuttings in it so as to form five half-cylinders.' As the drawing gives the distinct impression that the inscription is engraved, it cannot be on baked clay, as Pendlebury (*JHS*, lviii, p. 256) suggested. In my opinion the five half-cylinders on the under-side indicate that the discoverer of the tablet found only the upper half of a stone box, the lower half of which, with the corresponding five half-cylinders, is lost. In the five hollow cylinders inside the box precious objects, perhaps seal-cylinders, would probably be kept.

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After the appearance of my remarks on the inscription from Kythera (*JHS*, lviii, p. 256), it was immediately pointed out to me by Mr. C. J. Gadd of the British Museum that the inscription was in cuneiform and in the Akkadian language. I was also informed by Mr. A. W. Lawrence that it had already been translated and discussed by E. Unger in Ebert's *Reallexikon*. In view of the article of Dr. Weidner above, which deals with all the questions involved, it only remains for me to thank those who have given me the information for which I asked.

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. H. Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* (London 1939), p. 302, and the bibliography given there in note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Archiv für Orientforschung*, xii, p. 290.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. A. H. Sayce, *JHS*, li, pp. 286 f.; Albright, *Journ. Am. Orient. Soc.*, 45, pp. 236 f.

<sup>4</sup> Especially Albright, who gives a thorough discussion of the text, *l.c.*, pp. 193-245.

**Byzantine Pottery.**—One of the more complicated problems that confronts the art student to-day is that of maintaining touch with all the material relative to the sphere of his own researches that is published in numerous periodicals. For this reason a short note,



referring to a recent article in *Ars Islamica* (Michigan, 1938, Vol. V, Pt. I, pp. 55-86) may be of service to Byzantinists. In the article, which is entitled 'Mediaeval Graves in Cyprus' and is by Miss du Plat Taylor, associated curator of the Nicosia Museum, a quantity of late Byzantine pottery is published. Excellent outline drawings and photographs are given, and our familiarity with these later polychrome sgraffito wares, common over the whole Mediterranean world, is considerably widened. Most important, the vessels come from graves, where they were in many cases found in association with coins. They can thus be definitely dated to quarter centuries or even to decades during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Miss Taylor is to be congratulated on her excavations and on this full publication of them.

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**A peculiar form of Omega in two sixth-century inscriptions.**—In Mr. Scranton's publication of the inscriptions found by the American School at Phlius in 1924 (*Hesp.* V, 1936, p. 235 ff.) he comments (p. 238) on the unusual form  $\text{Ω}$  which occurs in no. 2 in the words  $\text{Ω} \text{Λ} \text{Δ}$ ,  $\text{Δ} \text{λ} \eta (\text{?} \omega)$ , and suggests that it may have been a modification of another letter, as  $\text{β}$  or  $\text{ζ}$  or  $\text{θ}$ , intended to represent  $\eta$ . In this connexion, attention may be drawn to another example of this letter-form, though apparently without the central dots, in an inscription from Asprókampo, near Perachora. It is given by L. Ross (*Arch. Aufs.* II, p. 661):  $\text{Δ} \text{P} \text{Ω} \text{P} \text{Δ} \text{OYT} \text{Δ} \text{BMAMA}$ ,  $\text{Δ} \rho \omega \pi \iota \delta \omega \nu \text{ τ} \acute{\omicron} \delta \epsilon \sigma \acute{\omicron} \mu \alpha$ . A facsimile of Ross' original drawing from his diary is also published in *IG* IV. 414, Röhl *IGA* 18. Forchhammer, who also made a copy, (*Halcyonia* 1857, 14) saw the third letter as  $\text{Ω}$ , and Le Bas (*RA* I, 174: *Voy. Arch.* II, 77, pl. IV, no. 6) did not see the first five letters at all, while Röhl (*loc. cit.*), taking Forchhammer's reading as correct, suggested  $\text{Μαν} \text{Ω} \rho \omega \pi \acute{\omicron} \lambda \omega \nu \text{ τ} \acute{\omicron} \delta \epsilon \sigma \acute{\omicron} \mu \alpha$ . Kirchhoff (*Geschichte* <sup>3</sup> p. 88) gives Ross' facsimile without commenting on the form of the third letter, and in the fourth edition mentions the inscription without giving the facsimile.

That Ross himself was convinced that this form  $\text{Ω}$  was on the stone, and was intentional, is shown by his attempts (*loc. cit.*) at connecting it with other similar signs from the Greek and other alphabets.<sup>1</sup> The name *Dropides* occurs else-

where, in Athens and Euboea (see Pape-Benseler, *Griech. Eigennamen* third ed., p. 325; to his references may be added *Marmor Parium* I. 50, *Dropides* Archon 644/3; *IG* XII, 9, 56, no. 88, on a lead tablet from Styra).

It may therefore be suggested, since Ross is presumably to be trusted, that the form  $\text{Ω}$  in the Phlius inscription stands for  $\omega$ , not  $\eta$ , the verb being then in the optative, with early contraction, as Professor Buck suggested (*Hesp.* V, 1936, p. 238, note 1); and that this peculiar form of the  $\omega$  was in existence in this district during the early part of the sixth century, possibly as the invention of one particular stone-cutter, who may have been responsible for both the Phlius and the Asprókampo inscriptions.

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**Churches at Bosra and Samaria-Sebaste.**—In his notice of the above paper in the last number of the *JHS*, p. 287, the reviewer makes one remark which is likely to perpetuate an old error. 'In 1909,' he writes, 'Butler found the base of a composite pier' etc. What I wrote was that 'there was no trace of any [such] pier and it is evident that he [Butler] made some mistake when he was working up his notes in America' (*op. cit.*, p. 8). The point is crucial, and in a previous account of the church I published photographs to show that the pier never can have existed: see the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* for January 1936, Plate II.

J. W. CROWFOOT.

**A Repertory of Egyptian Gods.**—Professor Thomas A. Brady, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri, U.S.A., has recently published privately a repertory of statuary and figured monuments relating to the cult of the Egyptian Gods. He desires to make his collection as complete as possible before eventual publication of the photographs. Copies of the repertory are available free of charge. Those interested in the subject are requested to send any information bearing upon the materials, as well as photographs of pieces. Prompt payment will be made for photographs and for any other expense involved.

venance of this inscription would seem to indicate some connexion, but the inscription itself has not yet been dated or deciphered. I owe this reference to Mr. Tod. (ii) *Olympia* V, p. 59, no. 24, a fragment of a bronze tablet. Here the  $\text{O}$  is doubled,  $\text{Ω}$ , in two cases but these instances may well be mistakes due to the slipping of the instrument.

<sup>1</sup> Two other possible instances of this form are (i) Meritt, *Corinth* VIII p. 147, no. 267. The pro-



**Sixth International Congress of Archaeology. Berlin 1939.**—The Sixth International Congress of Archaeology will take place in Berlin from the 21st to the 27th of August.

In accordance with the tradition established in previous congresses, emphasis will be laid chiefly on Greek and Roman cultures and on their origins and dissemination; in other words, on the Mediterranean countries and such

others as were under Roman influence, covering the period from the earliest connection with the ancient Orient to late Antiquity.

The management of the Congress is under the direction of the Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches. Requests for information and enrolments should be sent to the VI. International Congress of Archaeology, Maienstrasse 1, Berlin W. 62.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Prosymna, the Helladic Settlement preceding the Argive Heraeum.** By CARL W. BLEGEN with a chapter by E. P. BLEGEN. Pp. xxvi + 48; 731 figs., 52 plans, 8 coloured pls. Cambridge: University Press, 1937. £7 7s. od.

During his visit to the Argive Heraeum, Pausanias learned that the area south of the sanctuary was called Prosymna. This name, with its significant pre-Greek suffix, may well have belonged to the former prehistoric town, and makes a very suitable title for a book describing remains which antedate the Hellenic period.

The project of excavating those remains was conceived long ago by Dr. Hoppin, who had made a study of the pottery brought to light during Sir Charles Walston's campaigns. Though prevented from taking an active part in the new venture of the American School, Dr. Hoppin supplied the funds, and his wife supplemented them after his death. Professor Blegen's three seasons' work was completed in 1928; the manuscript was finished by 1931; but various circumstances deferred publication and finally caused the book to come into the competent hands of the Cambridge University Press. Such in brief is the story of a dig which, subject to unforeseen delays, has nevertheless been fortunate in its friends, its excavator and its publisher.

'Prosymna,' as presented to us, consists chiefly of tombs, the most remarkable being the Late Helladic chamber-tombs, fifty-two in number. These, combined with the examples uncovered by Professor Wace at Mycenae and by Professor Persson at Dendra, provide comprehensive evidence concerning burial customs in the Argolid, and a fine series of vases, weapons, jewellery and other objects buried with the dead. Professor Blegen's careful and thorough account will be welcomed not only for the sake of what he has found, but as an exposition of his precise and scientific technique.

Mycenae and the Heraeum, as one would expect, follow the same practices, such as the arrangements for the disposal of earlier interments when funerals occurred in the family vault, fumigation, ceremonies in connexion

with the closing of the chamber, methods of constructing chamber and dromos. How far these practices are common elsewhere may be learned from the commentary in Professor Wace's report in *Archaeologia* lxxxii; and both authors draw from the distribution and character of the tombs they have examined some valuable inferences as to the nature of the community and its social conditions.

The number of burials shows that an extensive population occupied the region in the Late Helladic period, and a flourishing one in Middle Helladic times. Ruins of their settlement are, it is true, scanty; but that must be owing to its position, partly on rocky ground and partly beneath the Greek sanctuary. Here too lived an Early Helladic people, whose graves are still to seek. On the other hand, no home can be assigned to the Neolithic folk, who have left traces of their sepulchral rites on the surrounding hills: nor is this surprising, for, as Professor Blegen point out, Early Helladic towns and villages in this part of the country seldom lie above Neolithic habitations, and the break in continuity seems complete.

It is with the Neolithic wares that the description of pottery begins. Though represented chiefly from fragments, they are of peculiar interest, having not many counterparts as yet in southern Greece, where this culture is still a comparatively recent discovery. The Middle Helladic vases play an important part, since they help to illustrate the continuity of certain vase-forms which survive till the end of the Bronze Age. Native tradition combining with Cretan influence has produced the rich and varied Late Helladic styles; and one dwells with pleasure on the passages which analyse the ancestry of shapes and the origin of motives, an illuminating contribution to Mycenaean ceramics. The shapes would, however, have been better understood had Professor Blegen consistently avoided the term 'amphora,' with its definite implication and classical associations, when referring to the three-handled jars.

Among the other antiquities, the swords and daggers, which include a captivating dagger inlaid with dolphins, merit the attention of all who specialise in weapons. A report on the



composition of metals might have been given in connexion with this chapter; or, at any rate, an assurance that the earlier weapons and implements are not copper. The terracotta figures are amusing, both by reason of their typology and because Professor Blegen has grounds for thinking that they accompanied child-burials: still more engaging are the miniature chariots and furniture. Mrs. Blegen, in her admirable treatise on the jewellery, has made good use of the Cretan and mainland parallels, though a reference to Lucas' helpful book, *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, would have imposed caution in attributing malachite beads to Egypt.

A prominent aspect of tomb-digging is, of course, the examination of the human remains; but anthropologists will not need to be reminded that a selection of bones and crania from the Heraeum has been dealt with by Professor Fürst in connexion with other material from the Argolid.

Reading is much facilitated by the scheme of reproducing photographs and drawings as consecutive 'figures,' more or less in the order in which they are mentioned; only the coloured plates, two drawings and the larger plans (the latter surveyed and beautifully drawn by Miss Cox) being separated. Thus pictures of tombs and tomb-groups are conveniently juxtaposed. If some of the views are on too small a scale, we cannot complain, for all are useful; and the general arrangement and appearance of the publication is such as to render it a model for future ventures and a subject for congratulation to the author and the Press. W. LAMB.

**Deux Épées d'Apparat.** (École Française d'Athènes: Études Crétoises, V.) By F. CHAPOUTHIER. Pp. 62; 21 pl. Paris: Geuthner, 1938. 120 frs.

The present report is a sumptuous presentation of the two swords of bronze found during the supplementary excavations of 1936 at Mallia. They lay below the plaster floor of the later Palace which dates from the beginning of MM III b, in a stratum containing sherds of MM I fabric, some of them at least contemporary with the MM II pottery of Knossos and Phaistos. Of one sword the blade alone remained. Of the other much of the gold covering from the hilt and pommel survived. The lower side of the pommel was decorated with a human figure which bends backwards in a complete circle, like an acrobat.

The blades are round-shouldered and resemble that from the isolated deposit at Isopata which

has been dated with practical certainty to MM III b. For some reason, however, the author has reconstructed the whole weapon as a horned sword. This type does not appear in Crete until LM I b, though it makes an earlier appearance on the mainland in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae. It is the result of turning up the edges of the shoulders of the blade itself into flanges. No example occurs of a horned sword in which the horns are part of the hilt alone. This is natural since it is a form of guard and, as the hilt consists merely of ivory or bone covered with gold, it would offer little protection without a solid core of metal. The fact that, as the author suggests, the present example may be a dress-sword, not for actual use, makes no difference. No fragment of the hilt shows any justification for restoring the horns, and this sword cannot be used as an argument for the priority of Crete over the mainland in the manufacture of such weapons. All the evidence points the other way.

According to the circumstances of their discovery their latest possible date is the end of MM III a. Were it not for the purity of the stratum one would have preferred to date them to MM III b or even as late as LM I a, a period which provides the closest analogies to the figure. Can they possibly have formed part of a foundation deposit of the second Palace?

Fine as the objects are they are hardly worthy of a full-length memoir, particularly when we are still awaiting the final publication of all the important material since 1936. Twenty-one plates seem an excessive allowance—not even the head of Nefertiti received the honour of that royal salute! And the excursus into the attitude of acrobats throughout the ages which occupies twelve of the sixty-two pages is surely irrelevant in an excavation report if not to the object itself.

In conclusion. Our first needs are definitive reports of the whole excavation of Mallia. When these have been produced it will be time for the luxurious publication of individual objects. No single find has the right to hold up a whole army of equally important evidence.

But it would be ungrateful to end without mention of a most charming dedication.

J. D. S. PENDLEBURY.

**Ancient Cyprus.** By STANLEY CASSON. Pp. xii + 214; 16 pls. London: Methuen and Co., 1938. 7s. 6d.

This book is intended to orientate the reader in Cypriot archaeology, but it is so full of mistakes and inaccuracies, and shows such lack of first-hand knowledge of the material, that the orientation given is very misleading. I regret that I



have to draw attention to the work of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in connexion with a mention of the shortcomings of Casson's book, but that is unavoidable because many of his misinterpretations and defective knowledge of the material are connected with his quotations of the publications of that expedition. It is impossible to point out all the mistakes within the scope of this review, and I must therefore confine myself to some examples.

Casson says, p. 20: 'No mention of pre-Bronze Age culture is made in Gjerstad's *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, published as recently as 1926.' On p. 1 note 1 of the work quoted we read: 'The only Stone Age remains hitherto found . . . are treated separately in *Svenska Orientsällskapets Årsbok*, 1925, p. 5 *sqq.*; will also appear in the *Antiquaries Journal*, London, 1926.' Casson continues, p. 21: 'That earlier workers should have failed to detect Neolithic sites and artefacts is odd enough, but that the elaborate Swedish expedition which set forth to identify all possible sites and periods should have failed is still stranger.' The Swedish expedition has excavated three Stone Age sites: at Petra tou Limniti,<sup>1</sup> Lapithos,<sup>2</sup> and Kythrea.<sup>3</sup> Casson asserts that the material of the Early Bronze Age is only provided by tombs because 'no habitation-site has yet been excavated' (p. 27), but habitation-sites from the period in question have been excavated both at Alambra and Kalopsida.<sup>4</sup> It is declared that 'no sanctuary of the period (*i.e.*, Late Cypriote II) has been found' (p. 62), but a sanctuary of this period has been found at Ajios Jakovos.<sup>5</sup> The beginning of Late Cypriote is assigned to 1500 B.C., though we know that pottery from this period was imported to Egypt about 100 years earlier, and is found together with Cycladic vases contemporary with MM III and LM I.<sup>6</sup> Pottery from the Late Bronze Age is dated 200 years too late.<sup>7</sup> Casson lacks fundamental knowledge about the development of the Iron Age. Tombs from the Archaic period

are assigned to the Early Iron Age<sup>8</sup>; artefacts from the end of the Geometric and the Archaic periods are said to date from the beginning of the Iron Age<sup>9</sup>; Archaic pottery is considered to be the origin of Geometric vases,<sup>10</sup> etc. No satisfactory excavation is said to have been carried out on a habitation-site with stratified levels from the Bronze Age and the Iron Age (p. 142), but excavations of this kind have been carried out at Ajia Irini, Kition, and Idalion.<sup>11</sup> Casson states that the Bronze Age settlement on the western acropolis of Idalion 'was occupied in Classical times as a sanctuary of Anait-Athena' (p. 154), but the sanctuary in question goes back to the Geometric period, flourished in the Archaic period, was destroyed at the end of that and never rebuilt.<sup>12</sup> Doric architecture is said to be completely absent on the island (p. 162), whereas the truth is that several specimens of Doric architecture have been found.<sup>13</sup> Casson asserts that no Cypriote votive sculpture represents the deity worshipped (p. 184), but many small votive sculptures representing Herakles were found in the temple of Melkart-Herakles at Kition, and votive sculptures representing Athena and Apollon in the temple of Athena and Apollon Lykios at Mersinaki, to mention only two instances. Vouni is identified with Aipeia (p. 190, n. 5) which we know existed at the time of Solon's visit to Cyprus, but Vouni was uninhabited before 500 B.C.<sup>14</sup> In order to make it probable that there was a movement of people from Cyprus to Cilicia in late Mycenaean times, Casson states that Amphilochoi died in Soli in Cyprus (p. 118), but the Soli referred to

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.*, Tomb 5 from Amathus (p. 65), cf. *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* ii, p. 26.

<sup>9</sup> *E.g.*, the characteristic pottery of the 'circle style' is assigned to the beginning of the Geometric period (p. 159), but it does not appear before the end of that period and is common in the Archaic period; the 'Red Bucchero' class, which is said to be common 1000-800 B.C. (p. 132), is not earlier than 850 B.C. and is not common earlier than 700 B.C., etc.

<sup>10</sup> P. 172: The barrel-shaped vases which appear already in Cypro-Geometric I are supposed to have developed from the 'bird-oinochoai,' which are Archaic.

<sup>11</sup> *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* ii, pp. 460 ff.; 642 ff.; iii, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.* ii, pp. 625, 627 f.

<sup>13</sup> Jeffery, *Historic mon. of Cyp.* p. 382; *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* iii, pp. 579 f.

<sup>14</sup> *Die Antike*, ix, 274: *Acta Inst. Rom. Regni Suec.* ii, p. 150; *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* iii, p. 286.

<sup>1</sup> *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* i, pp. 1 ff. Casson mentions this site as Neolithic (pp. 21 f.); his statement above is therefore the more surprising.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 13 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 277 ff. The excavations at Lapithos and Kythrea are also mentioned by Casson (p. 22), but on account of his defective knowledge of the material he has not observed they are Neolithic.

<sup>4</sup> *Stud. on Preh. Cyp.* pp. 19 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* i, pp. 356 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Stud. on Preh. Cyp.* p. 333.

<sup>7</sup> *E.g.*, the typical White Slip pottery is said not to precede the Mycenaean ware of the Amarna type (p. 41), but cf. *Stud. on Preh. Cyp.* pp. 277 ff.



is Soli in Cilicia.<sup>1</sup> He considers (p. 194) Cypro-Greek sculptures from the end of the 6th century B.C., or even from the beginning of the 5th century B.C. to be contemporary with proto-Cypriote sculptures as Ajia Irini No. 2106 + 2103, which cannot be later than 580-570 B.C., in view of the stratigraphic evidence of the excavation.<sup>2</sup> In a proto-Cypriote head, which must also be earlier than 570 B.C., he thinks it is permissible to see a portrait of Cambyses (p. 185). He thinks that the earliest sculptures show East-Greek influence (pp. 188 ff.) and, consequently, overlooks the large group of proto-Cypriote sculptures which begin the series of Cypriote plastic art.<sup>3</sup> And the misleading statement that 'sculpture in the round ceased to be Cypriote' (p. 201) during the Roman period is only to be explained by his ignorance of the sculptures from the Roman temples at Soli.<sup>4</sup> As all these errors, due to a lack of a thorough knowledge of the archaeological and literary evidence, enter as arguments into Casson's conclusions, these must therefore be considered as very unreliable.

Casson's theories on the Mycenaean colonization of Cyprus are not supported by archaeological and anthropological evidence, but a discussion of this problem here would take too much space and I must therefore refer to Vol. IV of *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*

The quotations are sometimes very careless. A typical example (p. 119): Casson says that there was a longer history to the Mycenaean development of Cilicia than I would admit, and proves this by drawing attention to the legend of Bellerophon and the earlier Hellado-Cilician pottery. In *RA* 1934, p. 201, quoted by C., I say: 'There is the legend of Bellerophon to be connected with the earlier Mycenaean and Hellado-Cilician pottery', i.e. I have expressed exactly the opinion which C. criticizes me for not having expressed. Numerous other instances of the author's carelessness could be cited (cp. his identification of the incomplete word *Kir* . . . on p. 130 with *Kurion*, and on p. 144 with *Kerynia*) and it is much to be regretted that there are so many mistakes in what is clearly designed as a book for the general reader.

In the preface of his book (p. vi) Casson lauds Myres' contributions to Cypriote archaeology.

Everyone will acknowledge Myres' pioneer work. When Casson continues that his book has by no means superseded what Myres did, this is not the whole truth. His book has done less than that. In comparison with Myres' work it is a step backwards.

EINAR GJERSTAD.

**Altdorische Bildwerke in Korfu.** By G. RODENWALDT. Pp. 27; 38 pl. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1938. RM. 7.50.

This little book, on primitive Doric architecture and sculpture as revealed by the finds at Corfu, will form a companion piece to the full publication of the excavations, which is now in preparation. The illustrations are good half-tones, with a line reconstruction of the Gorgon façade. The essay ought to be widely read, because it is remarkable for the lucid expression of fine aesthetic appreciation and important generalisations. Its basic theory is that Greek art began when the Peloponnesians invented the Doric stone temple and its sculptural decoration, but that the spacious colonnade is a non-Greek feature, taken over from the Illyrians or from the native Italians. It might be argued however that, just as the plainer form of temple, with a porch but without side-colonnades, reproduces the town house of the Heroic Age, so the complex form may imitate a country house equipped with lean-to sheds for the purposes of the farm; and these prototypes of side-colonnades would naturally have varied in width according to what they were intended to shelter. In Italy carts may have largely taken the place of the pack-animals of Greece, as is the case nowadays.

A. W. LAWRENCE.

**Viergespanne in Vorderansicht.** By G. HAFNER. Pp. viii + 133; 3 pl., 9 text-figures. Berlin: Junker and Dünhaupt, 1938. RM. 6.30.

Dr. Hafner's title is carefully chosen and includes the representation of frontal quadrigae in graphic and relief work and also, in so far as they can be viewed from in front, the free-standing groups of sculpture. The first part covers the archaic period. Here the frontal view appears early in the sixth century, our first example being on a Middle Corinthian cup (no. 4), and quickly becomes popular, at least in Athens: of the 130 vases listed, five are Corinthian, five Chalcidian, the rest Attic. The type shows no substantial change or development: all four horses are strictly frontal, the outer pair normally looking outwards and the inner inwards, their hooves firmly on the

<sup>1</sup> Strabo, xiv, pp. 5, 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Swed. Cyp. Exp.* ii, pp. 813 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Die Antike*, ix, pp. 270 ff.; cf. *AA*, 1936, pp. 561 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Westholm, *The Temples of Soli*, Stockholm, 1936.



ground, though the display of hind legs is optional. Only the rendering of detail changes: Hafner examines the musculature of the chests of the horses, and by it tests various attributions of Attic b.f. vases and suggests others. Generally his observations seem sound, though perhaps he takes too little notice of other criteria. The type is alien to r.f. and, while it continues in contemporary b.f., is found only in the curious compromise of no. 56. The origin or renaissance of the type Hafner tentatively assigns to Corinth. But he gives too much importance to a seal-stone (no. 142, Fig. 9) ascribed to the Geometric period: if it is really Geometric, there is yet no evidence of a tradition continuing to the sixth century. The interpretation of these groups is not always clear, especially in the late b.f. style, where types are often meaningless. It seems simply to be an alternative to the more frequent side view. Hafner's theory that in the earliest versions the frontal chariot was unoccupied is flimsy; and certainly the comparison with chariots in side view is against it. Hafner lists the recorded quadriga of free sculpture, which he reasonably considers as having been placed to be seen primarily from in front, and therefore argues that in painting and sculpture a similar artistic problem naturally and independently led to a similar solution. This is surely right, despite Löwy and Deonna.

On classical vases and reliefs the archaic type continues: the team is rigidly frontal, though sometimes breaking into a gallop or even rearing. At the same time perspective is introduced and results in what Hafner calls the 'gesprengte' scheme, where the horses are diverging strongly. Of each form there are few extant classical and no Hellenistic examples, though Hafner infers that the type survived from its re-emergence on coins of the second century A.D. and from parallels in Indian sculpture under Hellenistic influence. For free-standing quadrigae in these periods Hafner has collected much literary and some archaeological evidence. He considers that the archaic scheme continued with a greater liveliness of pose, and strongly rejects reconstructions which introduce the 'gesprengte' development. He argues that the group gradually ceased to be a dedication for victory in the chariot race (or in war) and became rather a sign of the dedicator's social status. This is a useful section and carefully argued: the claim that Lysippus introduced the galloping team seems, however, insecure.

The last chapter is brief and summarises the history of the type to the nineteenth century. The 'gesprengte' team of some modern

triumphal arches is, we learn, due to a misunderstanding of ancient sources.

Dr. Hafner's conclusions, without being sensational, are generally sound. The material is carefully collected and of an enviable compass.

R. M. Cook

**Tierplastik; Bildwerke aus fünf Jahrtausenden.** By CARL BLÜMEL. 140 figs. Leipzig: Pantheon-Verlag, 1938. RM. 7.50.

In 1933 the Berlin museums arranged an exhibition of animal sculptures of all ages in their different departments, and Dr. Blümel published an illustrated catalogue *Tierplastik aus fünf Jahrtausenden, Bildwerke aus den Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, comprising 48 plates in collotype, without text. His new book is the enlarged edition of the former, with 110 plates in half-tone of larger size, a short preface addressed to amateurs, and notes with facts. The standard of reproduction, on the whole, is high; in many cases new photographs or better prints have been used, and the opposite is rare. The arrangement in this zoo is not very clear: the sequence of the animals is often pell-mell, neither zoological nor chronological. I should not like to criticise the choice: each one of us has his pets, and some of these are welcome, unpublished or little known. Seventy-six items out of 140 are the property of the Berlin museums; this is easily explained by the genesis of the book, but it ought not to be so in a work which is no longer an exhibition catalogue. Only 35 animals out of 140 are post-antique or exotic: here the selection is necessarily casual and far from representing these periods adequately.

A few suggestions for the next edition: No. 39: the date is not '7th-6th century,' but 5th-4th, if not 4th; the measurements in the notes are erroneous; there is no justification for figuring these rather unrepresentative bone animals because they are in Berlin, in a book which illustrates Scythian animal style by four pieces; one would prefer to see the Kelerines lioness or any other good piece instead. No. 40: the date '7th-6th century' for the Kastromskaja stag is beyond discussion: see K. Schefold, *ESA* xii, p. 36. No. 58, 59: hardly '6th-5th century,' but probably second quarter of the fifth: see *AM* 57, 1932, p. 6, note 1. No. 136: why not figure Mr. Oscar Raphael's 'original' instead of the 18th-century copy?

It would be unfair to compare Dr. Blümel's book with Miss Richter's *Animals in Greek Sculpture*, the only learned and indispensable



study on the subject; it is an unpretentious, excellent picture-book—useful both to amateurs and to scholars.

P. JACOBSTHAL.

**Sizilische Dachtterrakotten.** By W. DARSOW. Pp. 118. Berlin: K. & R. Hoffman, 1938.

This excellent work gives a comprehensive and singularly lucid description of the Sicilian roof-terraccottas, based on personal inspection, and draws definite and convincing conclusions about their classification, evolution, and dating. It would be difficult to exaggerate its importance for the study of early Doric architecture.

Darsow begins (I) with a catalogue, listed under nineteen Sicilian sites and two on the mainland (Delphi and Olympia), with the addition of pieces of unknown provenance and of pieces that are evidently Italian imports. He then (II) examines the material under the heading 'Types' (antefixes, simas, metopes, etc.), and after that (III) discusses the general roof-forms, which he classifies as (i) 'Traufplattendach' (ii) 'Traufsimendach' and (iii) 'Anthemien-dach' (the best-known example of which is the roof of temple C at Selinus). Next (IV) he considers the relationship of the Sicilian forms to those of the mainland, and finally (V) deals with the relative and absolute dates. There are no illustrations, but Darsow gives full references to earlier publications (there is a good bibliography), and much of his argument can be followed by the help of Mrs. Van Buren's *Archaic Fictile Revetments in Sicily and Magna Graecia*.

A work so packed with matter cannot be summarised, but a few of his conclusions may be indicated. All the terraccottas lie between 600 and 400 B.C. At the very beginning lie a very few purely mainland types (especially roof A at Gela and a sima from Grammichele in the province of Catania, which are respectively Laconian and Corinthian). Purely Sicilian types, both 'Traufplattendach' and 'Traufsimendach,' start in the second quarter of the sixth century, but the former drives out the latter and alone lasts through the fifth century: after 400 B.C. Sicily imported her roof-terraccottas from Tarentum.

The Sicilian types, which are extremely individual, are not a local evolution from the types originally brought from the mainland, but appear to be profoundly influenced by the Corinthian West, especially Corcyra, Calydon, Thermon, etc. Darsow rejects the theory of direct Rhodian influence, and thinks Campanian influence slight and local.

The detailed discussions are often very interesting and important, especially, perhaps, in connection with metopes and pediments (pp. 57 ff. and 92 ff.). It may be noted that Darsow accepts the view that all the terraccottas of C at Selinus are contemporary and original, and assigns the temple to the last quarter of the sixth century.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

**Excavations at Olynthus. Part VIII: The Hellenic House.** By D. M. ROBINSON and J. W. GRAHAM. Pp. xxi + 370; 110 pl. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press (London, Humphrey Milford), 1938. £3 7s. 6d.

The extreme interest of Olynthus for the history of Greek domestic architecture is universally recognised, and in this excellent volume Professor David M. Robinson and Dr. J. Walter Graham, an architectural expert, present the results of the excavation of the residential district. For a comprehensive treatment of the whole subject we must turn to Robinson's recent *RE* article 'Prähistorische und griechische Häuser,' which brings up to date Fiechter's 'Haus' article of 1912, but this book too contains a valuable selection of comparative material, both literary and archaeological.

The importance of the site of course depends largely on its assumed abandonment shortly after Philip's destruction in 348 B.C.: the first seventeen pages are devoted to a successful vindication of this contention.

The rest of the book falls into two main divisions, first description of the quarter and of a number of individual houses, and second general and detailed consideration of the house-types, in plan and construction, and an account of such equipment as cisterns, pithoi, millstones, etc. The book contains several special discussions and tabulations (for instance a full list and description of the important pebble mosaics), and it is well indexed. At the end are more than a hundred good plates, partly photographs, partly plans and drawings.

It is needless to summarise the results, which preceding publications have made familiar in a general way to all students of the subject. The Olynthus houses tend to conform to a definite 'pastas' or 'pastas-peristyle' type, which is illuminatingly discussed: Robinson argues forcibly that this is likely to have been also the type of the Athens of Aristophanes and Plato. Its chief characteristics are the large portico on the north side of the court and the specialised 'andron.' The kitchens also are well preserved and striking. The chief deficiency of the site is the very small height to which walls are pre-



served, but a good deal can be cautiously inferred about the upper storey.

The literary material is judiciously used, but a few slips should be corrected. On p. 156 the suggestion that the encaustic paintings at Tanagra (*FHG* ii, p. 257) were in the porches seems to be a misunderstanding: on p. 205 n. 88 the Demosthenic κοπρώνων ἐπιστάται are likelier to have dealt with refuse-heaps than with domestic latrines: the scholiast on *Orestes* 1448 ff. seems to be innocent of the suggestion about *exedrae* attributed to him on p. 209 n. 102: on p. 236 n. 11 for 'Athens' read 'Plataea.' Finally 'not yet were there houses built-of-bricks and turned-towards-the-sun, (p. 145) is at best an unlucky rendering of καὶτε πλινθυρεῖς δόμους προσελίους ἦσαν in *PV* 450 f.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

**Das Theater zu Sparta (= Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Abt., 1937, Heft 5).**

By H. BULLE. Pp. 114; 7 pl. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1937. *RM.* 7.50.

This work falls into two approximately equal halves. The first deals with the Sparta theatre, the second is concerned with various special topics suggested by the earlier discussion.

Bulle visited Sparta in 1935 with a young architect, W. Weyhe, and was allowed to clear overgrown portions of the theatre, so that he can claim to have checked and even supplemented the admirable work of Woodward and De Jong. The whole treatment is rather discursive, but Bulle's conclusions are conveniently summarised on pp. 49 ff. His interest is largely concentrated upon the general history of the theatre area, in connection with Spartan cult and upon the explanation and dating of certain remains indicative of mechanical scenic devices.

Bulle argues that the first celebrations on this site were concerned with the graves of Pausanias and Leonidas and the stele to the men of Thermopylae, set up at different dates in the fifth century opposite the entrance to the proteionisima of the sanctuary of Athena Chalkioikos. The annual speeches and games (Pausanias iii.14.1) were watched from the slopes of the acropolis. There was no real 'theatre' till a stone proskenion-stage was erected in the Hellenistic period, perhaps by Nabis (the well-known passages Herodotus vi. 6. 7 and Plutarch *Agesilaus* 29 are explained as referring to the place called Χορός in the agora, Pausanias iii. 11. 2). The Hellenistic proskenion cut off the grave area from the acropolis slope, and this indifference to cult reflects the break-up of Spartan tradition. In

the time of Augustus, when the marble-faced auditorium was erected, piety had revived, and no stone skene was built: instead, a wooden skene of proskenion type was placed in a skenothekē, which occupied, as Woodward thought, the site partly covered by the later nymphaeum, and which Bulle and Weyhe have further uncovered and measured. Bulle develops his theory (anticipated by Dörpfeld) that the channelled stones which have been so puzzling were designed to act as tram-rails for running the wooden skene, on flanged wheels, in and out of the skenothekē. This theory finds fresh support in the discovery of one of the stones apparently *in situ* inside the skenothekē. Later the wooden skene was burnt. Vespasian and Titus erected on the line of the rail-stones an ornamental wall with eleven gaps and crowned with statues. The agones were now held in the orchestra and dramatic shows used a temporary wooden pulpitum. The chief later changes perhaps belong to the third century—the alteration of the ornamental wall into a regular scaena with a high stone pulpitum and the construction of the nymphaeum in the ruins of the skenothekē.

How far this complicated scheme will resist criticism no arm-chair critic—perhaps, indeed, no one but Mr. Woodward—can judge. The explanation of the channelled stones seems plausible.

The second half of the book consists of four appendices. The first elaborately discusses the history of wooden stages and develops Bulle's theory that the proskenion type of theatre is based on an old tradition of wooden structures for musical performances. The second examines the use of tram-rails in antiquity and after rejecting much preserves a small residue. The third is a rather adventurous handling of the exostra and ekkyklema, while the fourth tries to reconstruct, chiefly from Hellenistic reliefs, the methods of satyr-play production in the Hellenistic theatre.

The whole book is a fascinating monument of fresh and learned ingenuity and will give all students much food for thought.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

**Monumenti della Pittura antica scoperti in Italia. Tarquinia, fasc. II; Le pitture della Tomba della Caccia e Pesca.** By P. ROMANELLI. Pp. 19; 7 pl. (4 coloured). Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1938. 180 lire.

The Tomba della Caccia e Pesca, to which the second Tarquinian fascicle of the *Monumenti della Pittura Antica* is devoted, is by reason of its subject one of the most attractive of all Etruscan



tombs, and the present publication, which offers for the first time adequate photographic reproductions of its paintings, is particularly welcome.

The tomb was discovered in 1873 and published in *MdI* soon after. It consists of two chambers; round the walls of the first runs a frieze of dancers amongst stylised trees, and of the second fishermen and fowls. The pediments on the further wall of each chamber are well preserved; the first shows a hunting scene, the second a banquet. Otherwise the state of preservation is not very good, but, as seems to be usual in this series, the text-figures reproduce the water-colour copies of the pictures made soon after the discovery of the tomb, from which details now lost can at times be supplied.

Romanelli comments at some length on one noteworthy feature of the decorations—their unity of design, a single theme for all four walls of each room rather than a different one for each, or as was more usual, one for the side walls and another for the end. This unity is very noticeable in the second chamber, where the sea runs in unbroken line right round the room. The seascape here presents something quite unusual in Etruscan, or for that matter in Greek, art, and for any sort of a parallel we must turn to Crete or Egypt. The artist has found a special attraction in the sea, the rocks with their bands of blue and red, the flying birds and the leaping fish; the human element is given a subordinate rôle, as we can see from the small scale of the men in the boats. Here his work must be called highly successful; in the pedimental designs, where the human element plays a much larger part, he is less at home—the figures are crowded and there is too much filling ornament.

In style the paintings resemble fairly closely those of the two earlier tombs (Leonesse and Vasi Dipinti), published in the first fascicule of this series. The bird and dolphin border of the former and the dancers and vases of the latter find parallels in the present tomb, but on the whole there is a greater stylistic affinity with the main group of early fifth-century tombs, like the Tomba del Vecchio (cf. the banquet scenes) and the Tomba del Barone. Consequently Romanelli prefers to date the Tomba della Caccia a decade or so after Leonesse and Vasi Dipinti (placed by Ducati about 530 and 520) and puts it to the end of the century. The earlier dating, favoured by Weege and others, is now generally recognised as putting the tombs too far back in the century, and Romanelli's date, which is confirmed by the recent researches of Pallottino (*Mon. Ant.* xxxvi), should be preferred.

The present fascicule is admirably produced in every way. The text is concise and accurate, the four colour plates superb, and the three in monochrome do all that can be done to give good photographic reproductions of not too well preserved wall-paintings. For special mention I would single out Colour-plate D, showing a detail of the right-hand wall of the inner chamber; the fishermen have been eliminated, and we see only birds and dolphins, as fine a piece of pure decorative art as one could ask for. Such publications as these should do a great deal to stimulate Etruscan studies in this country, where at the moment they are rather neglected.

A. D. TRENDALL.

**Les Vases Archaïques d'Histria.** By MARCELLE F. LAMBRINO. Pp. 375; 7 pl., 341 text-figures. Bucarest: Fundația Regele Carol I, 1938. Lei 250.

Mme. Lambrino has earned our warmest thanks by this first volume on the pottery from Histria. This is the first scientific account of archaic finds from the Pontus, and so especially valuable. Parvan discovered the site; but to Professor and Mme. Lambrino belongs the credit for its excavation, a hard task in so remote a place. Much of the site remains untouched, and we are fortunate to have this interim publication.

This volume deals with the archaic East Greek pottery, except for Bucchero, Clazomenian and plastic vases. Mme. Lambrino has followed, with modifications, Miss E. R. Price's classification. Ch. I gives a short account of the site: there was no reliable stratification; no evidence of any pre-Greek settlement has been found. In Ch. II are general observations on the pottery: the preponderance of East Greek among the archaic finds is noted. The remaining chapters (except VII) treat each of one class of pottery: first comes a survey of the class, then precise descriptions of selected examples, all illustrated. It is not, however, always clear how much has been omitted.

Ch. III describes relief vases, few and unimportant. In Ch. IV are collected 'Ionian Bowls' of Bird, Rosette, Lotus and Eye groups, and in Ch. V the 'Ionian Cups': both classes seem well represented. Ch. VI, much the longest, shows the author's thoroughness: it deals with the coarser East Greek wares and is the best contribution yet published to this important subject. Perhaps too much stress is laid on the clays, but criticism is difficult. Ch. VII is given to letters and other 'marks,' sometimes too readily explained: there seem to



be dedications to Aphrodite. Ch. VIII contains the 'Rhodian' ('Camiran'), mainly typical pieces reaching back to the late seventh century. Nos. 1 and 2 are curious. Nos. 30 and 33 look like Aeolian, where the continuous pendants of 33 are familiar. The loop pattern of no. 34 is commoner than Mme. Lambrino thinks. In no. 56 the objects on the left belong to a 4 x 5 ornament, as occasionally in the metopes of similar dishes from Rhodes. Fig. 262 (no. 58) seems rather of a goose, pecking. No. 77, even if slipped, is probably Corinthian of about 575. The black polychrome fragments, except for no. 52, are too small to be classified satisfactorily. Ch. IX is on 'Naucratis.' To the 'A' style belong a number of typical fragments, of which no. 11 has a band of unjoined lotus flowers and buds of pure Fikellura style. No. 16 seems out of place. The incised style is rare. The Fikellura, in Ch. X, is remarkable, and introduces several new motives, e.g., no. 7 for the lip, nos. 3 and 25 for the neck. No. 1, from the shoulder of a large amphora, has a file of ill-drawn comasts, apparently learning the goose-step: the head ornament should be noted, but the red surely represents hair, not caps. The figures show incision. (But the present incisions on the Altenburg amphora are modern, whatever its original state may have been.) No. 2 is a fine piece, of the Defenneh Lion group, but not one of the earliest. No. 3 seems to be mediocre work of the Altenburg painter. No. 6 is neat, and the omission of crosses might be deliberate. On no. 10 there is no reason to suspect a partridge. Nos. 12, 13, 28, 29 should belong to the Plain Body group. The curving bands of no. 19 can be paralleled. No. 22 is Middle 'Rhodian.' The object at the top of no. 23 is perhaps rather a wing. No. 26, by its coarseness, suggests an amphora. For no. 30 one needs a section to judge on the shape: the upper ornament might well be a cable. Nos. 5 and 31 are probably not Fikellura. There are no obviously late pieces. The Conclusion follows, and full Appendixes.

Mme. Lambrino's arguments are well supported, but with some I disagree. I think that it would be safer to substitute 610 for 630 as the earliest demonstrable date for any of the pottery. She claims Miletus as the chief producer of 'Rhodian' and Fikellura; but without the finds from Miletus no one can decide. The evidence is little more positive than that for 'Phocaeen,' which she rejects. The attribution of 'Naucratis' to Clazomenae and its connexion with Clazomenian require more cogent reasons: the conical foot of the chalice may well be of Lydian origin, but many Greek states had

contact with Lydia. Mycenaean survivals and the 'Geometric style of Asia Minor,' though often detected in East Greek pottery, still elude investigation.

The descriptions and the classification are sound, the illustrations generally adequate, the coloured plates good. There are a few misprints and slips: e.g., pp. 123 and 139, 'Tanis' for 'Daphnae'; p. 175 no. 24, 'Fig. 118' for '119'; pp. 316 n. 4, 348 l. 13, 'no. 10' for 'no. 9'; pp. 237 no. 4, 316 para. 3, 348 l. 13, 'Milet' for 'Éphèse.' The style is lucid, the price (about 8s.) remarkably cheap. Mme. Lambrino's next volume will be awaited eagerly.

R. M. COOK.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Belgique, fasc. 2 = Bruxelles, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire (Cinquantième), fasc. 2.** By F. MAYENCE and V. VERHOOGEN. Pp. 45; 50 plates. Brussels: Musées Royaux, 1937. 26 belgas.

With this second instalment the great majority of the classical vases in Brussels have been published in clear if often small photographs, with concise and careful descriptions. There are also good details of some of the more important pieces.

III Cb: 'style d'imitation corinthienne': so far so good; but one might go farther: these are certainly Etruscan vases. The olpe pl. 1, 2 is by the Rosone painter, whom I have treated (after Albizzati *Vasi del Vaticano* pp. 48-9) in Beazley and Magi *Raccolta Guglielmi* p. 74.

III E: it would be fair to add that Rumpf does not consider pl. 1, 2 and 3 to be actually Chalcidian.

III He, Attic b.f. Since the subject of pl. 15, 3 is funereal, that of the companion plate pl. 15, 2 should be so too:—the old father, and a sympathiser: compare the two middle figures, these female, on the Exekias plaque in Berlin (Technau, *Exekias* pl. 15).

Pl. 16, 5: the foot of the vase is alien. The text does not mention that the faces of the Athenian housewives, as well as their figures, are very realistic and unornamental. Pl. 19, 3: the case should be a flute-case, not a lyre-case. Most of the lekythos on pls. 20-21, and on III Ja pl. 1, are treated by Miss Haspels in her *Attic Black-figured Lekythoi*, and assigned to their painters. III He pl. 20, 9, see *ib.* p. 60. Pl. 21, 20, see also Beazley and Magi, *Raccolta Guglielmi* p. 49.

III Ja, pl. 1, 1: horse-race, with jockeys.

III Ic: Attic r. f. Pl. 10: both cups belong



to the Nikosthenes group in the wide sense of the term. I think it very doubtful whether the inscription on pl. 10, 2 is a signature of Skythes—or of Sokles. For the style of pl. 10, 2 cf. Louvre G 92. Pl. 14: the object is a sandal rather than a halter (the authors give the alternative)—or rather a pair of sandals. Pl. 15, 1: the sigma on the obverse has five strokes. Pl. 15, 3 really might have been given a wipe before photographing, to remove the modern mouth of the warrior. The device is a bull's head, not a bucrane. Pl. 16, 3: the name is \*Ἥδδα. Pl. 20, 2: the ingenious interpretation of this as a fowling-scene is no doubt correct. Pl. 20, 3: cf. the mug Munich A 919. Pl. 20, 5b: there is a white-ground version of this figure, by the same hand, on a lekythos belonging to Dr. von Schoen (Neugebauer, *Antiken in deutschem Privatbesitz* pl. 71, 165).

III Id: Attic r. f. Pl. 6, 2: cf. the London stemless E 119. Pl. 6, 3: by the Koropi painter, see my review of the California *Corpus* pl. 39. Pl. 7, 3: other vases of the same type, a variant of the ordinary Nolan amphora, and by the same artist, the Epimedes painter, are Florence 4010 and Berlin 2343. Pl. 8, 6: cf. *Cat. d'une collection d'antiquités grecques, Athènes* 1927 p. 5, middle, 4. Pl. 9, 3: by the Cassel painter. Pl. 10, 1 also recalls the Cassel painter. Pl. 10, 3: by the same, a stamnos in the Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii pl. 20, 2) and the bell-krater Naples 1768, both with Amazonomachies. Pl. 11, 7: Italiote? Pl. 11, 9 (R 415) is not the squat lekythos which I attributed to the Phiale painter: that is A 2355. This is much later.

III Ie: Attic r. f. Isn't the knob of pl. 2, 1 alien? Pl. 3, 1: compare a bell-krater in Dresden.

IV Be: 'Etruscan r. f.' Pl. 1, 3: on these palmette jugs see Beazley and Magi, *Raccolta Guglielmi* p. 91. Pl. 1, 5 is one of a numerous class (e.g., Naples *Mon. Lincei* 22 pl. 109, 5, from Cumae; Michigan 2584, *CV* pl. 38; Copenhagen 365 and 366, from Cumae, *CV* pl. 231, 8 and 9; Oxford; etc.) which is not Etruscan, but Italiote, doubtless Campanian Greek: a very large specimen, from Nola, in the British Museum (F 507: *Bull.* 1845 p. 13) is covered with Greek inscriptions, not incised, but fired on. Pl. 1, 7: a tympanon rather than a shield.

IV Db and IV f: Apulian and Lucanian. The authors have not been able to consult the recent works of Trendall. IV Db pl. 4, 1 seems Attic; Pl. 4, 2 and pl. 4, 3 belong to the Amykos group. IV F pl. 1, 5 is Attic; pl. 1, 9 is by the Dolon painter (Trendall *Frühit. Vasen*, no. 248,

with a different interpretation); pl. 2, 1 is by the Slave painter, one of the chief Lucanians: cf. for example the Munich vase Jacobsthal *Die melischen Reliefs*, p. 88.

If I may hark back to the Makron cup Brussels R 264 (*CV* III 1c pl. 2, 1): a fragment in Villa Giulia gives the missing part of the pointed amphora under the handle, and another the calyx-krater on A, with a bit of the woman's chiton, the man's toe, and the end of his stick.

J. D. B.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Deutschland 1 = Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum, 1.** By A. GREIFENHAGEN. Pp. 46; 53 pl. Munich: C. H. Beck. 1938. *RM.* 20.

The first German fascicule of the *Corpus* is a model: good photographs well reproduced, good text, the get-up good.

The contents are mostly Attic—r. f., white, black.

Pl. 3, 5: the subject of the Elpinikos cup has always been supposed to be a girl's head in outline on a reserved ground: I suggest that it is the moon, represented as a disc with a girl's head on it, as in the Berlin Sosias cup (FR pl. 123), and in a fourth-century krater in Leningrad (*Compte Rendu* 1860, pl. 3): the space between disc and line-border may be thought of as sky. Pl. 6, 4: the fragments in Villa Giulia give a good deal more of both men, with the inscription [H]IK[ETE . . .], and some of the exterior; and confirm Dr. Greifenhagen's ascription to Duris. Pl. 7, 1 seems to be by Onesimos. The exterior is badly preserved, but might have been figured all the same. Pl. 7, 6: Agora P 10947, and a Ferrara cup from tomb 33 at Spina, are by the same. Pl. 8, 8 may be by the Eretria painter. Pl. 16, 1-2: the name Smikythos is also to be read on a hydria by Euphronios in Dresden (295, ZV. 925: *AA*, 1892 p. 165, left: ΣΜ[IKV]ΘΟΣ). Pl. 16, 6: for 'pectoralions' read 'restorations.' Pl. 21, 2: Dr. Greifenhagen is no doubt right in classing this peculiar vase as Attic: part of a bell-krater by the same painter, with a symposium, was found at Al Mina (see p. 26 of this *Journal*); Athens 12238 and 12239 are also his. Pl. 22, 9 seems to be by the Marlay painter. Pl. 22, 10: the youth appears to be dancing. Pl. 23, 2-3: the shape is the κοτυλίσκιον of Ar. *Ach.* 459. Pl. 24, 2-5: Greifenhagen justly strikes this out of the list of vases by the Sotades painter: it is a school-piece: he makes amends by producing a new Sotades painter, pl. 24, 1:



cf. the pyxides Florence 4217 and Moses, *Vases from the Collection of Sir Henry Englefield*, pl. 31, 2.

Pls. 29-38 are devoted to the large and important find of fragments (some at least of them wasters and trial-pieces), from an Athenian pottery of the late fifth century. A few alien pieces had got in, and are discarded by Greifenhagen: nearly all the rest, as he notes, are or may be by a single artist, the painter of the Athens dinos 13027.

Pl. 40, 1 and 3: Jacobsthal points out to me that the correct reading of the inscription on this Boeotian vase is ΒΕΜΙΤΡΙΤΟΝΠΤΟΙΔΟΡΟ = ἡμιτρίτον Πτοροδώρου.

J. D. B.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum. Deutschland 2 = Berlin, Antiquarium 1.** By R. EILMANN and K. GEBAUER. Pp. 40; 48 pl. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1938. RM. 18.

This volume is devoted exclusively to Protoattic vases. It is divided into two sections of unequal length. The older acquisitions occupy Pls. 40-48. Pls. 1-39 are devoted to a collection which has recently found its way into the Antiquarium. It was acquired in 1936; of its previous history little is known, except that it is fairly well established that the stuff came from Aegina (cf. Karo, 26th *HWP*, 10). Vases of Corinthian manufacture and a local (Aeginetan) group of small kraters were included in the collection, but these have not yet been prepared for publication.

The Attic material from this so-called 'Aegina find' dates from the last years of the eighth century to the beginning of the second half of the seventh. From the patient labour of restoration some 48 more or less fragmentary vases have emerged. The majority are kraters and bowls of different types (the commonest is a closed vessel on a high pierced foot, but there are interesting variations); among the other shapes there is not much variety, but there is information about the development of amphoriskos (Pl. 3, 1-4) and standed bowl (Pl. 24, 2-3). The introductory chapter contains a technical classification of the material with useful remarks on the clay, slip, varnish, and firing: the consequent division into categories is interesting but of little practical importance. Then follows a list of the works of eight painters, all except the Nessos Painter identified by Herr Gebauer. It is a great pity that space has not been found for the penetrating analysis which must underlie this bare classification; in particular, Gebauer's

reticence about the relative chronology makes this section difficult to appreciate.

Pls. 4, 4; 6, 1-2: surely not by the same hand. The combination of protome and 'Zinnenmäander-Kreuz' is not enough to offset the difference in style and quality. The 'Zm.-Kr.' seems to be not the mark of a workshop but of a period, that preceding the Nessos vase; cf. the Siren amphora, plaque in Eleusis (Inst. Phot. EL 361), amphora on the market (combined with horse-protomes). The human protome is very rare in Protoattic, cf. a fragment in Eleusis (Inst. Phot. EL 359); perhaps it comes from the Cyclades. Pl. 10 ff.: 'Schachbrett-Maler.' From his workshop an open krater in the Vlasto Collection. I fancy the Schliemann krater (*BSA* xxxv, 193) should come pretty close. Pl. 16, 2: the foot is not subgeometric but Late Geometric, so it could hardly belong. Pls. 18-21: the attribution to the painter of the Ram Jug is convincing; probably an early work (e.g., insensitiveness to the curves of the arm). On B the sex of the archer is not proved by the absence of a beard (cf. Peleus on Pl. 5); the use of varnish for the arms and legs is hardly to be expected on a female figure when at the same time white is used for male figures. The 'demons' under the handles shew no sign of being superhuman; the cognate figure on the stand Pl. 28 squats in the position characteristic of archaic apes. Pl. 22: 'Frauen-Maler.' Perhaps by him also the Benndorf fragment (*BSA* xxxv, pl. 54f); the Vourva krater (ib. pl. 55e) should come from his workshop. Pls. 25-26: 'Pferde-Maler.' The attribution of Munich 1350 is good. Pl. 27, 4: apparently by the painter of the Vlasto hydriae *BSA* xxxv, pls. 44-46. Pl. 28: perhaps by the same hand is the fragment *BSA* xxxv, pl. 51c. Pls. 30; 34, 2: 'Maler der blumigen Ornamente.' The fragmentary piece, Pl. 36, 1, which Gebauer divines to be from the same hand, is dated (p. 6) still in the first quarter of the century; in which case this stand can hardly be later than about the middle of the second quarter. Pls. 31-33: the riders apparently side-saddle, cf. Protocor. kotyle Hampe *Sagenbilder*, pl. 40. Pls. 34, 1; 35: certainly by the painter of the Ram Jug. To this master Gebauer assigns nine pieces, adding five others as perhaps late works from the same hand (p. 7); of this total five are in Berlin. Of Gebauer's nos. 10-14, 10 and 13 are certainly by the Ram Jug Painter (but why late works?), the attribution of 11 is convincing, 12 more tentative; 14 seems a brilliant reconstruction. Of nos. 1-9, clearly 1-4 and 6 are correctly assigned; 5 and 7 I don't know well enough to



judge. 8 (the Burgon krater, with which goes 9) certainly looks like the painter of the Ram Jug, but there is a world of difference between the neat, competent style of the one and the rich, free curves of the other; more likely 8 and 9 are by some lesser master like the 'Pferde-Maler' who had fallen under the influence of the Ram Jug Painter. Otherwise, Gebauer has presented a compact *oeuvre* of a distinctive master. Pl. 39: miscellaneous sherds. 5. From a plain varnished amphora with low, reserved neck-band, a different type from 6. Cf. Young *Hesp.* vii, 3, 418. 71. Cf. *Δελτ.* 1916, 39, fig. 38, 2.

The 'Alter Bestand' consists of one hydria, three amphorae, two little jugs, one bowl, two fragments. Here there is a good deal that is new in both text and plates. Pls. 43-44: Hymettos amphora. Dated to the end of the eighth century; R. S. Young's chronology of the Phaleron graves would imply a considerably later dating (cf. *Hesp.* vii, 3, 422 ff.). In the process of renovation it has been disclosed that the body of this vase was not potted whole but built up in parallel courses about 7.5 cm. high. This peculiarity does not, however, suggest that at the end of the Geometric period Attic potters could not make pots: it suggests rather that the Hymettos amphora was built by a bricklayer. Pls. 46-47: on p. 37, col. 1, line 19, after *Koppe*, the word *Gesicht* is omitted.

Photography and reproduction throughout are good. The material presented is important. Much of it is unexpectedly fine, most of it is new to archaeologists. And the scholarly commentary enriches our appreciation of it. Herren Eilmann and Gebauer have set a precedent which will not easily be followed.

J. M. Cook.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: United States of America, fasc. 5 — University of California, fasc. 1.** By H. R. W. SMITH. Pp. 60; 62 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936. 22s. 6d.

This volume brings much new material, for the California collection was almost unknown. The text is more elaborate than is usual in the *Corpus*; is well written, and full of ingenious ideas: each vase is studied with care, and the writer courts difficulties rather than shirks them. The reproductions are good.

Attic b. f. Pl. 16: this band-cup recalls a lid, also decorated with sirens and stags, in Boston, but is finer. Pl. 19, 2: the author toys with the notion that the reverse may figure a rescue party, and one would like to think so—an official one,

right slow off the mark: but doubtful. Pl. 23, 1 and pl. 24, 1: isn't it the tail of the tiara that is tucked up into the hat-band? Pl. 23, 3: a vase of the same shape in Oxford, 218 B, is by the same hand: there empty columns, as here, but athletes on the reverse. Pl. 25: I am surprised to find the author, who takes such interest in his characters, saying that the two satyrs 'strike space-filling attitudes in the corners.' That would be odd in such a vivid picture; and the right-hand satyr is evidently dancing; while the left-hand one is also occupied, *ὁῦλος γὰρ ἔστιν ἐς φιλίου πρῶκτον βλέπων*. Pl. 27, 4 on the sword of Herakles see also Haspels *ABL* p. 117.

'Etruscan.' Pl. 30, 2: on this class see *Vases in Poland* p. 77, *BSR* 11, p. 29, *JHS* 56, p. 93.

Attic r. f. Pl. 31, 1. Although the author's attributions are usually right, I don't see the Cerberus painter in this plate. Pl. 32, 1 is by the Poseidon painter, as he may be called after this cup: Boston 95. 35 is among his other works; and his horrible masterpiece is London E15 (A, *El.* 1, pl. 63). Pl. 34, 2 belongs to the school of Makron, as the author himself nearly says. The vessel in the left hand should be a kotyle rather than a cup. Pl. 37, 2 is by the Wedding painter (see *Campana Fragments* p. 18 on pl. 11 Bro, and *CV Bonn* pl. 7, 3), so called from his pyxis in the Louvre (L 55; Milligen *AUM* pl. 44; Stackelberg pl. 32; ph. Giraudon 34134): now pl. 37, 3 seems to be by the same, so may it not be from the same cup as pl. 37, 2 after all? Pl. 38: the left-hand figure inside looks like a jumper; the middle youth on B has a strigil as well as the left-hand one. Pl. 39 is by the Koropi painter, as he may be called from a cup in Oxford found there (1936.615); another cup of his is Brussels A 74 (*CV III Id* pl. 6, 3). Pl. 44, 1 is by the Washing painter himself. Pl. 44, 2 is rightly connected by the author with a pelike in Harvard: by the same hand as the Berkeley vase, the pelike Louvre G 539 (*CV III Id* pl. 47, 2-3 and 6). Pl. 45, 1; cf. Tillyard pl. 11, 95, Munich 2338, London E 315. Pl. 46, 2 recalls the Hasselmann painter. Pls. 47-50 is one of the most important vases in the collection, a unique representation of the birth of Dionysos, contemporary with the *Bacchae* of Euripides: Smith provides a full commentary.

White. Pl. 59, 1 is by the Achilles painter himself: it belongs to the same group as Athens 12790-1 and 12794-5 (Zervos figs. 262 and 264; Riezler, pl. 39; Riezler pl. 35; *CV Athens* Je pl. 6, 1-2). Pl. 60, 2: the reproduction seems retouched.

J. D. B.



**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: United States of America, fasc. 7 = The Robinson Collection, Baltimore, fasc. 3.** By D. M. ROBINSON with the assistance of SARAH E. FREEMAN. Pp. 62; 44 plates. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938. 22s. 6d.

The third Robinson fascicule, which follows close on the second, contains the later r. f. vases, Attic and Italiote; Etruscan; sigillata; and one or two earlier vases recently acquired. It opens with a good b. f. skyphos by the Theseus painter: the unique subject is explained as the erection of a kiln. I do not see what the phallic figure on the Corinthian plaque has to do with the herm on this skyphos, or why we should expect his name (of which only the first three letters are preserved) to be in Liddell and Scott. Athens 498 is not an addition to Miss Haspels' list of vases by the Theseus painter: it is no. 44 in her list. The branch held by the man on A is not a vine.

In the Makron cup first published in pls. 4-5, the fragmentary middle figure on B is probably a maenad rather than Dionysos: at least Makron does not show the god twice, I think, on any of his other exteriors.

Pls. 6-7 give one of the Pig painter's best works. All three women, not the first only, wear a bead strung round one thigh.

Pl. 12, 1 is said to be from Attica, but I do not know on what authority: it belonged to Lord Aldenham; is figured in *Burlington Cat.* 1903 pl. 95, 443, with a mouth and neck, hardly original, which had disappeared when I saw it, in bits, some years ago; was sold at Sotheby's the year before last; and has since been cleaned and restored.

Pl. 12, 3: the inscription is said in the text to be genuine. Pl. 11: ditto.

Pl. 32, 5 is hard to date; it is not very like Oxford 1928, 46 (*CV.* pl. 65, 12), with which it is compared.

Pl. 32, 7: cf. the Oxford kothon *CV.* pl. 65, 29.

Is the lid of pl. 32, 8 sound?

J. D. B.

**Attic White Lekythoi.** By J. D. BEAZLEY. Pp. 26; 8 pl. Oxford University Press, 1938. 4s.

This brief survey of Attic white lekythoi, delivered in 1937 as the Charlton Memorial Lecture at King's College, Newcastle-on-Tyne, does not pretend to contain much that is new, though it offers in a most readable form an admirable account of what is known about this

attractive class of vase, and raises a number of interesting points.

The shape and its history are discussed first. The lekythos was invented at Athens in the first half of the sixth century, attained the 'standard cylinder shape' by the close of that century and kept to it, almost without modification, until production ceased just over a hundred years later. A consideration of the technique follows—the change from b. f. to relief outline in lustrous glaze and from that to the matt outline, which allowed the painter greater freedom and encouraged the development of the swift, sketchy manner of drawing, so characteristic of later lekythoi. Then the subjects represented are dealt with, and here the author has much that is of great interest to say, especially on the juxtaposition and even 'intersection' of two different scenes, one from life and one from the tomb, on the same vase. Finally there is a short discussion of the principal painters and their styles. At their head stands the Achilles painter, 'who determined what the white lekythos could be and was to be.' After him comes the Sabouroff painter—both worked in r. f. as well, but the later painters did not, for by the end of the fifth century white lekythoi were being produced in specialising workshops and their severance from other forms of vase-painting was complete. Beazley's forthcoming *Attic Vase Painters*, which promises to tell us more about the painters of white lekythoi, will better enable us to consider the work of some of the other painters as a whole, and so make clearer the distinctions between their styles than was possible within the scope of a short lecture.

The eight excellent plates at the end figure fourteen vases, some of them hitherto unpublished, notably a fine piece by the Achilles painter in Lord Elgin's collection at Broomhall, and two by the Sabouroff painter, one in the Vlasto collection at Athens, the other in that of Dr. von Schoen at Munich.

A. D. TRENDALL.

**Les Poulains de Corinthe. Tome I. (de 650 à 415 av. J.-C.).** By OSCAR E. RAVEL. Pp. 135; 23 pl. Basel: Münzhandlung Basel and Spink & Son. 1936. 16s.

Mr. Ravel has already published shorter studies on the coinage of Corinth and its colonies—'The Colts of Ambracia,' and 'Corinthian Coin Hoards'—nos. 37 and 52 in the American Numismatic Society's series of *Notes and Monographs*; 'Rare . . . Coins of Corinthian types' (*Num. Chron.* 1935) and 'Corinthian hoard from Chiliomodi' (*Trans. Int. Num. Congr.*,



1936). The present volume is the first of an exhaustive work on the mother city only, down to the middle of the Peloponnesian War. Every die is described and illustrated, and the various combinations recorded. So far as possible the study of hoards and of die-coupling provides the basis of the arrangement, but in this connexion comparison with other series and with vases and sculpture, which is almost entirely lacking, would have been valuable. How far, for example, would comparison with Corinthian pottery support the initial date of 650 B.C.? Beginning from that year the coinage is divided into three periods, at 550 and 450 respectively, the first period closing when the head of Athena replaces the simple incuse, and the second with the end of the archaic style. 95 issues are given to the first period, 141 to the second and 104 to the third. It is interesting to note that in the years 490-50, as at Athens, the coins show little sign of contemporary artistic developments, and the archaic merely refines itself into the archaistic. In the second half of the century (unlike alas! Athens) some brief transitional issues lead to the noble coinage of the Peloponnesian War. Various subjects, Finds, Types, Standard, etc., are treated in rather summary sketches—in which e.g., the uncharacterised female head of the drachm, on comparison with the Syracusan Arethusa, is explained, probably correctly, as the fountain-nymph Peirene, instead of Aphrodite, and thus brought into direct connexion with the other types, and the supposed early modification of the standard weight is found to be groundless. On the whole the work is carefully done though there are too many misprints and some slips in the descriptions. The second volume, which it is hoped will soon appear, would be greatly improved if the plates were differently lit.

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

**Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris.** (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XXXVII.) By R. H. McDOWELL. Pp. xiv + 248; 6 pl. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1935. \$3.50.

Following the excellent precedent set by the excavators of Corinth and Olynthus and the Agora this book contains a record of all the Greek (including Parthian, but excluding Characanian) coins found during excavations of the University of Michigan at Seleucia from 1927-32. When the same has been done for all the principal and for typical minor sites we shall be in a position to write the economic, as distinct

from the numismatic, history of the coinage. As an example of the kind of information thus provided we may note that though Parthian tetradrachms were plentiful, no drachms were found at Seleucia. Now it has already been noticed that the tetradrachms are distinguished from the drachms by the baseness of their alloy, and it becomes clear that the two denominations (and with them their accompanying bronze coinages) had different areas of circulation. After careful discussion it is concluded that the Seleucian mint area comprised Babylonian and Southern Mesopotamia. A detailed catalogue of the coins, some of them unpublished, is accompanied by careful and judicious notes. A section follows on the Parthian mint at Seleucia in which the calendar and other questions are discussed, and in a final chapter the coins are brought into relation with the historical background: a model publication. Is it ungenerous to suggest that the number of coins on the plates might have been doubled without extra expense?

E. S. G. ROBINSON.

**Les Assemblées de la Confédération Achaïenne.** By A. AYMARD. Pp. xiv + 450. Bordeaux: Féret et Fils, 1938. 90 frs.

This book contains a careful analysis of the Achaean League constitution, in which the author systematically examines the opinions of previous writers on the League and sets forth his own views clearly and fully.

In such a work discussion naturally centres on the problem of the Achaean σύνοδος. Aymard's main conclusions as regards the σύνοδος may be summed up as follows:—

(1) The σύνοδος was the sole deliberative organ of the Achaean League until 220-200 B.C., when a parallel assembly, the *συνολιγής*, was called into being in order to deal with matters of urgency by a more expeditious procedure.

(2) The σύνοδος was a primary assembly of citizens. It may have had at its side a chamber of deputies, but the existence of such a chamber is problematical, and if it existed, it was at any rate quite distinct from the σύνοδος.

Aymard appears to the present reviewer to have established his first point, and to be plainly right against those scholars who see in the σύνοδος nothing more or less than a chamber of deputies. That the σύνοδος was not a *mere* chamber of deputies is sufficiently proved by an unequivocal passage in Polybius (IV. 7, 1: οἱ δ' Ἀχαιοὶ, καθηκούσης αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν νόμων συνόδου . . . ἤκου ἐν Αἰγίον· συνελθόντες δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν . . .). But Aymard makes assurance doubly sure by analysing the actual composition of several



σύνδοσι whose proceedings are described in Polybius, and proving that these were attended by large numbers of ordinary citizens.

But it is difficult to follow Aymard when he contends that the expression βουλή, which Polybius repeatedly uses in connexion with the σύνδοσι, must be understood as a synonym of ἐκκλησία. Granted that Polybius did not express himself with the nice precision of a constitutional lawyer, it is hardly credible that he should have made such flagrant misuse of the word βουλή, which is one of the most sharply defined and least equivocal of constitutional terms in the Greek language. Unless we are prepared to explain away Polybius altogether, we must admit that he used βουλή in the universally accepted sense. This conclusion moreover is confirmed by another unequivocal passage in Polybius (xxix, 24, 5: συγκλήτου συναγωγῆς . . . ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινε μὴ μόνον συμπορεύεσθαι τὴν βουλήν, ἀλλὰ πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν), which plainly differentiates the βουλή from the Citizen Assembly.

The Deliberative Branch of the Achaean League, then, was a bicameral body, containing both a primary assembly and a chamber of deputies, and σύνδοσι was a collective term for both of these assemblies (like 'Congress' and 'Bundesversammlung' in modern federal states). This conclusion has escaped Aymard, because at the very outset he has tied himself down to the assumption that σύνδοσι was the official term for the Primary Assembly, and for this alone. This assumption is based on a forced interpretation of a phrase in an inscription (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 675, l. 6: τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ἡμῶν παραγενομένων εἰς τὴν ἐν Κορίνθῳ σύνδοσιν). But there is nothing in this passage to prove that σύνδοσι is here a synonym of ἐκκλησία rather than a generic term like 'congress'; indeed, the inscription proves absolutely nothing as to the composition of the σύνδοσι.

These are but the salient points in a discussion which bristles with controversy on every page. They should suffice to show that Aymard's book is not the last word on the Achaean League. But it is a very useful resumptive work and should make a good starting-point for further study of it.

M. CARY.

**Histoire Grecque, Vol. IV, Pt. i: Alexandre et le démembrement de son empire.**  
By G. GLOTZ, P. ROUSSEL, and R. COHEN.  
Pp. 434. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1938. 60 frs.

The new volume of the well-known *Histoire Générale* covers the period from the accession of

Alexander to the death of Seleucus, with a preliminary chapter on fourth-century Persia. The chapters on Alexander are the work of Professor Cohen, Glotz having had time to revise the text, but not the notes, and those on the Successors have been written by Professor Roussel. It is a good book, and one of its strengths throughout is the full bibliographies to each chapter, which are extremely well done. No one will ever agree on all points with anyone else's Alexander, but Cohen's is a distinct success: there is nothing much new, but (except for the end) it is written with judgment and moderation, and will give the reader a thoroughly good idea both of the man and the story. The worst extravagances of the vulgate—the visit to Jerusalem, the torture of Batis, the Branchidae massacre—are properly set aside, as are modern extremist views of the visit to Ammon and of Alexander's relations with the Greek cities of Asia. Persian numbers might have been dealt with more drastically, and the too brief account of the *proskynesis* business is hardly satisfying and does not explain Callisthenes' *volte-face*; and there are a few mere mistakes, as that Alexander formed a harem in Bactria, or that Chandragupta promised him help. But several important facts are unusually well brought out, as that half Asia Minor remained unconquered, and that Porus was left completely independent; even Aristobulus' long-neglected description of the Indus changing its course is referred to. At the end, however, the author suddenly abandons his moderate tone and method: the *ὁπομνήματα* are genuine; all the embassies, even the Roman, happened; Alexander meant to conquer the whole world, not only westward, but very likely northward as well (I have not met northward before); the prayer at Opis only gets two perfunctory lines, and a reader might slide over it altogether. Then, for the summing-up (Chap. VII) of Alexander's measures, personality, and legend, he fortunately changes back again; I know no better account anywhere, and can only praise it without reserve. As regards contemporary Greece, the outstanding contribution is the very full account of Lycurgus' reforms.

Roussel gives a straightforward narrative of the Successors, perfectly competent, which gets in everything. No regent was appointed after Alexander's death; the Cyrene *diagramma* is 322/1 (this doubtfully); on Lachares he agrees with de Sanctis, and for the cuneiforms follows Olmstead's criticisms of Kugler, so some of our accustomed information vanishes. I might note that in Diodorus xix, 57, 1 he adopts the conjecture Ἀσάνδρω for MSS Κασάνδρω, which



confuses the story, as it always has done; that Ferguson's most important *Athenian Tribal Cycles* is not bibliographed; and perhaps (p. 324 n. 52) that I did *not* make Nicocles the successor of Nicocreon. But such small points are not the real matter. What I am wondering is how the general reader will fare in this labyrinth of names and details, for the key facts do not stand out enough; I feel the need of a preliminary statement that down to Ipsus, though the actors might change, it was all one struggle between a central power and centrifugal forces, and of frequent signposts to tell the reader where he is going to next. The final chapter gives Agathocles' story from the sources very clearly. But (to me) that story has always been incomprehensible, and only possible if Agathocles had some consistent solid support behind him throughout (his Campanians were not enough); and it is not discussed what that support could have been.

Misprints seem few. P. 27, l. 20, part of l. 28 has got in; p. 39, l. 27, for Janikè read Lanikè; p. 200, last line, for pentères read tetrères; p. 227, l. 1, Perdiccas omitted; p. 373 l. 20, for Séleucos read Lysimachus.

W. W. TARN.

**Alexander and the Greeks.** By V. EHRENBURG; translated by R. F. VON VELSEN. Pp. v + 110. Oxford: Blackwell, 1938. 7s. 6d.

This book, as the author points out, does 'not comprise the relations of Alexander to the Greeks in their entirety.' 'Our point is not primarily his relation to the Greek States and men, still less to the land and soil of the Greeks, but rather to the universal phenomenon of intrinsic Greek nature' (p. 104). The author therefore excuses himself the task of considering again Alexander's relations with the Corinthian League, and does not include, except incidentally (pp. 87 ff.), the large subject of the Greek settlements in the Far East.

What the book does contain is three important chapters, with a fourth which is in effect a summary of the author's point of view and a justification of the book's title. Chapter I, called 'Alexander and the liberated cities,' is an attempt to prove that the Corinthian League did not expand to embrace the cities of Asia, or, ultimately, the liberated islands. Chapter II, called '*Pothos*,' examines again the famous phrase πῶτος ἀδούβαν (and its equivalents), and seems at first sight to have nothing to do with the Greeks; but the connection in the author's mind is explained in Chapter IV. Chapter III is called 'Aristotle and Alexander's Empire.' It is a reconsideration of certain

alleged influences of Alexander's career upon Aristotle's political thought (and, to a less extent, of possible political influences of Aristotle upon Alexander): Dr. Ehrenberg rightly concludes that this interplay of influences was about as slight as is humanly possible as between two great men who at one time knew each other intimately.

To many, the most interesting part of the book will be Chapter I, with its careful review of all the evidence bearing upon Alexander's relations with the 'liberated' cities. The strength of the author's technique lies in his healthy scepticism, which refuses to accept an opinion merely because it is generally accepted: its weakness lies in a kind of super-subtlety in argument which, when applied to material as slender and as ambiguous as is some of the evidence here, may often indeed shake an established conviction, but cannot always carry conviction for itself. One may quote as instances his rejection of the analogy between the positions of Philoxenus and Antipater in their dealings with Greek cities; his treatment of the Chios inscription *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 283; his occasional attempts to deduce exact constitutional relationships from passages in Arrian. In this last connection, although it is almost certain that such passages derive from Ptolemy, it is perfectly certain that either Ptolemy himself, or Arrian in condensing Ptolemy, did not always use exact constitutional terms, whether from lack of care or lack of interest in such matters. Thus, Arrian's account (I. 1. 2) of the assembly of the League at which Alexander was elected *Hegemon* makes sheer nonsense; and his account (I. 9. 9) of the decision to destroy Thebes is obscure, perhaps by intention. For this reason it is dangerous, in my view, to conclude that whereas Tenedos did become a member of the League, Mytilene did not, merely on the ground that Arrian's phrase omits in the case of Mytilene the vital words 'and the Greeks' which are included in the case of Tenedos (II. 1. 4 and 2. 2). Similarly, Arrian I. 18. 2 is not concerned primarily with a constitutional issue: it is not a manifesto addressed to the Greek cities in general, but a practical injunction to a subordinate officer (Lysimachus) whose task it was to 'liberate' some of them. Dr. Ehrenberg is on far surer ground when he goes forward to weigh the probabilities suggested by the political situation in general in the years 334-2 B.C.; and it is his deductions from these, rather than his earlier subtleties, which may well convince many that the liberated cities in Asia never became members of the League, and which are the strongest support for his very interesting conten-



tion that most if not all of the liberated island-cities ceased to be members in 332.

This is, altogether, an interesting book, though it is far from easy to read, partly because it is imperfectly translated. Oddities of style are to be found, and there are passages (especially in Chapter I) where the author's argument is really very difficult to follow.

G. T. GRIFFITH.

**Race Mixture among the Greeks before Alexander.** By A. DILLER. Pp. 187.

Urbana: University of Illinois, 1937. \$2.50.

This book (written six years ago) is only a partial study. For the author 'had originally intended to write a complete history of race mixture among the Greeks down to the time of Alexander; but the task was more arduous than I had anticipated, and it seemed better to publish a portion instead of waiting until the whole was finished. The present study, accordingly, includes a general introduction and an account of the pre-historic period and of Athens down to 322 B.C.' This incompleteness explains much that is uneven in the book. After a brief and somewhat scrappy account of Greek ideas of race, which includes their conception of themselves as one people different from and superior to all barbarians, we have 25 pages of discussion of those myths, of Kadmos, Danaos, and Pelops, which told of foreign dynasties in Greece. Such genealogies Dr. Diller holds to be not only un-historical but the result of later theory rather than genuine tradition: a view which is probable enough; but he adds that they are therefore of as little significance for the opinions of the Greeks on race as for their history—a strange conclusion. He omits in this section to mention Herodotus' fondness for pointing out the foreign origin of many noble families among the autochthonous Athenians and the mixed blood of many of the Ionians.

After this the archaeological evidence gets but a dozen pages. This however is partly justified by Dr. Diller's very proper caution in drawing any conclusions about Greek racial origins from it; though he too is too positive when he says, 'the Early Helladic period, with its Cycladic affinities, was unquestionably pre-Greek and furnishes a *terminus post quem* (ca. 2000 B.C.) for the arrival of the Greeks.' This is not certain, but at most probable; and what makes it probable or possible is not the archaeological but the linguistic evidence (which gets very scant treatment in this book)—the fact that in the later Greek vocabulary there is a considerable non-Greek element, and the probability that the

Minoan language was not Greek. (On p. 57 Dr. Diller writes that modern discovery 'contributes one basic fact about which there can surely be no doubt, namely, that the creators of Greek culture were not solely Indo-Europeans or Nordics.' Does *or* here mean *οὐδέ* or *ήτοι*? I suspect, from scattered references in the book to fair hair and the like, that it is the latter. The question whether the Greek-speaking peoples were themselves of mixed blood when they reached Greece is not discussed.) There follows a short chapter on Homer, and then, more than half the book, a detailed, but, of course, by no means complete, account of Athenian laws and customs with regard to citizenship, metics, and slavery—*δικαιήσεις*, *γραφάι ξένων*, *εἰκαὶ ἀποστασίον* and *ἀποστασίον*, and the like—with an appendix containing a list of metics, with their demes and trades, known from inscriptions.

It will be seen at once that the book is not only uneven, but has little unity; for the problem of race is but a thin thread by which to connect a discussion of the genealogy of Kadmos according to Pherecydes with one on the rights of metics to plead before Athenian courts. Athens excluded from her citizen body pure-blooded Greeks as effectively as Semites or Indo-Europeans from Macedonia, Thrace or Persia; it is clear that race-feeling, as that is understood by Dr. Diller, has nothing to do with these laws. He recognises, of course, that many of the free aliens at Athens were Greeks; but he can say 'this change in the attitude of the Athenians towards race mixture (Pericles' law of 451-0) coincides with the date we have determined for the development of the antithesis between Greeks and barbarians, which was the mainspring of Greek nationality in its most advanced form,' and he can quote Aristotle that the city's gods should be worshipped by citizens only and Plato's objection to the intercourse of cities with one another, 'because it leads to confusion of manners,' in order to illustrate the same kind of race feeling as is seen in the dictum that 'barbarians are naturally slaves.' Yet all that we really know is, first, that the Greeks were a mixed people, and, secondly, that they were thoroughly conscious of their common bond—in blood and speech, religion and culture—and their difference from all other peoples; and neither of these is illustrated by the citizenship laws of the individual states.

This is not to say that there is not much of interest in the course of this book; but much also that is dubious. 'Traces of construction or destruction in the ruins (of the Bronze Age) often give clues to historical events such as hostile



invasions, foundations of settlements and dynastic developments, which are presumably of ethnological significance.' Why? Prehistoric Greece may have been like classical Greece, when destructions and constructions seldom had any ethnological significance. There was much mixture in Homeric society 'where native personality had free play, laws were vague and informal, and ancestry was unrecorded and soon forgotten.' Contrast with this the very next sentence: 'Membership of the community was a definite matter in Homeric society'; and contrast with this again (and with the evidence of Solon's poems) the still more dubious statement: 'Attic citizenship did not exist before Solon.' A statement in Xenophon as to the nationality of metics 'is sufficiently vague to be applied truthfully to all periods of Athenian history'; truthfully perhaps, but not to any purpose.

A. W. GOMME.

**Koinoonia, en gemeenschap van zaken bij de Grieken in den klassieken tijd.** By P. J. T. ENDENBURG. Pp. xii + 218. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1937. 3.50 fl.

In this volume Dr. Endenburg systematically tabulates and analyses the meanings of *κοινωνία* and related words (*κοινωνός*, *κοινωνεύειν*, etc.) in texts of the classical period, with special reference to their use in the sense of 'economic partnership.' His conclusion (which he repeats in German) is mainly negative: *κοινωνία* is not used in the technical sense of a Joint Stock or Limited Liability Company, and so far as linguistic evidence goes there is nothing to show that the Greeks of the classical period progressed beyond temporary and informal associations (though they might, *de facto*, have made occasional use of semi-permanent sleeping partnerships). Such a negative finding is necessarily inconclusive; but it confirms the view to which a careful sifting of the purely historical evidence would lead.

An epigraphic text of the second century B.C. might here be cited in confirmation of Dr. Endenburg's conclusion:—Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>2</sup> 646, l. 54 (a *κοινωνία* *πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἱταίου* between the town of Thisbe and an Italian *negotiator*). This *κοινωνία* was evidently nothing more than a temporary business connexion.

M. CARY.

**Statutes of Limitation at Athens.** By J. F. CHARLES. Pp. iii + 74; Chicago: private edition, 1938.

In this dissertation the author has confined himself, as the title indicates, strictly to Attic

law, and as there is no new material it is not surprising that he has not been able to add much of importance to our knowledge of the subject. He has however produced a competent survey, and his arguments are generally sound, though one may not always agree with his conjectures where the evidence fails. It is, for instance, very doubtful whether the Athenians would really have made a distinction between *υπαρσι* arising from injuries to an individual and those arising from injuries to the state in such a manner as to justify the assumption that the common five-year limitation applied to the former but not to the latter. It is precisely the failure to work out technical distinctions of this sort in a manner that would be satisfactory to a Roman or modern lawyer that is characteristic of the unprofessional way in which Attic law managed to work. The short chapter on usucapion (acquisitive prescription) is also unconvincing.

Dr. Charles follows other authorities (including Lipsius) in believing that acquisitive prescription was known, although there is no evidence other than the elaborate system which Plato lays down in the *Laws* (954) for movables, but he tries (as Lipsius does not) to interpret the rule limiting actions on inheritance by the life of the *κληρονόμος* plus five years as a form of usucapion, although there is really nothing to show that this worked on different principles from other *προθεσμιαί*. It would have been well if the arguments against usucapion put forward by Vinogradoff (*Historical Jurisprudence* II, 212 sqq.) had been considered.

The author has probably not gone very deeply into the legal technicalities involved, and one may also point out an error in modern law—it is not correct to say that Anglo-American practice requires a creditor to take all possible action against his principal debtor before proceeding against the surety. On the contrary, English law is here like the classical Roman law as contrasted with that of Justinian's time. This is however a minor matter, and we hope that Dr. Charles will continue his researches in the papyrological field, where the results are likely to be more interesting.

H. F. JOLOWICZ.

**Languages in History and Politics.** By A. C. WOOLNER. Pp. xii + 167. Oxford University Press, 1938. 10s. 6d.

The author of this book gained for himself a great reputation in India as a scholar and University administrator. After his death in 1936, it was found that he had been engaged on



a study of the connection between the history of languages and the history of civilisation. In spite of the incomplete and indeed fragmentary condition of his manuscript, it has been considered appropriate to publish it, at once as a memorial to the author's linguistic interests and as a text-book useful to both Indian and Western students. After a long and interesting section on linguistic theory, and an explanation of some of the commoner technical terms employed by philologists, we find historical accounts of various important language-areas. These accounts, which include not merely the chief branches of Indo-European speech, but also Semitic and Chinese, are of very unequal extent and value. Many of them seem to me to be notes of the author's reading which he intended later to employ for the formulation of a theory only dimly discerned by the reader of the present publication. The most important section is that on Indian languages of which the author has a first-hand knowledge, and on which he writes attractively and with authority. In a less impressive review of Greek and Latin, current theories are summarised without much discussion of evidence or attention to essential detail. Often for pages we have merely an outline of historical events with little attempt to bring them into convincing relation with linguistic developments.

It would obviously be unfair to apply normal methods of criticism to an unfinished work. It is not quite clear what the dominant idea was round which the writer hoped eventually to group his material. I suspect, however, that we have the clearest expression of his thesis on p. 139 where he says 'Linguistic "birthright" is not a question of race but of history and tradition.' One at least of his main purposes was to show that the intrinsic capacity of a language for survival or the capacity of its early speakers for political or cultural domination is of infinitely greater importance in linguistic history than racial affinities or prejudices. Along with much that is inaccurate and inchoate, there are indications in this work of wide linguistic experience and sober judgement, and I can well imagine that by the author's death we have been deprived of something of real interest and importance.

J. W. PRIE.

**The Ancient World.** By J. M. TODD. Pp. 407; 23 pl. and 7 maps. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1938. 9s. 6d.

It is not the intention of this book to present a connected history of the ancient world, but

rather to trace the rise and estimate the value of those of its ideas which have had the greatest influence on modern European civilisation. Accordingly the narrative is confined to certain significant crises in which the conflicting aspirations of the ancient peoples were most vividly expressed; while the bulk of the book is devoted to examining what those aspirations were, and in what circumstances they were engendered.

The author includes in his comprehensive survey the earliest civilisations of Egypt and Mesopotamia at the one extreme, and the fall of Rome and the establishment of Christianity at the other; and though the treatment is necessarily summary, the proportions appear to be skilfully managed, except perhaps for an under-estimation of Egyptian influence. But we are more concerned here with the Greek contribution to the world's thought; and this the author seeks to illustrate by opposing Hellenic science, mathematics and rational philosophy to Hebrew 'wisdom' and prophetic conviction. Such a contrast is true and valuable up to a point, but there is the danger that it may tend to lay too great emphasis on the exclusively rational products of the Greek experience and neglect the value of the experience itself. It is therefore disappointing that an author who can give such a satisfactory account of Greek science and mathematics finds nothing to say of the Greek view of life as it is expressed in Homer, Hesiod, Theognis and Pindar; for, as G. M. Sargeant observed in one of his classical studies, part of the bequest which the Greeks have left us, 'is their conception of the world and of the purpose of life in it; or more precisely the relationship of the individual to the world. And it is the failure of their conception, showing the untenability of one of two possible attitudes towards experience, which constitutes the great spiritual legacy of Greece to the modern world.'

D. E. L. HAYNES.

**Ancient Smyrna.** By C. J. CADOUX. Pp. xlv + 437; 9 pl. and 3 maps. Oxford: Blackwell, 1938. 25s.

The preface tells us that this study began as an M.A. thesis, and was then expanded as a token of regard for the author's native city. Dr. Cadoux has industriously collected a mass of facts about Smyrna from the ancient authors and modern commentaries on them and from the archaeological material. (How meagre the latter is is brought out by the fact that no up-to-date study of the Hellenistic-Roman-Byzantine Acropolis of Smyrna on Mt. Pagus has been made—an attractive piece of work if the consent of the



Turkish authorities could be got.) He has faithfully arranged these facts in chronological order with a wealth of footnotes and an adequate index. The result might well be entitled 'The Annals of Smyrna,' useful to those citizens of Izmir who are interested in the ancient history of their city, and to scholars seeking to verify a fact or a reference. But in what sense can such a work be called a history? That surely implies, not merely the collection of material, but the selection of that material and the drawing of conclusions from it. Dr. Cadoux is completely unaffected by modern historical method and its interest in social and economic factors. The reader will look in vain for the names of Rostovtzeff and Charlesworth in the bibliography, or for such entries as trade, commerce, imports and exports, social life, in the index. All that we are given is two pages (20 ff.) on the natural products of the region, and three short sentences on the wine trade. Instead Dr. Cadoux, whose main interest is obviously the Early Christian period, devotes most of twenty pages (326-345) to publishing verbatim letters of Ignatius and Polycarp that have little to do with Smyrna. And not a little space is given to entries like this:—'Some time about 250-245 B.C., a Smyrnaian youth named Hermogenes, the son of Apollonios, won the long-distance race open to older boys at the public games celebrated at Thespiai in Boiotia under the name of the "Erotidia".' There is an air of heavy solemnity about the presentation of the facts. It would be interesting, for example, to read aloud the few sentences at the foot of page 235 and the top of page 236 to a class of undergraduates and note the reaction. And here is an easier one (p. 233): 'The elder Plinius mentions two Smyrnaian writers on medicine and scientific matters whom he used as contemporaries—Markion (who made observations of sea-centipedes) and Solon (whose views he quotes on sorrel and dock).'

G. E. KIRK.

**Actes du Ve Congrès international de Papyrologie (Oxford 3 août-3 Septembre 1937).**  
Pp. xxix + 665; 6 pl. Brussels: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1938.  
200 B. fcs.

This volume is the work of the Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, and shows the excellent printing and careful editing which are the mark of all the productions of this institution. In publishing it the Fondation voluntarily undertook a task which the Congress organisers declined. But the present reviewer, though it may be invidious for him to say so, cannot but

feel that there is a good case for not collecting in one volume the papers delivered at an international congress. The success of such a congress is not measured by its *Acta*. Many of the addresses given on such an occasion are, rightly, in the nature of brief reports and exchanges of information. Papers of more lasting value will find a place in the learned periodicals on their own merits. In the case of this Congress, the term 'papyrological' is no guarantee of unity of theme, as is pointed out by Sir Frederic Kenyon in his Presidential Address, 'Fifty years of Papyrology' (pp. 1-12).

In the present volume, owing to the accidents surrounding its birth, many of the papers, being promised elsewhere, are represented here only by summaries, sometimes simply by a reference to the place of publication. Others are reprinted in full, though they have been published in other places. No mention will be made here of either of these classes. Of the reports on work in hand, the following have not at the time of writing been caught up by publication:—A. Böhlig (Die Berliner koptischen Manichaika, 85-93), E. Kiessling (Fortschritte der Arbeiten am Wörterbuch der gr. Papyrusurkunden, 210-12), H. Kortenbeutel (work on the Berlin papyri, 230-6), C. J. Kraemer, Jr. (on the papyri excavated by H. D. Colt at 'Auja Hafir in southern Palestine, 238-44), G. von Manteuffel (on the Polish excavations at Tell Edfu, 250-9), Darwell Stone (work on the Lexicon of Patristic Greek, 453-8), Sir Herbert Thompson ('Self-Dedications,' a group of demotic papyri from the temple of Sobek at Tebtunis, 497-504). Papers of general interest are:—A. Grohmann (Zum Steuerwesen im arabischen Aegypten, 122-34), H. Henne (Sur trois nomes du Delta, a question of topography, 137-58), M. Hombert (notes on some papyri in the Brussels collection, 162-8), V. Martin (Epistula Exactoriae, a careful re-interpretation of Wilcken, *Chrestomathie* 44, 260-85), T. B. Mitford (An unpublished Act of Amnesty from Ptolemaic Cyprus, 291-9; the republication in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 13, 33 gives the text only), W. Otto (Die zukünftige Gestaltung der nichtliterarischen Papyrus- und Ostrakapublikationen, a plea for organisation in publication, and in particular that certain centres should deal only with certain groups of documents, 314-36), Cl. Préaux (La Signification de l'Époque d'Évergète II, 345-54), Carl Schmidt (Über moderne Papyrusfälschungen, 370-80), B. A. van Groningen (Pap. Oxy. 1416 and the Gymnasiarchy, 505-11), E. P. Wegener (Notes on the *φολαί* of the metropoleis, 512-20), F. Zimmermann (Der hellenistische Mensch im



Spiegel gr. Papyrusbriefe, 580-98). The juristic section contains the following papers:—E. Balogh (Die richterliche Kompetenz des Dioiketen Apollonios, 21-70), E. Kiessling (Streiflichter zur Katökenfrage, 213-29), P. Koschaker (Die Eheschliessung nach den arabischen Papyrusurkunden, 237; to appear in full in *Études de Papyrologie*), C. J. Kraemer and N. Lewis (Constantine's Law on 'Longissimi Temporis Praescriptio,' 245-8), F. Pringsheim (Zum ptolemäischen Kaufrecht, 355-66), A. B. Schwarz (Zum gegenwärtigen Stand der Katagraphe-Lehre, 381-450), R. Taubenschlag (The ancient-Greek-city laws in Ptolemaic Egypt, 471-81), L. Wenger (Rechtstheoretische Fragen in der juristischen Papyrusforschung, 522-64), F. de Zulueta (A Fourth-century Latin Juristic Fragment: P. Ryl. III, 474, 608-14), J. N. Coroi (La papyrologie et l'organisation judiciaire de l'Égypte sous le principat, 615-62).

E. G. TURNER.

**Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Vol. III. Theological and Literary Texts (nos. 457-551). Ed. C. H. ROBERTS. Pp. xvii + 217; 10 pl. Manchester University Press, 1938. £1 1s.**

After more than twenty years' interval the task of cataloguing the papyrus collection of the John Rylands Library is resumed in this volume, with Mr. C. H. Roberts as the new editor. With the skill and versatility we have come to expect of him he publishes more than sixty texts, most of which have something to add to such diverse fields as Liturgiology, Patristics, Jurisprudence, as well as the less beaten paths of Greek and Latin Literature. On texts covering so wide a range he has organised labour very successfully, while performing the lion's share himself. In a number of cases his *Scharfsinn* has contrived to defeat the cunning of dealers who delight in dividing pieces of papyrus and selling them to different collectors.

Of the pieces here published 23 are codices. All the Latin pieces (with the exception of the third century Sallust no. 473) were written thus. Particularly interesting, as the editor points out (his notes on palaeography and diplomatic are throughout markedly full and helpful), are nos. 498, a non-Christian third-century codex in small format; no. 534, a fourth-century grammar book, broader than it was high; no. 549, part of a single codex which contained the whole of Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*.

Among the more notable texts are 457, 458, republications of the St. John and Deuteronomy JHS—VOL. LIX.

fragments; 463, identified as from the Gospel of Mary, which agrees fairly closely with the unpublished Coptic version at Berlin (in l. 27 surely *naivos* must be read?); 465, a sixth-century portion of the Liturgy of St. Mark; 466, two Byzantine hymns; 469, an 'epistle' against the Manichees; 470, a prayer to the Virgin in a peculiar hand with monumental α (a date in the third century I find incredible. Line 10 read η ευλογ[ουμένη]); 472, a Latin Liturgical fragment (l. 10 perhaps read in]crementum. The apex at the foot of f in the line above is turned to the right instead of the left. Line 13 read spes ec[cl]esi[ae]); 473, perhaps the jewel of the whole collection, two pieces from Sallust's *Historiae* containing a number of words not previously regarded as belonging to Sallustian vocabulary; 474-6, Juristic fragments and 479, fragments of the Digest, apparently contemporary with Justinian, but with a different text of XXX, 26, 1; 482, a Tragic fragment restored as from a lost *Telephus*, perhaps of Sophocles (the plot might run more easily if in l. 4, e.g., λύνει, were restored instead of τῶς, with perhaps π[ρ]ο[σ]τάτ[η]ς in l. 3. A difficulty throughout is the constant change of person addressed. [σὺ ε'] of l. 12 must be different from [σὺ] μὲν in l. 6. Why should not the former be Telephus again?); 489, a new fragment of Lysias, ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐρυκτιμάχῳ; 490, an anonymous historical fragment of the third century B.C., describing the events of 340-338 B.C.; 491, a fragment on the Second Punic War, probably written before 130 B.C.; in 498, l. 3 read τῇ (the first scribe wrote πτ); 522 and 523, perhaps from an opisthograph roll, containing on the verso part of Ptolemy, Ἐπιστήμων Πόλεων Κανόν, in which Rome appears with a guide-book double star; 531, Ptolemaic medical receipts, with a section on the preparation of contraceptives.

The volume is sumptuously produced and printed by the Oxford Press. But a few misprints have crept in, and I note p. 43 translation l. 8 read 'abomination'; p. 109, n. on l. 97, read 'τοῦναντίον'; p. 142, n. 2 read 'p. 148.'

E. G. TURNER.

**Un livre d'écolier du III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C.**

By O. GUÉRAUD and P. JOUGUET. Pp. xxxi + 60; 10 pl. Cairo: Société Royale Égyptienne de Papyrologie, 1938. P.T. 50.

A considerable number of papyri, tablets and ostraca from the schools of Graeco-Roman Egypt have been found, and despite a certain monotony (for scholastic technique showed little development) most of them are of interest as



illustrating the methods followed. The document here published, a papyrus acquired by the joint efforts of the Société Royale Égyptienne de Papyrologie and the Cairo Museum, preserved in the latter and now published by the former, is one of the most interesting and perhaps the oldest of the class. It dates, according to the editors, whose judgement the facsimiles fully confirm, from the later third century B.C. The editors regard it as a book for the use of the pupil; more than one reviewer has suggested, with some plausibility, that it was perhaps intended rather for the teacher. In either case, it is instructive to note how similar, in plan and general conception, it is to later manuals.

The method, despite some inconsistencies in the arrangement, which rather favour the hypothesis that it was a hand-book for the teacher, was naturally to proceed from the elementary to the more advanced reading exercise; but the range of the compilation includes also some instruction in numbers, in geography, and in mythology. The papyrus is not indeed complete; the upper part, perhaps nearly half, of the roll has disappeared, a small portion is lost at the beginning, and there is a not very extensive lacuna 66 centimetres from the present left edge. Very likely the manual began with the alphabet, now lost; then came two-letter-syllables consisting of each consonant in turn *plus* a vowel. These are followed by three-letter syllables consisting of consonant (in order of the alphabet) *plus* vowel (in alphabetic order, α, ε, η, ι, ο, υ, ω) *plus* the consonant *ν*. Above this series was another of four-letter syllables consisting of consonant (in order) *plus* ρ *plus* vowel (in order) *plus* σ (thus: τρρσ, τρρς, τρρς; only the bottom of the columns are preserved in this case). The sequence of exercises is interrupted by lists of words of a more advanced kind, one of the Macedonian months, another of divinities, a third of rivers (the position of which, especially if, as the editors suggest, they were intended to be read aloud to the pupil, strengthens the case for regarding the roll as a book for the teacher); but ignoring these, the main series of lessons goes on to the numeral symbols (up to 25), then to mono-syllables, then to disyllables, and then to poly-syllables, each syllable carefully divided from the others. After this comes a reading exercise, a passage of the *Phoenissae* of Euripides, the words again divided into syllables and the lines written in two halves, the division being at the caesura. This clearly served also as instruction in metrics, and it is followed by a passage from the *Iso* of Euripides, the words still divided by syllables but each verse forming a complete line. After

this the pupil was judged able to make his own division, and the remaining selections are written continuously, without division of either syllables or words. These selections were perhaps intended *inter alia* as an introduction to the knowledge of metres and literary forms, for we find examples of hexameters (*Odyssey* 1, 116-124), elegiacs (two Hellenistic epigrams), and the iambic trimeter (four passages from comedy). Then comes a table of square numbers (1-10, then by tens to 100, and then by hundreds to 800), and finally a list of the symbols for the fractions of the drachma.

It will be seen that the roll, used by an intelligent master, provides the basis for a reasonably wide course of elementary education. Its incompleteness in certain directions may well have been repaired in class by oral instruction, and the rather advanced nature of certain of the passages for reading obviously called for explanations by the teacher.

The roll was sumptuously produced, with decorated margins to the columns, and was written in a good hand, though it is not free from scribal errors. It is interesting to note that the right edge was stuck to what appears to be a portion of the *umbilicus*.

The utility of this manuscript to the scholar is by no means confined to the light it throws on educational methods in the early Ptolemaic period. One or two additions are made to our stock of Greek poetry, and in the passages already known there is useful material for textual criticism. The selection of pieces also is of interest and provides new evidence for the development of the anthology habit; as the editors point out, this evidence, to say the least, gives no support to the thesis of Mr. A. D. Knox that Cercidas was the *fons et origo* of this plague. The editorial work is, as we should expect, admirably done and the publication, with an excellent collotype facsimile of the whole papyrus, leaves nothing to be desired. The Société Royale, which made its *début* with Guéraud's very important ENTEΥΞΕΙΣ, is to be congratulated on maintaining so remarkable an average.

H. I. BELL.

**Voruntersuchungen zu einer Grammatik der Papyri der nachchristlichen Zeit.** By S. G. KAPSOMENAKIS. Pp. xvi + 148. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1938. RM 5.25.

Those to whom the title of this volume suggests that the long desiderated grammar of the papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods is about to appear may experience some disappointment on finding that Mr. Kapsomenakis's work is of



much more limited scope. He did indeed embark on the larger scheme, but, as he explains in his preface, he decided in the course of the preliminary research that it cannot at present be carried out. The reason adduced is that the text of so many published papyri is not yet sufficiently established to serve as a secure basis for a grammatical investigation. There are many false readings, false interpretations, and erroneous 'corrections' (in the direction of classical Greek) of forms which were normal and unexceptionable in the popular speech of the age at which they occur.

All this is true; but it may be asked whether the difficulties are an effective bar to the compilation of a grammar. Exactly the same difficulties arise with papyri of the Ptolemaic period; yet this did not prevent the execution of Mayser's great work. It must, however, be admitted that in Roman, and still more in Byzantine times, editors who approach their subject from a background of classical Greek are more liable than in the Ptolemaic period to mistake vulgar forms for scribal errors and to misinterpret their texts.

Be this as it may, Mr. Kapsomenakis decided for the present to limit himself to an examination of a number of passages in published papyri where correction of text or punctuation seems called for. Let it be said at once that he has done his work admirably. This is not the grammar for which many of us had hoped, but it is a book of the utmost value and of absorbing interest. On every page its author gives evidence alike of an exceptionally alert and penetrating judgment and of wide reading; and when to these qualities is added a knowledge of modern Greek which few papyrologists can approach it is not surprising that he illumines many an obscure passage and shows the significance, as normal linguistic developments, of numerous forms which have hitherto passed as mere inaccuracies. Sometimes he proposes a new reading which compels acceptance as obviously right, but often a mere change of the editor's punctuation or a better understanding of phonetic equivalences heals an unintelligible or misunderstood passage. Examples of brilliant insight are the reconstruction of P. Bouriant 23, 4-14 (pp. 23 ff.), that of P. Strassb. I, 73, 20 f., where by a mere alteration of the punctuation and a different phonetic interpretation Kapsomenakis arrives at a convincing text (pp. 43 f.), and the improvements made (pp. 104-110) in P. Ross.-Georg. IV, Appendix. (In P. Bouriant 23, 13 I had myself read, from the facsimile,  $\tau \delta \iota \mu \eta \sigma \acute{\upsilon} \kappa \eta \mu \epsilon \lambda \lambda \acute{\alpha}$

$\epsilon \sigma \iota$ , and I think that  $\iota (= \epsilon)$  is likelier than Kapsomenakis's  $\eta (= \epsilon)$ .)

It is not altogether surprising that, scoring so many successes in his examination of existing texts, Kapsomenakis should at times be rather more dogmatic than the evidence justifies. It does not seem beyond question that he is throughout right in his discussion of  $\delta \epsilon \tau \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \gamma \mu \acute{\epsilon} \varsigma$  on pp. 13-17 or of P. Flor. I, 50, etc., on pp. 36-40; and I am very doubtful whether his reading (whatever be thought of his interpretation) of P. Jena 4, 3 is correct. In his final chapter (pp. 121-133), indeed, where he discusses the evidence of papyri for the development of ancient into modern Greek, he is more cautious in identifying ancient with modern forms than in some of the preceding sections. On p. 100, by the way, in quoting Wilcken, *Chrest.* 134, 9, he omits the  $\gamma \acute{\alpha} \rho$  which follows  $\epsilon \tau \eta$ .

As already remarked, however, some tendency to over-confidence is pardonable and does not seriously detract from the remarkable merits of this volume. Besides its very substantial contributions to the texts analysed it abounds in grammatical minutiae and collections of parallel instances which will be of the utmost value in the compilation of a comprehensive grammar. It is singularly fortunate that a Greek scholar, who must have a finer sense of the niceties of usage than a foreigner can expect to attain, should have set himself to the systematic investigation of the diction of papyri, and it is greatly to be hoped that Kapsomenakis will persevere in his task. He might probably find it profitable to investigate the vagaries of the scribes of the Codex Sinaiticus, particularly of scribe B (see H. J. M. Milne and T. C. Skeat, *Scribes and Correctors of the Codex Sinaiticus*, pp. 54 f.).

H. I. BELL.

*Études de philosophie présocratique. II.* By A. M. FRENKIAN. Pp. 110. Paris: J. Vrin, 1937.

This second volume of Dr. Frenkian's *Études* is to be recommended equally to the student of the specific problems of presocratic thought and to those who are concerned with the more general aspects of Greek philosophy. In fact this double aim causes the book to fall sharply into two halves. After an introductory section in which the author justifies a new interpretation of a well-worn subject he devotes three sections to an essay in 'comparative philosophy'; the next section is given to an exposé of Empedocles' system and in particular of his epistemological theory, and the points which he makes here are used to substantiate his



interpretation of Parmenides (VI); in the final section he discusses the problem of the origins of science and philosophy; two appendixes are directed against Reinhardt's opinion of the relations of Xenophanes and Heraclitus to Parmenides.

The whole volume apparently bears the title 'Une nouvelle hypothèse sur Parménide' (see p. 7); which might lead one to suppose that the earlier part of the work leads up to the conclusions of the latter; but the connexion of thought which unites the whole is only of the most general nature. Frenkian observes in introduction that it is the task of the historian of the presocratic philosophers to liberate their notions from alien forms of thought, in particular from the super-imposed framework of the Aristotelian system; and this apparently is the sole motivation for the long essay in which he proposes an hypothesis to account for the domination exercised by Aristotelian thought. Again Frenkian notes on p. 23 that the point of view there reached will guide us in our discussion of Parmenides. It would guide us equally well in a discussion of any other of the presocratics. His transitions in fact belong rather to the raconteur than to the dialectician. Frenkian perhaps would have been wiser not to attempt to weld these separate studies into one; the fact that the title page presents us with three apparently unconnected sub-titles shows that the attempt is only half-hearted; but this again hardly represents the argument in its true light, because the essays on Empedocles and Parmenides do form a logical unity.

This journal is not the place for detailed exposition or criticism of Dr. Frenkian's views. It can only be emphasised that the book presents a new and highly stimulating conspectus of the history of Greek thought, and that his account of Empedocles' theory of perception stresses a number of points, which have hitherto been insufficiently noticed. There is much in fact for which the reader is grateful, and not least an addendum to Diels' *Vorsokratiker* (p. 75: Schol. in Eucl. [Heiberg] Teubn. op. om. 1888 p. 77, 20. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ ἀποφατικαὶ λόγοι, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Παρμενίδης, προσήκουσιν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ταῖς μέγεσι.).

J. S. MORRISON.

**La Filosofia dei Greci nel suo Sviluppo storico. I. ii. Ionici e Pitagorici.** By E. ZELLER, translated by R. MONDOLFO. Pp. 719. Florence: Nuova Italia, 1938. 56 lire.

The first part of this notable production appeared in 1932. Professor Mondolfo continues

his translation of Zeller's work, (the fifth edition), appending thereto bibliographies and supplementary matter which will be of the utmost value for students of the presocratics. His introductory essay reviews the general trend of study in this field since Zeller's time, holding the balance fairly between the scientific and the more ethical or mystical lines of interpretation. Under the heading of Ionians, the essay on Anaximander is especially valuable; the note on the Hippocratean *περὶ ἐβρουδίων* is also of much interest. The Pythagoreans occupy more than half of the volume; here, again, is much illuminating comment, including a study of the sources and an essay on the doctrine of transmigration. The editor emphasises the mystical spirit of this school. The classified book-lists are again (as in the first volume) extremely full and valuable; a postscript includes work published up to 1937.

D. TARRANT.

**The Pythagorean Background of the Theory of Recollection.** By A. CAMERON. Pp. 101. Wisconsin: G. Banta, 1938.

The aim of this dissertation is to establish the importance of the Pythagorean number-theory in relation to Plato's doctrine of *ἀνάμνησις*. The author upholds a Pythagorean tradition independent of Orphic influence. He emphasises throughout the mathematical elements in Plato's treatment of the problem of soul; this emphasis may be thought excessive when he finds (for instance) an arithmetical significance in the 'principle of the Mean' introduced at *Phaedo* 71 A. The discussion naturally centres on the *Meno* and the *Phaedo*, though a final chapter treats of the mathematical passages in the *Timaeus* and *Republic* X. The problem of the *ἀπορία* argument is considered fully; it is urged that Philolaus did hold a theory of immortality, and that for him 'Harmony' is a cosmic principle of Number.

The treatise contains interesting matter and is well documented; but it has to be said that the author tends to special pleading, and also that the point of his argument is not always clear.

D. TARRANT.

**Platonism: ancient and modern.** By P. SHOREY. Pp. 259. Cambridge University Press; University of California Press, Berkeley, 1938. 11s. 6d.

This volume, representing the Sather Classical Lectures for 1928-1929, has been edited by Dr. P. S. Costas, a former pupil of the author. The first lecture, 'What is Platonism?' has been omitted on the ground that it could not be



adequately reproduced by another hand. The chapters deal successively with the place of Plato in ancient thought, Neo-Platonism, Plato and Christianity, and the Platonic tradition as represented in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, French literature and English literature. There is much racy and characteristic criticism of spurious Platonism in various aspects; the author insists mainly on the rational and ethical rather than the mystical and poetic elements in Platonic thought. He does less than justice, for example, to Stoic pantheism and to medieval mysticism. The later chapters contain a wealth of references (with frequent hints that more could have been given) and indicate numerous lines for further study. If the term 'Platonic' is at times liberally interpreted, the clues are always suggestive. Lacking the author's own final revision, the book is yet a worthy legacy of his vigorous and humane spirit.

D. TARRANT.

ΑΙ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΑΙ ΓΝΩΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ Α'. ΒΑΡ-  
ΒΑΡΙΚΑ. By K. I. VOVERIS. Pp. 160.  
Athens: Mousiades and Marda, 1938.

This volume embodies the first half of a study of the historical references to be found in the works of Plato; the passages dealing with βάρβαροι are here collected, to be followed later by those referring to Greeks. The author has limited his field to matters of actual history, excluding questions of national habits, etc., and (except for a brief appendix) the whole content of the myths. The text of sixty passages, arranged under topics (βάρβαροι in general, the Great King, the Persians, and so forth), is followed by notes giving explanation, illustrative references and discussion of problems. The notes vary in length; some are very full (e.g., 14 pages on *Alc.* I. 120-123), and the main interest is centred naturally on the Persians and the Egyptians.

The author gives an introduction setting forth his aims, a list of books used (with reference to fuller bibliographies) and adequate indexes. The second part of his scholarly work may be awaited with interest.

D. TARRANT.

**Plato's Academy: The birth of the idea of its rediscovery.** By PAN. ARISTOPHRON. Pp. 85; 13 pl. Oxford University Press; London, H. Milford, 1939. 21s.

This sumptuously printed book appears to be a re-issue *de luxe* of the work published by the author in 1934. It records his faith in the study of Plato as the main hope of enlightenment for the modern world, the experiences by which this

belief was reinforced, and his project of excavating the site of the Academy and thus inaugurating a Platonic revival; his address to the Athenian Academy on the discovery of the Ambulatory in 1933 is also included.

As the text is a reprint, the main interest of the present volume lies in the very fine symbolic drawings (the swan motif predominating) with which it is enriched; and it is the more surprising that the artist's name is nowhere indicated. The publisher informs me that they are the work of Elizabeth Fraser.

D. TARRANT.

**Aristotle's Physics. A revised Text, with Introduction and Commentary.** By W. D. ROSS. Pp. xii + 750. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936. 36s.

In this important work Dr. Ross has followed the same general method as in his edition of the *Metaphysics*. Two differences are to be noted: the analysis is here printed continuously instead of being distributed between sections of the commentary, and the Introduction is briefer and less exhaustive.

With regard to the structure of the *Physics* the editor regards iii-iv as prior in date to v-vi, and vii as an early work; he assigns the *Physics* as a whole to Aristotle's earlier stay in Athens. There is a valuable chapter on the textual problems. As a mere specimen of Dr. Ross's exegesis, reference may be made to the full and illuminating discussion (with a special section of the bibliography in support) of the paradoxes of Zeno.

It is impossible in a brief notice to do justice to the qualities or appraise the value of this book. Both text and commentary must be authoritative for the present, and will be of the utmost significance for all future study of the *Physics*.

D. TARRANT.

**Die Positive Philosophie in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung. I. Forschungen zur Philosophie des Hellenismus.** By A. SCHMEKEL. Pp. viii + 677. Berlin: Weidmann, 1938. RM. 24.

This considerable volume embodies the first instalment of a still larger work which had been planned by the author; he died in 1934, and the book has been edited for publication by his son. The contents are in three sections; (1) a survey, starting from the *Timaeus* and continued as far as Ptolemy, of the development of mathematical, astronomical and physical theory and its relations to metaphysics and ethics; (2) a detailed study of the works and arguments of



Sextus Empiricus; (3) a shorter review of the progress of logic and epistemology in the Graeco-Roman period. In each of these fields the author's researches have amassed much valuable material. D. TARRANT.

**Plotinus Schriften.** Translated by R. HARDER. (vols. 3, 4 and 5.) Pp. 197, 204, 202. Leipzig: Meiner, 1936-7. Export price, RM. 6 per vol.

Professor Harder's translation, which began to appear in 1930, is now complete in five volumes, and so within less than a quarter of a century 'the greatest philosopher between Aristotle and Descartes' has been made accessible in English, French and German—or at least as accessible as distinguished translations can make him. Few authors present greater problems to the translator: his style was a stumbling-block even to his contemporaries; his method is so far from being systematic that it normally consists of his taking an *ἐπιτομή* at random, working it out dialectically and developing his own views through criticism of unnamed predecessors (for of explicit references he has practically none); and added to these inherent difficulties is the fate which has left Plotinus in the 20th century without a critical recension of the text, without grammar or lexicon. One cannot therefore expect any translation to give the Greekless reader the sense of ease and lucidity which he would derive from a good translation of an author whose text has been commented upon for centuries, and the supplementary volumes of annotations will therefore be eagerly awaited and more than ordinarily welcome. They will at all events give scholars information on the textual variants chosen—information admittedly indispensable for a proper valuation of the translation, though it is indeed possible to appreciate that the translator has taken great pains in the establishment of his text from the materials available and has in particular swept away a large number of Volkmann's hasty emendations. Dr. Harder has also solved many problems by judicious re-punctuation, and here there was (and still is) a rich harvest to be reaped in the light of a knowledge of Plotinus' style. In short, this translation represents the most obstinate attempt yet made to understand the exact meaning of Plotinus' words, and the student who uses it as an aid to interpreting the Greek will rarely be disappointed; in a text that bristles with difficulties he will at least be apprised of where the difficulties lie, and will not have the tantalising experience of seeing

them circumvented by means of word-for-word translation or ambiguous paraphrase. The fifth volume contains a lively preface, arguing with much force in favour of the chronological sequence (here adopted) in preference to the traditional division into *Enneads*, and concluding with a much needed  *caveat*  against the uncritical acceptance of Porphyry's picture of Plotinus. One gathers that Dr. Harder expects few competent readers for his work, but those few will not hesitate to rank it among the most notable achievements of scholarship in our time.

B. S. PAGE.

Τὸ πρωτογενὲς σατυρικὸν δράμα τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἑλλήνων. Τὸ σατυρικὸν δράμα 'Αγῆν.' By E. D. KOLOKOTSAS. Pp. 57. Athens. 1938.

Of these two short monographs, neither indicates that the author has the training or the ability to contribute usefully to the difficult subjects he has chosen. The former is a windy disquisition on the satyr-play in its primitive form, which the author for reasons best known to himself supposes to have been pan-Hellenic, not Attic only. He assumes the Aristotelian theory of the derivation of Tragedy from the dithyramb and proceeds to talk about the various kinds of dithyramb, serious and other, the contribution of Arion to that kind of literature and so forth, in a way which would have been pardonable in a contemporary of Bentley. Of modern theories concerning tragic origins he seems not to have heard. The second monograph comments on the little which Athenaeus has preserved for us regarding the obscure play alleged to have made fun of Harpalos. We are given a life of Harpalos, such as might have been got out of any history of Greece, some remarks concerning the authorship of the play and a text of the fragments, notable for the conjecture τῇ τ' Ἀθήνῃ for τῶν Ἀγῆνος in line 15 (Nauck<sup>2</sup>). Critics of dramatic texts should at least know how to scan them.

H. J. ROSE.

**Ghostly Etiquette on the Classical Stage.**

By RUBY M. HICKMAN. Pp. 226. Iowa: Torch Press, 1938. \$3.

The idea of this doctoral dissertation came from Professor Roy Flickinger, and is in itself a good one. To what extent do the ancient theatrical ghosts observe etiquette (the use of the word is his), i.e., behave as, according to contemporary belief, real ghosts should? The serious defect is that no attempt is made to determine how, in the opinion of fifth-century



Athens or of Republican or Imperial Rome, a ghost would behave. The 'standard code of ghostly etiquette' referred to on p. 13 as containing two provisions 'that ghosts should appear in the stillness of night and speak to but one, unaccompanied person' should be proved, not assumed, and the reviewer knows no proof of it for antiquity.

Apart from this, all ghosts in complete or fragmentary plays from Aeschylus to Seneca are dealt with faithfully, the research extending even to 'pseudo-ghosts' (p. 148 and elsewhere), i.e., living persons who descend to Hades, as in the *Frogs*. The scenes in which they appear are described at quite unnecessary length, and considerable space devoted to the thorny question of how their entrances and exits were contrived, a matter closely connected with Professor Flickinger's well-known studies of the ancient stage. So far as diligence goes, Dr. Hickman no doubt earned her degree. But the analysis seems to be of little value, despite the imposing comparative tables which appear at intervals, showing how the ghosts were represented as appearing, whether to one person or several, alone or in company, actually on the stage or in a *rhesis* of a messenger, and so forth. Dr. Hickman misses a number of points which would have made her work more valuable. For example, p. 31 contrasts the 'successful' evocation of Darcios in the *Persians* with the 'unsuccessful' attempt to summon Agamemnon in the *Choephoroe*. But the Persian elders sing an elaborate ὄμιος ἀνταληκτικός, repeatedly urging Darcios to appear; Orestes and Elektra appeal to the spirit of their father, together with other powers supernal and infernal, to help their vengeance, and hope (489) that he may be allowed to see them at it (ἐποπτεύσαι μάχην). There is no suggestion that his phantom is to be raised. On pp. 42 *sqq.* the question is discussed whether or not the ghost of Achilles actually appeared in the *Polyxena* of Sophocles. Pseudo-Longinus, *de subl.*, 15, 7 is naturally quoted, but the most essential point is missed; he compares Sophocles' phantom to a non-dramatic description of one, in some lost piece of Simonides, thus suggesting, although not actually proving, that Sophocles also described the ghost and did not show it. P. 28, she concludes that the ghost of Tantalus, in Seneca's *Thyestes*, must be hideously dressed, because 'even objects of nature shrink at his approach.' But there is no indication that the play was ever meant to be acted, and Tantalus' hideousness is moral. P. 101, it is hard to see why Seneca's moralisings in the same play should be called

'strangely' reminiscent of Horace, seeing that Horace himself and the philosophers on whom he drew were alike familiar to him. On p. 150, it may be noted that the Hero in Menander's play of that name need not have been anyone's deified (or rather heroised) ancestor, and the Lar Familiaris in the *Aulularia* has nothing to do with ghosts. However, this latter point is set right on p. 155.

H. J. ROSE.

**The Ape in Antiquity.** (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology, No. 27). By W. C. McDERMOTT. Pp. xii + 338; 10 plates. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. 22s. 6d.

Dr. McDermott, besides enjoying the good guidance of so sound an archaeologist as Professor Robinson of Baltimore, is clearly a man of very great industry and good sense. He has set himself to master the whole available material, 605 representations in art of simians, certain, probable or possible, and a great many literary references; the latter must represent a huge expense of labour on his part, for there are several indications that his familiarity with ancient literature is but recently won. These range from unusual forms of names (why call the well-known apologist Tatianus in English, when he has been Tatian for centuries, for example?) to downright misunderstandings, resulting from unfamiliarity with Greek, as on p. 148, where Aelian, *de nat. anim.* vii, 21 (the story of the ape who killed the baby by trying to bathe it in boiling water) is interpreted to mean that Aelian says the creature habitually behaved in this way. A riper Latinist, again, would have seen (p. 64) that whatever the corrupt passage of Daniel's Servius on Aen. ix, 712 (misprinted 715; there are not a few misprints up and down the book) originally said, it cites the alleged Etruscan word for apes, *arimi*, to explain Inarime or Arima, not Aenaria. Not to know (p. 146) that the *sanguineae virgae* used to beat a parricide were rods of cornel-wood is a fault which the author shares with many older scholars, and when he says (p. 53) that Mela, mentioning Iuno at Carthage, means Moloch, it is the merest slip of the pen for Tanit.

Such little inadequacies and occasional failure to know the latest and best literature (magical papyri should be cited with a reference to Preisendanz, and on p. 111 he should mention Halliday in discussing the beast-fable) make it all the more remarkable that the work is so good and so full of learning. It will be for some time the book which will be consulted by anyone who



would learn what the ancients knew or thought concerning the various species of apes within their geographical horizon and also of monkeys; for though the title is meant to include both, the text carefully distinguishes them and tries, so far as possible, to equate the loose ancient terminology with a more exact modern one, taken from a recent biologist.

The first two chapters trace knowledge of apes and monkeys from Egypt and the East through the Mediterranean civilisations; a very necessary preliminary. The next two enquire what was really known of the creatures, as seen both from the representations in art and from the statements about their appearance and anatomical structure, especially in the naturalists and other such writers down to Galen. Chapter V is entitled 'The Ape as a Pet and a Source of Humor', Chapter VI 'The Ape as an Evil Beast'. Now follows (pp. 161-324) a long and detailed *catalogue raisonné* of the representations in art, with commentary often running to a page or several pages for one piece. The reviewer cannot speak as a specialist here, but is favourably impressed by the author's good sense and powers of reasoning. For instance, in discussing the alleged Christian associations of scenes which show Orpheus with the beasts and include an ape apparently mocking his attitude, he makes the excellent point (pp. 129, 131, 290) that a pagan artist might have his little joke at Orpheus, but not a Christian at the Good Shepherd. In the case of some of the earlier and cruder objects shown, the work is so primitive that it may be doubted if the artists really meant to show apes; thus on plate i, the figures could be interpreted as infantile representations of men sitting or squatting, and the creature in plate ii, No. 133, suggests a cat on its hind legs. Still, the author no doubt is right to include every specimen which may be simian, and he honestly quotes the views of archaeologists who differ from him.

H. J. ROSE.

**Greek Wolf-lore.** By R. P. ECKELS. Pp. 88. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1937.

Dr. Eckels has handled an interesting topic in an interesting way, free from the dullness which besets many doctoral theses. Part of his results the reviewer must leave biologists to criticise, especially the contention (p. 9) that wolves are not gregarious and do not, even if hungry, attack human beings, and the dismissal (p. 72) of the notorious Indian 'wolf-boys,' not as non-existent but as being no more

than 'idiots of a deplorable, but rather common, type' (p. 73) concerning whom there is no evidence that they ever had anything at all to do with wolves. In the latter connection, it might perhaps have been noticed that the ancient legends concerning children who were fostered by beasts of any sort are regularly told as marvellous things, clear signs that the infants were of divine begetting or otherwise remarkable and destined to some great future, good or evil. It is never suggested that she-wolves, hinds etc., often behave in that way towards an abandoned child.

There is one omission which, the reviewer learns privately from the author, is due to reasons of temporary convenience. Little or nothing is said of the use of wolves, or rather remedies derived from them, in popular medicine. Dr. Eckels has a mass of material on this topic collected, and it is to be hoped he will set it in order and publish it.

What he has so far printed is, first, a short discussion of the wolf in fact, popular belief of to-day and Greek zoology. It is curious that he can find no one between Aristotle and Oppian who says anything worth recording about the creatures from a scientific point of view; the latter writer, stripped of his rhetorical verse, turns out to be a very passable naturalist (p. 15 sq.). The reviewer would add that it is high time an edition of the Oppians appeared, with full commentary by a philologist and a zoologist working together. Next come the ancient beliefs concerning wolves, which are most properly followed into mediaeval and modern times. A few slips may be corrected in passing: *λύκων* εἶδος; (Theocr., 14, 22), is misrendered on p. 26 by 'Has a wolf seen you?'<sup>1</sup>: the Greek name of Niceros in Petronius, 61, proves nothing for the provenance of the story he tells about werewolves (p. 32); the names of Antheus and Demaenetus, in Pliny, *N.H.*, viii, 81, 82, have been curiously distorted on p. 33; it is nowhere stated in Homer that Circe's tame beasts were transformed men (p. 42; cf. K 212 sqq.), though Vergil and others understood the passage so. But the mere range of the above corrections shows how wide, and, it should be said, how exact and critical in general, is the survey of the field; Dr. Eckels ranges from the alleged number of bones in a wolf's neck to the cults of Zeus Lykaïos and Apollo Lykeios, and has enlightening remarks on nearly all these topics. He quite rejects the human sacrifice to the former god and the wolfish meaning of the

<sup>1</sup> Or would he read *λύκων* εἶδος?



latter's epithet. A discussion of wolf-nurses, and incidentally of the tale of Romulus and Remus, concludes the work.

H. J. ROSE.

**Der Religion der Griechen III. Von Platon bis Kaiser Julian.** By OTTO KERN. Pp. v + 352. Berlin: Weidmann, 1938. RM. 48.

This concludes the interesting, semi-popular work whose first two volumes were reviewed in *JHS* xlvii, p. 136 *sq.*; lvi, p. 106 *sq.* In those notices, the reviewer briefly set forth some points of disagreement with the author's views. The present part is much less controversial, for Kern is not a specialist in the latest period of classical religion and is generally content to give an intelligent summary of the facts and theories already set forth by others. If only for this reason, the book has considerable value, especially for a non-specialist reader. Within the compass of a few chapters there is to be found the substance of all the most important works by Germans and a few by others (Kern regrets, p. 352, that he has had little opportunity to see non-German work, and several passages in his book illustrate the workings of this handicap, to say nothing of the many paragraphs which a fuller knowledge would have inserted) which deal with the decline and fall of classical Hellenism on the religious side. For example, if the reader wants to begin studying *Gottmenschentum und Herrscherkult*, having access to the numerous good British and American works on that subject, he will find in Chap. V a sketch of what is to be found in the *Realencyclopädie*, the latest edition of Chantepie de la Saussaye, and the writings of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Weinreich, Reinhardt, Reizenstein and several others on that topic, with occasional references to *IG* and other standard collections. If syncretism attracts him, Chap. VII sketches its early beginnings well and intelligibly; and all up and down the book there are similar presentations of relevant matter, clear, attractive, easy to read and reasonably complete within the limitations already mentioned. Whether Kern's judgments on the books he has read are always to be trusted is another matter; at the very beginning of his first chapter, on Greek gods in Italy, he rightly indicates that Altheim's works mark a new epoch, but not all will agree with him that the propositions of that scholar concerning the early date of Greek influence are *festgestellt* (p. 1). Similarly, the reader's acceptance of Chap. II, on philosophy and religion, will depend

partly on the extent to which he agrees with Jaeger, and so forth.

It is to be noted that when good interpretation of established facts is needed, Kern requires little help from others; an example is his very interesting sketch of Alexander the Great in his relations to religion (Chapter III). Another laudable feature is his ability to explain lucidly and with sufficient completeness the relation between religious fact and the fancies of Hellenistic and later interpreters; Chap. VI, on universal gods, furnishes an instance in the very clear treatment of the growth of Pan from the primitive Arcadian godling through Pindar's visions and the etymological speculations of Plato and perhaps Antisthenes to the universal deity of theologians (but not often of artists, p. 137) in Imperial times, and so later still to a synonym for either Christ or the devil. In passing, the note on Pan and the Panes on p. 136 shows commendable unwillingness to be dogmatic on a very disputable point; Kern will not pronounce on their relative age and merely gives references to writers who think the singular or the plural older.

Altogether, it is a book from which an intelligent reader is certain to glean either facts or ideas which will be new to him, and to write such a work is better than composing a dully correct treatise with which all and sundry will agree.

H. J. ROSE.

**Études sur Alexandre ou le faux prophète de Lucien.** By M. CASTER. Pp. iv + 102; 1 pl. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1938. 35 *frs.*  
**Lucien et la Pensée religieuse de son Temps.** By M. CASTER. Pp. 412. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1938. 70 *frs.*

The author is a man of adequate scholarship (the reviewer has noted one or two trivial slips, not worth listing), who knows his Lucian well, has studied the history, literature and religious movements of the second century A.D., and brings critical sense and sound reason to the task of interpretation. The natural result is that he has produced something worth reading, although so much of what he says had, actually or by implication, been said before that these two books are not of the highest importance nor profoundly original.

In the smaller work, he gives us a text and translation of the *Alexander*, followed by a commentary dealing with the difficulties of subject-matter, linguistic details being left alone, except for a few brief remarks under the text, and some short essays which analyse the piece as a whole and seek to recover the facts



which lie behind Lucian's polemic. That it is polemic, following good classical rules of composition, including the almost ritual abuse and slander of the person attacked, is recognised, and proved for the enlightenment of any readers who cannot see it for themselves. The Celsus addressed is tentatively identified (p. 5), not with Origen's opponent but with that Celsus the Epicurean whom Origen mentions (*c. Cels.* i, 68) as author of a work against magic.

The larger essay sets out to form a critical estimate of Lucian as writer and thinker by viewing him against the background of his times. The chief phenomena, intellectual and religious, of the day are sketched and Lucian's reaction to them examined. The result, with which the reviewer is in agreement, is as follows. Lucian never really ceased to be a sophist, despite his breach with sophistic. He was a thorough-going classiciser, who saw the world about him through the medium of authors already some half-dozen centuries old or more, and he had little inclination to examine things for himself, none to create a new literary genre. Indeed, the touch of originality Caster allows him, the invention of the satiric dialogue, a cross between philosophy and comedy (p. 384-5) is perhaps more than he can justly claim, considering the satiric elements which exist in Plato (for instance, in the *Euthydemus*) and doubtless in other Socratics. Hence he is constantly attacking classical targets, imperfectly consonant with contemporary butts for sarcastic wit; his philosophers for example are rather those of whom New Comedy made fun than those Lucian might have met at Athens or Rome, and the commonplaces with which they are assailed are those of the classical period. His particular aversion was any form of religious mysticism, and here he was in closer touch with his own day, although his arguments are very largely those of much earlier Epicurean, Sceptic and Cynic controversialists. He was himself so completely devoid of religious emotion that he could not comprehend that some, including persons of intelligence, genuinely felt it, and therefore, to him, those who did feel it and believed the corresponding doctrines, Platonism in its more transcendental forms, Stoicism as it was after Posidonius and so on, were either fools or knaves, and to be assailed accordingly. He was himself no philosopher, having merely a literary man's smattering of the doctrines of the great schools.

His lasting merit is not that of either a thinker or a revealer of the thought of that age, but of a skilful artist who, within the bounds and with the

means which he has deliberately chosen, displays an unusual skill, a mastery of Attic free speech and Attic wit as nearly complete as his mastery of Attic idiom.

Both these books suffer from a certain prolixity, which could be avoided by taking rather more as known. For example, the sketch of demonology in *Lucien*, p. 212 *sqq.*, could have been much shortened, coming as it does after so many good works on the subject which it does not profess to do more than epitomise. In like manner, the commentary on the *Alexander* gives rather too long excerpts from biographical articles in Pauly-Wissowa; a good deal could have been cut down to mere references. Where Caster disagrees with previous writers, his tone is, as usual with his nation, courteous but frank, and his objections generally weighty.

H. J. ROSE.

**Les Mages Hellénisés : Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la Tradition grecque.**

By J. BIDEZ and F. CUMONT. 2 vols., pp. 297, 241. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1938. 120 frs.

This exceedingly well-written book is entirely welcome. Everyone who has a smattering of ancient religion and magic knows something of Zarathustra and has heard of Ostanès. Any scholar knows at least that Greek authors have something to say of Persian religion and that they are not always accurate in their statements. But, so far as the reviewer knows, this is the first complete collection of Greek, classical Latin and mediaeval pronouncements on the subject, accompanied by a commentary which carefully estimates the measure of truth contained in them; in other words, which calculates as nearly as can be done with admittedly scrappy and second-hand material what sort of impression a great Oriental religion produced on the most intelligent and civilised of its neighbours.

The work has been done with the care which was to be expected from two distinguished specialists, and the style has the lucidity and charm which ought to characterise scholarly publications but too frequently does not. To begin with the second volume, which contains the texts, most of them, if in a language the editors understand, have been critically edited, if materials were to hand; some extracts it was necessary to take over more or less as they stood from such editions as were available, but these are not long nor very many. Where the language was one off the beat of classical scholarship, such as Syriac or Arabic, the best



available translations have been consulted and explanatory notes added. There is now collected between two covers everything which a Greek, a Latin or any later writer who may reasonably be thought to draw, however indirectly, on them is known to have said regarding the Zoroastrian faith and practice. The list extends a long way into the Middle Ages, and he will be a singularly well-read man who does not find something new to him and curious.

The first volume consists of a series of essays, dealing with the life of Zarathustra, his doctrines and the numerous and miscellaneous writings (philosophical, naturalistic, astrological and so forth) attributed to him; next with Ostanes and his alleged contributions to religion and magic, the study of virtuous herbs and stones and the theory and practice of alchemy; finally with Hystaspes (ultimately the pious king Vištâspa of the Avesta) and the apocalypse which went under his name late enough for Lactantius to make use of it. It goes without saying that all this has little enough to do with the actual views of the personages in question. Zarathustra in particular certainly did not write elaborate works on magic, which he abhorred, nor was he an astrologer. But, and this is one of the most interesting points brought out in this interesting work, the classical and post-classical writers who fathered such treatises on him were not inventing, but relating, it may be in a garbled form, what they had been told by Orientals. There existed heretical and syncretistic sects, Magusacans if not Magi, on the westward fringes of Zoroastrianism proper, which combined with the pure word of the Avesta all manner of elements from other sources, especially Mesopotamian in early times, but later extending widely enough to take in Stoicism (p. 57 *sqq.*). If we are told extraordinary and quite unhistorical things about him and his teachings, we cannot blame *Graecia mendax*, but rather *Graecia decepta*. That the vague Ostanes and the vaguer Hystaspes should be credited with much strange lore was only natural; their names carried no small authority in such circles, for instance, as those of Mani, the Christian apologists, and of course magicians and mystics of all sorts.

Detailed criticism of the work is rather the business of Orientalists than of a classicist, and the present reviewer does not feel competent to undertake it. This much seems certain, that even if errors of detail are discovered here and there, the book will remain for a long time the standard treatise on a subject little known and full of interest.

H. J. ROSE.

**The Sky-Religion in Egypt.** By G. A. WAINWRIGHT. Pp. xvi + 121; 2 pl. Cambridge University Press, 1938. 8s. 6d.

The Dying God and the recurrent sacrifice of a divine king are now well known; and in a sense too well known, because the quick accumulation of facts and theories has obscured the limits of what is certainly proved. It has become easy to apply these conceptions where and when their applicability is uncertain; and some kind of fresh start is needed, all the more because the facts themselves are so extremely important.

Such a fresh start, together with much besides, is just what Mr. Wainwright now gives in this book; and he gives it by means of a demonstration that in Egyptian religion, from Libyan times before Egypt was Egypt at all, the sacrifice of divine kings, 'representing' a sky-god of fertility, was primary, and, though it was overlaid with the later cults of the sun and the Nile, it had grave results until a time near the end of ancient Egyptian history.

There was interest for classical scholars in Mr. Wainwright's earlier work on the Cilician origin of the Keftiuans, and on the prevalence in Egypt of a religion of the sky and its phenomena, often symbolised under animal forms; there is sometimes a temptation to forget that sky-gods are not peculiarly characteristic of tribes speaking Indo-European dialects. His present work has interest for them also, not only in the new material for the comprehension of sacrificial divine kingship, particularly as the practical part of sky-religion, but also in the incidental clarification of many passages about Egypt in classical texts, hitherto misunderstood or entirely obscure.

A violent sanctity was attributed to the Egyptian king. Originally he represented not only Horus, god of the clear sky, which is well known, but also Seth, the storm god, who, in Libya where the crops depended on rain, was considered the source of the earth's fertility. The King was thus thought to control the weather, and he was sacrificed, most correctly by burning, when his cycle, of either seven or nine years apparently, was ended. This religion continued in Egypt, and it was not till Pyramid times that opposition to it becomes clear. Sun-worship, the worship of Rê, whose origin is still obscure, then developed under royal patronage. Eventually, since the Nile and not the sky was in Egypt the source of fertility, the religion of Osiris, who mainly represents the Nile, arose, and Seth, the defeated god, became a kind of Egyptian Devil.



The impressive discovery is now made that kings used the worship of Rê as an excuse to escape sacrifice; but the Old Religion was persistent, and its priests often enforced conformity after revolt. The conflict continued at intervals for about 2,000 years. The first great example is in the facts behind the story of Mycerinus in Herodotus. The two preceding kings had been 'bad' and had lived long. But Mycerinus, Menkaurê, the 'good' King, from the point of view of the sacrificial priesthood, returned to the Old Religion, and at the end of his cycle of seven years he had to die; his successor, Shepseskaf, who even returned to the old form of tomb, usual before pyramids were started, also seems to have reigned only seven years. In the Eighteenth Dynasty Akhenaton's revolt against the Old Religion, which had lately been gathering power, is to some degree similar. That there was a revival of the Old Religion under the Twenty-third, Libyan, Dynasty is the meaning of the legend of Heracles and Busiris, and in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty Sabacon, who was of Libyan descent, burnt his predecessor Bocchoris; another instance of the royal sacrifice, which was of course at home in Libya-Ethiopia, and in fact lasted there till the third century B.C.

The accounts given by Plutarch of the burning of 'Typhonians', and by Herodotus and Diodorus, in the legend of Pherôs or Sesosis II, of a holocaust of adulteresses, now become intelligible, for they fit facts of the Old Religion even to the winnowing of ashes, and certain modern practices, which are its attenuated survival; Mr. Wainwright's first plate shows a modern procession, starting for such a rite. Typhonians are people of fair hair and skin and high colour; and one of the discoveries is a justification of classical writers, who ascribe the third Pyramid to the blonde Nitocris or Rhodopis, by reference to a family of fair-haired ladies, which was important in that age. Among the notices now explained is Josephus' mention of an official called *ὁ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου*. Here the usual emendation *ἱερέων* is proved wrong. There was no chief priest of all Egypt; but in the context the phrase, as the MS gives it, exactly fits the priest in charge of the old fertility-sacrifice.

The book is short, but thorough; it proves its thesis, both in general and in details. It is also clear. It might have been clearer still if the long chapter which constitutes about two-thirds of it could have been subdivided; but that may well have been impossible, since the argument depends on cross-references between

widely different periods and topics. Sometimes the commendably cautious phraseology obscures the conclusiveness of an argument; but it is hard to find any insufficiently supported assertions. Readers who are not Egyptologists may regret that some names are not Anglicised, but rendered more scientifically, though less intelligibly, by their phonetic values. Digressions are severely avoided in the interest of the main argument, and some subordinate issues, which might have been raised, are postponed. It is not explained how the recently increased power of Amûn reinforces the argument used to show that Akhenaton's policy was not merely based on moral and philosophical ideals, but was a revolt from the Old Religion. Perseus and Heracles are treated as sky-gods. They are, of course, more than that; but the simplification is quite legitimate in the context. The interpretation of the name Anysis as 'completion', from *ἀνέω*, would have been clearer if parallels for a Greek nick-name given to a foreigner, and also for a Greek abstract verbal substantive used as a personal name, had been offered. The peculiar protection of Mycerinus by Hathor, indicated by statues, might have been mentioned; perhaps also the fertility king, with apparently a seven-year cycle, encountered in a document from Ras Shamra, and the custom which required the Chinese emperor to plough ceremonially, like kings of Egypt. Here the comparison with Triptolemus is obvious; and so is a comparison of the origin of Greek games with the Egyptian King's ceremonial duty of running, which is also, now for the first time, explained by Mr. Wainwright. More remains to be said about the earth in the ritual complex, whether it was regarded literally, or represented symbolically by the queen, a question to which recent work on Vesta might be relevant. Much concerning the origin of sun-worship remains obscure, for there is no information. Mr. Wainwright brilliantly handles the evidence for the early sky-gods and the first appearances of Rê and of Osiris later; but he refuses to theorise beyond the evidence.

These remarks, however, concern not so much Mr. Wainwright's book as new opportunities for future research which it has opened. Of the revolutionary importance of the book there can scarcely be doubt. It should be permanently indispensable, and not least to classical scholars, who may even be tempted by it to reconsider some opinions about prehistoric Greece.

W. F. J. KNTGHT.



**The History of Herodotus; Cambridge Classical Studies IV.** By J. E. POWELL. Pp. viii + 96. Cambridge University Press, 1939. 7s. 6d.

In this book Professor Powell traces the genesis of Herodotus' history and reaches the following conclusions; (1) Herodotus composed before 443 B.C. a history of Persia down to 500 B.C., inclusive of excursions on Egypt, Assyria, etc. (2) During his stay at Thurii (443-430) he wrote nothing further. (3) Returning to Athens in 430, he wrote a history of the Greco-Persian wars and began (but did not complete) the revision of his earlier writings, so as to dovetail them into his later work.

This thesis is based on a detailed study of the cross-references in Herodotus' text, and of certain (real or apparent) incongruities and false joins in his argument, which Professor Powell presses into evidence in much the same way as a geologist reconstructs the history of the rocks from the faults in their stratification. He claims for this method the certainty of scientific proof. But the field in which historians work, contrary to that of the scientists, is *εὐεχόμενον ἄλλως ἔχειν*, and a detailed examination of Professor Powell's arguments will show that no inexorable necessity attaches to them.

In a brief review it is impossible to do full justice to his intricate and ingenious reasoning. One specimen of his method of demonstration must suffice. Professor Powell contends that Herodotus visited Egypt *twice*: before 461, and again after 455 (pp. 25-9). His main proofs are as follows:—

(1) Herodotus, who was struck by the physical and linguistic affinities between Egyptians and Colchians, questioned some men of either race, 'καὶ μᾶλλον οἱ Κόλχοι ἡμετέστο τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἢ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν Κόλχων' (II. 104). This 'could only be explained on the assumption of two Egyptian journeys, one before and one after the Scythian journey.'—Not necessarily. Egyptians served in Persian fleets and, quite possibly, on Levantine merchantmen. Herodotus might therefore have become acquainted with their peculiarities of physique and language without visiting Egypt. (So Stein *ad loc.*)

(2) In III. 12 Herodotus notes that the Egyptian skulls on the battlefield of Pelusium (525 B.C.) were tougher than the Persian crania. He offers an explanation of this disparity, and says in conclusion 'εἶδον δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ὅμοια ταῦτοις ἐν Πάπρημ' (461 B.C.). According to Powell, this last sentence makes an awkward ending; therefore it was a later insertion and proves a second journey to Egypt (after

Papremis).—No previous student of Herodotus has noticed that the sentence is not in its proper context; but even if it were so, it is a somewhat crazy foundation for so tall a superstructure of argument.

(3) It is generally agreed that Herodotus went to Mesopotamia *after* he had seen Egypt. But Powell finds evidence of a later journey to Egypt in these words; 'ἤθεα γὰρ λὸ γ' φ καὶ ἐν Νινῶ . . . γινόμενον ἕτερον τοιοῦτον' (the automatic removal of excavation upcast by a river flood) (II. 150).—Surely 'ἤθεα λὸ γ' φ' implies that Herodotus had *not* been at Nineveh.

This is a fair sample of Powell's argumentation. His work embodies much hard thinking and makes many good points on various matters of detail; but its main thesis remains not proven.

M. CARY.

**Euripides Medea.** Ed. by D. L. PAGE. Pp. lxxviii + 190. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938. 7s. 6d.

This is another of the new Oxford series of the plays of Euripides, in which, as a rule, Murray's text is to be reproduced for treatment with introductory essays and a commentary embodying the latest research. In his *Medea* Mr. Page has departed from the rule by producing a new text. For this he has used the results of his own and Mr. J. A. Spranger's collations, from photographs, of the Jerusalem Palimpsest (H) of *Saec.* x, which covers ll. 51-225 and parts of ll. 1278-1376 of the *Medea*. Closer acquaintance with the true readings of H, which is the oldest manuscript, has compelled respect where formerly there was contempt. Indeed Mr. Page goes so far as to say in his Preface that a new and complete collation is now needed of the manuscripts for this and all other plays of Euripides. An example of the merit of H is its reading τόν in l. 140, which, though required by the metre and conjectured by Musgrave, appears nowhere else. Other, though less important, assistance comes from nine papyrus fragments of *Saec.* ii-v, discovered since Murray's text was issued.

The introduction is long, much longer than Mr. Platnauer's to his *Iphigenia in Tauris* in the same series, but, as will be seen, this needs no apology. Section 1 (the Play) notes the significance of the date, 431 B.C., at the very beginning of the Athenian decline and of Euripides' own unpopularity. The characters are well discussed, particularly Medea in her complex, furious, un-Hellenic moods. Section 2 (The Legend) is of extraordinary interest, as tracing the steps by which the story grew from



the earliest known reference in the *Kopivthosk* of Eumelos, c. 859 B.C. There Medea killed her own children unintentionally by some treatment meant to make them immortal. In the later version of Kreophylos they were killed by the outraged kinsmen of Kreon, after Medea, afraid of a rising against herself and Jason, had murdered Kreon and his daughter and fled. But the rumour was spread that Medea herself killed the children. Medea's motive for doing so in our play, the infidelity of Jason, Mr. Page suggests was inserted by Euripides himself, who may have borrowed it from the story of Procne and Itys. It was traditional to charge the Corinthians with the deed, and Euripides became unpopular by making it Medea's at a moment of tension between Athens and Corinth. On this showing Euripides was as great an innovator with the legend of Medea as Racine was with that of Hippolytus, when in his *Phèdre* he introduced a passion for the princess Aricie as one reason why Hippolyte rejects his step-mother. There are also discussions of the daughter of Kreon, of the poisoned robe, of the expiatory ceremony in the temple of Hera Akraia, and of Aegeus. Section 3 examines the statement in the Argument that Euripides plagiarised Neophron. It concludes that the Neophron whose Medea has survived in fragments so like Euripides' play was probably a Hellenistic dramatist of the 4th century, who, on the contrary, touched up Euripides to suit the less restrained taste of his day. But there may have been an earlier Neophron of the 5th century, whose works are totally lost, but who was credited, to the detriment of Euripides, with the work of the later. Section 4 (the Text) points out that the *Medea* was published as a written book in the author's lifetime, while our texts descend from the great Alexandrian recension, perhaps by Aristophanes of Byzantium, based on texts corrupted in the interval by actors' interpolations. There follow remarks on the selection of Euripides' plays now extant, on the commentaries, published as separate books, and on the manuscripts. It was a happy thought to add a concluding section on Euripides' *Medea* in art. Seven Italiote vases, one of the 5th, the rest of the 4th century, are painted with scenes obviously inspired by the Euripidean version of the legend, though not keeping slavishly to the exact scenes of the play. This testimony that the *Medea*, no less than the *Alkestis*, was admired by the western Greeks is most welcome.

The commentary is on the scale adopted for this series, being intended for the advanced

scholar as well as for the learner, who may find it rather formidable. A metrical scheme with notes is added at the end.

The book should be indispensable for any further researches into the plays of Euripides.

E. D. PHILLIPS.

*Charitonis Aphrodisiensis de Chaerea et Callirhoe amatoriarum narrationum libri octo.* Ed. W. E. BLAKE. Pp. xx + 142. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938. 10s. 6d.

This book is important as being the first well-founded critical edition of the earliest complete specimen (in spite of Rohde and others) of the Greek romance, where it is nearest to sentimental Hellenistic historiography. As the Preface points out, the text of Chariton, like those of other Greek novelists, has had a most unfortunate history before falling into competent hands. The only manuscript is *Codex Florentinus* 627 of *Saec.* xiii or xiv (F). In 1727, when Cocchi saw it, this was almost half illegible with dirt. Salvini had already copied the whole in 1725, but his edition came to nothing, and Cocchi began again to copy it with some borrowings from Salvini. This copy, because he was otherwise occupied, he handed to D'Orville, author of the *editio princeps* of 1750, which has a Latin version by Reiske. When his edition was set up in type D'Orville handed it to Cocchi for a final collation with F. Cocchi did no more than work negligently through the first book with the help of his precocious son of eleven, whose abilities he rated too highly. The resulting defects were reproduced in the edition of Beck of 1783. In 1842 Cobet made a careful examination of the first book as collated by Cocchi, and, much more important, of F itself, which he collated with D'Orville. In order to do this satisfactorily he treated the manuscript with chemicals, and was able to make out nearly every word. The true readings of F he noted with underlinings in the margin of his own copy of the collation, and added corrections and emendations by himself, these not underlined. Ten years later he sent to Hirschig, who was preparing the Didot edition of 1856, the first book collated by Cocchi and a copy of his own new collation, but in the latter he failed to distinguish between the readings of F and his own corrections. Hirschig, with miraculous folly, took everything that Cobet wrote as the genuine reading of F, and this confusion was not remedied in the Teubner edition of 1859 by Hercher, who, though he complained of the negligence of Hirschig, had



never seen F, and did not know the true source of the trouble.

Since the publication of Hercher's edition three fragments of Chariton have come to light in Egypt. The first was a parchment found in 1898 near Thebes and dated to *Saec.* vi or vii, in which the novelist's words were recognised by Wilcken underneath some Coptic script. This was almost immediately destroyed by fire, but Wilcken had made a copy of half of it, which survives. This fragment (Theb.) disappointed hopes of restoring the *ipsissima verba* of Chariton in the corresponding passage of F for it differed so greatly from it as to read like a separate version. Wilamowitz was the first to see that it came from a popular recension intended for those unfamiliar with restored Attic. Therefore it has not been allowed to override F, interesting as it may be as evidence for the popularity of this romance. Closer to F are the two papyrus fragments, one of *Saec.* ii, found in 1900 on the site of Karanis in the Fayum (Fay), the other of *Saec.* ii or iii at Oxyrhynchus in 1910 (Ox), which might both be from a manuscript of the same date as F for all the difference shown. The variants shown in these have been treated with more consideration.

None the less, the chief duty of an editor was himself to inspect F, which those who had edited Chariton had not seen, while those who had seen it had not persevered with editions. This Dr. Blake did, helped by the original collation of Cobet, since whose time the manuscript has become less legible. He has allowed himself greater freedom of emendation than if he had had more manuscripts. In doing so he has relied upon the sounder view of Atticism which now prevails among those concerned with the Greek novel and the Second Sophistic generally. He has not demanded that Chariton should adhere to the pure idiom of Lysias, Demosthenes or Isocrates, in an age when even the scrupulous and erudite Aristides had his lapses, nor has he assumed that he was invariably consistent in the spelling of a word. Repeated reading of Chariton has made him less ready to expel the forms which displeased Hercher, and he has not neglected the researches of the indefatigable Schmid in his *Atticismus*. In orthography he has deferred to the papyri in their version of proper names, e.g., καλλιρόη for καλλιρρόη in F.

The *apparatus criticus* is in two parts, the upper containing what has been inserted in the text, the lower less probable suggestions by all scholars down to 1935, except those made in

ignorance of the true readings of F. If the editor assumes more lacunae than seem necessary, he is at least supported by H. J. Rose, who in *CQ* 1939, p. 30 argues for more still. A full list is added of previous editions and textual discussions, while at the end of the book are indices, one of proper names with the chief adventures, utterances, or other characteristics of their bearers, the other of similes and *sententiae*. The last should be particularly valuable to those who wish to use Chariton as a link in forging chains of literary descent for *motifs* and ideas in popular writing of the first centuries A.D.

E. D. PHILLIPS.

**History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature.** By M. BRAUN. Pp. xiii + 106. Oxford: Blackwell, 1938. 7s. 6d.

The Greek romance continues to suggest new problems and lines of investigation. Literary treatment we have had in abundance from Rohde and his successors, *religionsgeschichtlich* from Reitzenstein and others, while Schwartz's theory of an origin from Hellenistic historiography has prompted a third approach. Among the results of the last must now be included Dr. Braun's researches, which, as Professor Toynbee claims in his preface, are pioneer work in a new field.

His book is an essay in the political and social significance of a considerable body of Graeco-Oriental romances which arose under special conditions in the Egyptian and Asiatic regions of the Hellenistic world. In his first chapter he reveals the national character of the hero-romances of Ninus and Semiramis, Sesostris-Sesonchosis, Nectanebus, Moses, and Alexander. The second is devoted to a narrower but no less interesting theme—Biblical legend in Jewish-Hellenistic literature, and in particular the treatment of the story of Potiphar's wife in the *novella* known as the testament of Joseph, one of the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, dated at the end of the second century B.C.

For the Ninus romance the Egyptian papyrus fragments, dated about 100 B.C., are first-hand evidence, and they are already written in the stereotyped manner of the Greek novelists, while for the Alexander romance we have the complete work of Pseudo-Callisthenes. For the rest we depend entirely on the reproductions by Diodorus, Philo, Josephus, and others, with a little help from Oriental literature. Under the Hellenistic veneer Dr. Braun discovers the passionate effort of the various Oriental peoples to keep up their courage and their feeling of separate identity, first under the



Persians, and then under the much more hateful Seleucids and Ptolemies. At the same time the relentless pressure of these alien and cosmopolitan rulers, perpetually exerted in cultural propaganda, did not divert each of the subject-races from rivalry with its fellows. At the social level where these stories originated, before receiving their Hellenistic dress, there could be no question of distinguishing, in the sophisticated manner of Greek literary criticism, between genuine history, plausible fiction, and pure romance. The Babylonian, Syrian, and Egyptian masses, in their dreams of wish-fulfilment, turned back to ancient figures of national history and legend, which became more or less harmless symbols of their present aspirations. In Mesopotamia and Syria, Ninus and Semiramis were glorified at the expense of the conquered Medes, Armenians, and Egyptians. By the Egyptians similar triumphs were claimed for Sesostri in Asia and even in Europe, or Nectanebus was extolled for his brave but fruitless defiance of Artaxerxes Ochus. The Graeco-Egyptian Alexandrians, in the tradition represented by Pseudo-Callisthenes, glorified themselves in their founder, who was so successful where Nectanebus failed. That great figure of recent renown was probably the pattern and challenge for the Egyptian and Syro-Babylonian confections of history and myth, called forth from the distant past to rival his exploits. In this way, too, the East later made Alexander its own. In the end, as one people strove to outdo another in self-assertion, such heroes became so alike as to be interchangeable.

When the Oriental romances percolated upwards to the refined Greek middle-classes, they lost their political colouring, in so far as it was anti-Greek, and became stories of adventure, such as the Alexander romance as we have it. At a later stage, represented by the Ninus romance, love, always associated with adventure, was given more prominence, to meet the tastes of the new audience, sometimes with diverting results. For example the formidably amorous Ishtar, the Sumerian-Semitic Queen of Heaven, who is the evil genius of the stark epic of Gilgamesh, was fused with the historical queen Sammurammât of Assyria, and so transmogrified into the bashful Semiramis of our romance, a figure who could be produced in a Hellenistic, and would have been spiritually at home in a Victorian, drawing-room.

It was well for the subject-populations that most of them projected their dreams into the past, and did not, like the Jews, expect a future Messiah. The Jews had indeed turned to the

past in the story of Daniel, but only to nerve themselves for the struggle led by the Maccabees, whose success was in the end so fatal. This most resistant of Oriental peoples contributed no universal figure to Hellenistic romance, yet they felt its pervasive influence. Among the great mass of Jewish-Hellenistic literature, Dr. Braun has chosen to treat a document whose importance is not political but social. In the *Testament of Joseph* the brief episode of Potiphar's wife is spun out with speeches and exploration of motives and situation which are unmistakably modelled on the legend of Phaedra as treated by Euripides and numerous successors. There is no space to mention the literary details; it is enough to state the author's conclusion that in this moral tale, told to exalt Jewish notions of sexual purity, the artistic resources of the arch-enemy, Greek eroticism, are clumsily used against Joseph, with an added dig at the Egyptians. But one must observe that this technique is applied very much from the outside, for the inner spirit of the tale, if less confident than that of its original in Genesis, is purely Jewish. Indeed nothing could show better than this literary analysis the indomitable tenacity of Judaism in the midst of alien sophistication.

Further points of interest must be passed over in an already long notice, but enough has been said to show that the author of *A Study of History* had every reason for recommending this smaller study of the reaction of the unwilling Syriac portion of the 'internal proletariat' of the Hellenic culture to the policies of its masters. Some may think that too much is made of what are in their entirety rather fragmentary sources, but the whole territory clearly deserves exploration, which few indeed are qualified to undertake. May this prove to be a *Vorarbeit* for a comprehensive treatment of the subject by the same author.

E. D. PHILLIPS.

**Suidas Lexicon II-V (Lexicographi Graeci I).**

Ed. ADA ADLER. Berlin: Teubner, 1931-38. RM. 147 bound.

It seems superfluous to praise, and scarcely possible to overpraise, this work, which is of capital importance in two fields—the sources and the text of 'Suidas.' With the full and generous acknowledgement of the work of predecessors (and of co-adjudors) that characterises this edition it is said (Part I, p. xii), with reference to Küster's fundamental work on the sources, 'in fontibus historicis, theologicis, philosophicis definiendis posteriores editores nusquam fere ultra Kusterum processerunt.' Since 1700,



however, and particularly since the last published edition, much has been done both on the sources in general and on the question of the immediate sources of this compilation, e.g., by de Boor on the Excerpts of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, by Wentzel on the *Συναγωγή*, and by the editor herself on the yet unedited *Lexicon Ambrosianum*. The immediate sources, among which these three predominate, and which this edition, for the first time, consistently discriminates from merely parallel or kindred material, are indicated in the margin of the text. It is no part of the editor's purpose to trace the ultimate sources or the tradition intervening between them and the immediate sources. Nevertheless, the completion of the new series which opens so auspiciously with this edition will be of considerable value to those of the next generation of scholars (if there be any) who are concerned with those investigations.

The apparatus consists of three parts. The first gives references to immediate sources (in certain cases, e.g., Aristophanic scholia), to lexicographical parallels, to (selected) illustrative lexical materials, and to literary citations. The second gives *testimonia*, chiefly parallels from this lexicon or from notes based on it. The third is textual, and is the first real apparatus criticus of 'Suidas' ever published. Gaisford's critical acumen and general accuracy of report are expressly acknowledged by the editor, and her text shows much agreement with his; but the range of his apparatus is comparatively narrow, and even within that nothing can be inferred from his silence at any point. Part V of this edition, pp. 216-78, gives (*inter alia*) an exhaustive account of the history, characteristics and relationships of some thirty MSS. of 'Suidas.' Of A, F, T, M and (after publication of Part IV) *Val. Pal.* 113, and also, with the assistance of others, of V and G the editor has made full collations; the rest, almost without exception, she has examined and in greater or less part collated. The selection of variants for this apparatus seems to have been made with sound judgement, and the inaccuracies of earlier apparatus carefully eliminated. Moreover, unlike Gaisford's, this apparatus everywhere indicates whether the report of any MS. is selective, as it usually is, or comprehensive, as it is at every point for at least the principal MS.

This lexicon was compiled, about the end of the tenth century A.D., with frequent lapses of care and intelligence, from sources which, no doubt originally imperfect, had already suffered in transmission, and, with a few notable exceptions, it rests not on original authorities but on deriva-

tive epitomes and compilations. Thus, even where there is not the slightest doubt what ought to have been written, it is often very doubtful whether an error has originated with (or before) 'Suidas' or is due to later scribes. This edition, therefore, follows Gaisford's example in usually relegating even obvious corrections to the apparatus (e.g., IV, 612, 16, s.v. *Τύχαιος*; the note has 'Τύχαιον Valck., recte' < But Gaisford, I see, had these properispomena. >); the text shows the reading of the best MSS., without any critical marks except, occasionally, brackets: in II-IV I have noticed [ ] in six places, < > in twenty-three, and once both occur to indicate a transposition. Thus here, as in Gaisford, obvious errors are printed in the text, with the certain corrections in the apparatus, e.g., at II, 109, 28; *Τῆρος* [omit]: II, 149, 18; *κακόηχος* [belongs to another lemma]: III, 280, 10; *Εὐρηπίδης* [in fact, Sophocles]: III, 396, 24; *Μιλτιάδης* [in fact, Alcibiades]: IV, 65, 26; *Θουκυδίδης* 'εἰ [*l. Θουκυδίδης η'*]. Like Gaisford, however, the editor makes some sporadic corrections in the text: e.g., both print corrections at II, 351, 4; *Πανδώρα* [all MSS. have *Πανδώρα*]: III, 93, 13; *Βαλέριος* [*Γαλβριος*]: III, 252, 24; *Ἡρακλείδου* [*Ἡρακλείου*]: III, 415, 6; *περί* [*παρά*]: IV, 32, 20; *ἄρκτος* [*ἄρκος*]: IV, 85, 1; *εἰ* [*πέντε*]: IV, 91, 1; *Περίαγόρατος* [*Περίαγόρειος*]: IV, 141, 25; *τετραλογία* [*τετρατολογία*]: IV, 323, 8; *μαθητρίαι* [*μαθητρία*]: IV, 608, 7; *φιλόσοφος* [*φιλος*]: IV, 700, 19; *οἱ* [*οἶον*]. This edition, however, is in some points even more conservative than Gaisford. Sometimes where his text is corrected this prints the error, with correction only in the apparatus, e.g., at II, 406, 28; *χέρση* [for the correct *χέρσος*]: III, 36, 11; *γ.* [*γῆς*]: III, 94, 12; *γίνωνται* [*γίνονται*]: III, 104, 26; *τὸς μῆς* [*τῆς μῆς*]: III, 120, 3; *λεγόμενον* [*λέγομεν*]: III, 178, 5, 13; *ὀρυζήσας*, *ὀρυζοῦσι* [*ὀρυζοῦντας*, *ὀρυζοῦσι*]: III, 281, 15; *κατὰ* [*ὕπερ*]: III, 370, 18; *τῶν* [*τῶ*]: IV, 44, 7; *φυγὴν* [*πρυγὴν*]. These points are mentioned, not to provoke citation of Kuster's reply to Gronovius, but to warn especially the casual reader that he must constantly consult the apparatus, and must not look for a systematic discrimination between original and intrusive errors which is not, and could not well be, attempted. Interpolations, on the other hand, are consistently distinguished in this edition, being printed in smaller type. As chief criteria on this point the editor establishes the first hands (where available) in A; also V, T, and the uncorrupted portions of F: in the result there is rarely room for doubt.

Another invaluable contribution consists of



the series of indexes (V, 39-215):—index auctorum; nomina propria; nomina geographica; inventiones; chronologica; res scientiae; philosophica; antiquitates; res grammaticae, metrical, rhetoricae; etymologiae; dialecti; vocabula potiora et recentiora; glossae et proverbia extra ordinem. This is not least among the editor's services to users of a work the importance and evidential value of which modern archaeological, anthropological, and other specialist advances have inevitably, and not unwillingly, emphasised. συμπίρασμα σχεδόν πύσης της γραμματικῆς τυγχάνει μεθόδου.

P. B. R. FORBES.

**Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200. VII-IX. Manuscripts in Rome, parts I-III, in Messina, Naples and London.** Ed. by KIRSOPP and SILVA LAKE. 15+77 pls.; 8+71 pls.; 8+71 pls. Boston: Academy of Arts and Sciences (London: Christophers). 1937-8. 42s. each part.

Professor and Mrs. Kirsopp Lake in their palaeographical tour have arrived at the threshold of the Apostles. Beyond this, or rather past Sant'Anna, where one now goes in, reposes one of the largest and least known collections of Greek MSS in Europe. Here are the materials for the history of the Italo-Greek hand, practised in Calabria and Sicily, differing in many points from the normal hand of Constantinople, here is strange tachygraphy and strange types of hand. The smaller Papal collections have long been catalogued in print, but the *Vaticani Graeci* are only now slowly appearing. Hence the announcement of Vatican facsimiles raises hopes.

Professor and Mrs. Lake give us specimens of thirty-two MSS, dated from A.D. 892 to 1058. Of these twelve have been previously published, twenty therefore are new. We are grateful for what we are given, but it would be wrong to say that these twenty photographs materially advance our knowledge of Greek writing. This is due to the editors' principle of passing by undated MSS, however rare, critical and interesting, and halting at the dated. Now, as I remarked in an earlier notice, good MSS are not dated. To this rule there are few exceptions. Hence the volume before us is inferior in interest to the small collection of Cavalieri-Lietzmann.

The descriptions of the MSS might have been kinder to the reader. 'Ruling type 31a' means little, even when we discover the particular diagram or grid to which it refers. These

pictures of ruled pages have no material significance. On the other hand the variation of hair-side and flesh-side as the recipient of the ruled lines has a certain local meaning. This information is not given. Again the point whether the writing is above or below the ruled line ceases to have significance after the first period. And the editors, though they notice that some copies were made at Grottaferrata, do not point out to the reader those that were written in Italy, nor again those that show abundant or unusual abbreviations.

Some few of the twenty MSS have passed under my eye. I can therefore add to the description of Vat. 2020, written at Capua in A.D. 993 (of which I am glad to see a photograph), that the ruling is on the flesh-side. The other Capuan MS, Vat. 2138 of A.D. 991, has already been reproduced. Further Vat. 1815 (A.D. 1023), Vat. 1506 (A.D. 1024), Vat. 2002 (A.D. 1052) seem Italian. The third and fourth hands of Ottobuoni 414 (A.D. 1005) have a good bunch of ordinary abbreviations; the second hand displays the small cursive of the period. Pio II 21 (A.D. 1013) has two good hands, the third and the seventh.

Part II exhausts the dated *Vaticani Graeci* and the dated MSS in the collections known as Pio II, Regina, Barberini, Palatino, Urbino and Ottobuoni. They run from A.D. 1059 to 1197 and, as might be expected of the period, are uniformly uninteresting. The Basiliani (so called because they were transferred from the Basilian house in Rome to the Vatican) begin at Vat. 1963, and the MSS that follow that number were naturally often written in Italy; this is the case with Vat. 1992, 2000, 2008. They do not, however, offer marked characteristics, except that in Vat. 2000 there is a small tachygraphical note on f. 132 r., and Vat. 2008 (Bas. 47) is a mere reservoir of tachygraphical abbreviation. The symbols are confined to the lemmata or headings; a few appear in the photograph. I regret to see that my notes say 'rough skin, very yellow,' whereas the editors say 'thick, smooth, yellow.' I bow, and am unable also to discriminate between their epithets 'slippery-smooth' and 'chalky-smooth.' I note that Vat. 1636 (A.D. 1064) is written on the flesh-side and has an example of iota subscript; Vat. 504 (A.D. 1105) has an abundance of ordinary abbreviation, good food for a beginner.

Part III finishes the Vatican and contains MSS at Messina (A.D. 961-1184) and Naples (A.D. 1026-1192).

Vat. 2210 offers a neat cursive hand which



it is difficult to believe was written A.D. 886 (the date is inferential). Urbino 35 is a most valuable contribution (Aristotle's *Organon*). It belonged to Arethas and is signed. The date is inferential, but cannot be later than A.D. 914. The hand (Gregory) is more massive and less elegant than that of Arethas' other books. The MS was previously known from a sadly diminished photograph in the *Miscellanea Ehrle*. Vat. 1671 offers an elegant backwards hand of A.D. 916. Reg. 75, written A.D. 982 at Malvito, exhibits a rough squat hand, natural in an Italo-Greek scribe, and the coloured initials and headings on wash are usual in this school. It is very slightly abbreviated. In the colophon read εἰς τὸ χάριον, where the editors leave a blank for εἰς.

We are next offered dated MSS from the University Library at Messina (derived from the convent of S. Salvatore on the straits); the glory of the Messina Library is its Galen and its two Hermogenes. These naturally are undated. It has also an array of dated MSS, A.D. 961-1184. The number is remarkable, the hands less so. They offer no peculiarity and in particular no 'Italian' characteristics, though some of them may have been written in Italy.

The Naples MSS (A.D. 1026-1192) are equally characterless.

The concluding fascicule will contain indexes. Let us hope it will also contain Angelicus 50 (A.D. 1165) and the dated treasures of Grottaferrata, the autographs of San Nilo and his reputed disciples.

T. W. ALLEN.

#### A descriptive Catalogue of the Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America.

By K. W. CLARK. Pp. xxvii + 418; 72 pl. Chicago University Press and Cambridge University Press, 1937. 22s. 6d.

Seven years' work and many thousands of miles of travel have gone to the making of this book, invaluable alike to New Testament scholars and bibliographers. Prof. Clark has catalogued, for the most part personally, 256 MSS of the New Testament (including lectionaries) in American and Canadian libraries, and during the greater part of the time has been in close touch with M. de Ricci, compiler of the colossal *Census of Medieval MSS in America*, to their mutual advantage. His descriptions, though somewhat brief, are clear and to the point and include all the essential details, while the singularly generous allowance of excellent plates offer much of interest to the palaeographer. A full bibliography is appended to each item.

While criticism of such an eminently useful work may seem ungrateful, it is impossible not to feel that the printing of Greek without accents or breathings is a mistake, especially when direct quotation is made from a manuscript. Mediaeval scribes, it is true, have much to answer for, but it is the bibliographer's first task to record, and record as accurately as possible, and Prof. Clark's method is from the scientific point of view a suppression of evidence. In general the transcription and translation of the various Greek notes and scribbles in the MSS leave something to be desired: for example, γεωμνηος on p. 64 is clearly a misreading of Νέος Ῥώμης; the phrase 'owned in 1572 by Lukas in prison' on p. 66 misunderstands the Greek—the MS, originally written at Jerusalem, was sold 'during the captivity' (i.e., Turkish rule) and bought in 1572 by Lukas, πρωτοπαπῆς of Kanina in S. Albania; Romanos Irenopoulos, scribe of Michigan MS 31, appears as 'Romanos, priest of Irenopolis'; Serres is not 'in Thessalia' (p. 196); and who is that illustrious prelate 'the Metropolitan Patriarch of Kosinitza' (p. 72)?

As a footnote, I may add that the doggerel distich found in a number of Prof. Clark's MSS, and not completely read by him in any of them runs, with some variations, as follows.

ὄρθου, χεῖρ μου ἀγαθὴ, γράφε γράμματα καλὰ  
μὴ δοῦναι καὶ λυπηθῆς, καὶ ὑστερον μετανοήσης.

It has not, I think, been observed that all the MSS in which this is found hail from N. Greece or Macedonia: Scheide MS 2 is from Serres, Chicago 134 from Larissa, Chicago 141 and Michigan 37 from Janina, while I have noted it in a Menaion from the Olympiotissa monastery near Ellassona, in one of the Janina MSS still at Highgate, and in Brit. Mus. Add. 39612 (Athos, Caracalla).

T. C. SKEAT.

**The Letter of Aristeas.** By H. G. MEECHAM. Pp. xxi + 355. Manchester: University Press, 1935. 12s. 6d.

This is a companion volume to Dr. Meecham's earlier book, *The Oldest Version of the Bible*, in which he discussed the historical and literary importance of the *Letter*. The present volume is a painstaking and admirably arranged philological study in which the language, grammar, and style of the *Letter* are closely examined in relation to Κοινή Greek in general and the Septuagint in particular. Thackeray's text of the letter is here reprinted and is accompanied by notes dealing with its linguistic peculiarities and textual problems; but except for those who



have made a special study of this document, the most interesting part of the volume is the chapters dealing with Vocabulary, Grammar, and Style and Diction. These should appeal to all who are interested in the development and later history of the Greek language; in his search to illustrate the affinities of the *Letter*, its position in the development of Greek style, the exact meaning to be placed on words and constructions, Dr. Meecham has called to his aid not only the Septuagint, the New Testament and kindred writings, but pagan writers of the classical and later ages (in particular Polybius) and the papyri and inscriptions, and is not above invoking Modern Greek usage. Exception might be taken here and there to Dr. Meecham's comments on minor points; in particular his knowledge of the papyri seems to be incomplete, e.g., ἀναστροφή = *way of life* and βίβλος meaning an ordinary, not a sacred, book are both found in the papyri; but the present reviewer has found only a few corrections to make and they detract but little from the value of a book which should be of particular interest to students of the Greek Bible and is a storehouse of information about the *Κοινή* in general.

C. H. ROBERTS.

**Byzantine Hand List.** Pp. vii + 67. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, Ltd., 1938. 2s. 6d.

This enterprising little volume, issued by a well-known Oxford publisher and bookseller, can be warmly recommended to the notice of librarians and of students of East Rome. It covers the modern literature dealing with all departments of Byzantine history and civilisation, classified under separate subject-headings. Within each section the order is alphabetical, arranged under the authors' names. The date and price, but not the place of publication, of each work are stated, and a number of out-of-print books has been included, since these can often be obtained at second-hand. The continuity of Roman History down to its latest stages is now generally recognised, and finds expression here in the inclusion of works which, though dealing primarily with the later period of the Roman Empire in the West, are indispensable for a full understanding of Byzantium. There are some errors and omissions; Bréhier did not write the introduction to Strykowski's (not 'Stryzowski's') work on Christian Art in Syria, and it has been pointed out that some recent books on Byzantine music have not found a place in the List. It may be hoped that sufficient encouragement will be given to the new venture to enable a revised edition to be

issued every few years, so as to keep pace with the increasing literature on this subject.

H. ST. L. B. MOSS.

**An Outline of the History of the Greek Language.** By P. S. COSTAS. Pp. 143. Chicago: Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, 1936.

This useful book is principally at fault in its title, for it is less obviously an *Outline* than a *Bibliography*, in which capacity it deserves much praise. The text is short, and often reduced to a few lines at the top of the page, the remainder being occupied by formidable lists of references, to the compilation of which much commendable industry has been devoted.

Pre-classical and Classical Greek are very briefly dismissed, and then follow two sections on the origins, position, and principal contributions and reforms of the Koine; these latter are rightly considered under the four heads of Phonology, Morphology, Syntax and Semantics, though the categories are not always very carefully distinguished. The next section, on the Formation of the Modern Vernacular, is largely a catalogue of some works of mediaeval literature, and is the least satisfactory part of the book; no effort is made to relate the development of Mediaeval Greek to the works, and only a few comments offered as to the respective positions they occupy with reference to the 'popular' or 'learned' styles; many works of great linguistic importance receive no mention. A summary (necessarily brief and congested) of the grammatical and lexical character of the Modern Vernacular follows. Finally, the author devotes seven pages to the Γλωσσικὸν Ζήτημα, in which he inclines toward a re-vivification of the καθαρεύουσα, but fails to note that the most radical objection to purism is grammatical and not literary or lexical, and hence that comparisons with what has recently been termed the 'mandarin' style in England or France are not in point.

The text, being little more than an outline with which the bibliographical foot-notes are related, calls for little comment. There are a few slips, such as the attribution to Attic of a genitive in -οιο, (p. 29); nor are σουδάριον and σικάριος good examples of a Latin suffix 'appended to purely Greek words,' (p. 30). The *Rotokritos*, dated here (p. 89) to the fourteenth century, cannot be earlier than the beginning and is probably as late as the middle of the seventeenth century. The influence of Italian in Cretan literature is under-estimated; and Cretan literature in general should be



expressly excepted from the remarks on p. 92. It is incorrect to say (*ib.*) that 'even to-day, the literary output of modern Greece, with the exception of works by Psicharis, Pallis, Eftaliotis and a few others, is written in a language which cannot be considered more vulgar than that of mediaeval compositions'; this may have been true thirty years ago, but is far from being the case at the present time.

The bibliographical material provided in notes and indexes is invaluable and, despite numerous typographical errors and a general index unworthy of so useful a book of reference, renders the work of great importance to all students of later Greek.

R. J. H. JENKINS.

**Robert Carr Bosanquet: Letters and Light Verse.** Ed. by ELLEN S. BOSANQUET. Pp. 270; 3 plates. Gloucester: John Bellows, 1938. 7s. 6d.

Mrs. Bosanquet, who delighted us many years ago with her *Days in Attica*, has now placed all lovers of Greece, and many others besides, still more deeply in her debt by her decision to publish a generous selection of her husband's letters. These letters were written with no thought of publication, but dashed off, frequently amid difficulties and distractions, in camp or in village *kapheneia*, in trains or on board ship, whenever he had a spare moment, with the sole purpose, as the editor points out, of sharing his experiences with those most dear to him. They enable the reader to follow his career from his preparatory school at Aysgarth, through six years in College at Eton, to Cambridge as Scholar of Trinity, and so to his activities as Student and then as Director of the British School at Athens. It is to this Greek period that most of the letters belong, but we are also given enough to follow him in his tenure of the Chair of Classical Archaeology at Liverpool (1906-20), which by no means put an end to his travels in Greece, with a strenuous interlude of Red Cross work in the Balkans during the Great War, and so to the last fifteen years of his life as squire of his family estates in Northumberland, where retirement meant anything but leisure. His sudden death in 1935, in a nursing-home to which he had gone for a minor operation, closed this chapter all too soon, in his sixty-fourth year.

It seems prophetic to find the school-boy, not yet ten, ending a letter which describes his duties as head of his form with the words 'so my position is somewhat responsible.' Responsibility came his way at every stage of his career,

and he rose rejoicing to shoulder it, for to him, more than to most archaeologists of his generation were granted opportunities for travel, adventure and organisation, which brought forth all his best qualities. A term's leave from Cambridge spent in Greece, just before taking Part I of his Tripos, together with the fear lest his eye-sight would not stand the strain of life at the Bar, decided his career, and he can never have regretted the form it took. In some of the longest of these letters, whether he is describing the excavations which he inaugurated at Praesos and Palaikastro, or his reconnaissance of the site of Cyzicus, or, in another sphere, his really heroic work in organising supplies and transport for the Serbian refugees in Albania and Corfu, we see displayed at their best his powers of planning and directing, his gifts of sympathy and encouragement, his unfailing patience and good humour, and not least his love for the countryside and the peasantry.

The temptation to quote extensively must be resisted, for once having started it would be impossible to stop, but an early letter gives so convincing a glimpse of the writer that it must not be passed over. In 1894, while still an undergraduate, he writes 'My few months in Athens gave me such a sense of home that every now and then a great longing comes over me like a wave—for the shining temples high against the blue heaven, for the violet crown of encompassing hills and the island-studded sea . . . for the free travelling life . . . the snow cap of Taygetus flashing on the horizon and the goat-bells tinkling down the stream, and the path winds ever among green thickets of myrtle and acacia and oleander, and the anemones are about your feet, and you live in a dream of the past' (p. 31). Of his account of the view from the summit of Ida in Crete (p. 143) it is no idle compliment to say that it would hold its own in an anthology of English prose, and there is little in the volume to excel his description of a night-ride from Sparta to Leondari (p. 165 f.). Nor must we omit a vivid little picture of his new life on retirement: 'The farmer's life interests me immensely, and I'm very sorry to have to leave it even for a week of Welsh Monument work. You should have seen me going into Alnwick yesterday with two samples of barley, in the most beautiful striped bags (the barley, not me), and selling it, not for a gross of green spectacles, but for a price which won the approval of C— and D—' (p. 211); with this may well be coupled an extract written seven years later 'Don't tell anyone I may be here. Calls on my help of every kind have been



insatiable of late, and I have aimed at doing my duty on every kind of Committee up to end of May. Once June comes, I am nominally out of reach . . . So keep my presence here dark if I am detained—it will be a heaven-sent opportunity of doing some undisturbed work' (p. 217). Reading, this, with Mrs. Bosanquet's overwhelming list of his official Committees and other duties in Northumberland, we need not wonder that his strong sense of duty left no real leisure for archaeological writing.

It is not only his friends that will welcome the selection of his light verse with which the volume ends; but in the pages of the *Journal* we must forbear to quote, even from such a classic example of Nemesis as 'The Dean's Story.' It is in the hopes that a second and larger edition will be called for that the following few and mostly trifling misprints are mentioned: p. 44, not Benndozl but Benndorf; pp. 95, 98, not Yeni Keni but Yeni Keui; p. 101, surely Epaminondas Rosenberg is the interpreter's picturesque name; p. 102, *tezkerah* for *tezkerh*, and p. 162, Pausanias. On p. 105 (a delightful glimpse of Gregori the famous foreman of excavations) the Greek seems to need attention, as do one or two accents and breathings (pp. 122, 141, 149, 152).

No one who picks up this book will be able to lay it aside until he has finished it, unless it were in order to book a passage to Greece at the earliest opportunity. The writer's nostalgia for Greece will irresistibly communicate itself to all who know its charms, however slightly; nor can it fail to draw fresh votaries to its sacred soil.

A. M. WOODWARD.

**Wild Flowers of Attica.** By S. C. ATCHLEY.

With coloured plates by W. O. EVERETT;  
prepared for publication by W. B. TURRILL.  
Pp. xix + 60; 22 plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938. 25s.

This fine book, introduced by the notes and prefaces necessary to a posthumous work, is the scientific and literary legacy of a man who had been for many years a well-known and much-loved figure in many circles in Greece. Everything connected with Modern Greece Atchley knew: the people, the language, the country—all these to no common degree—and as a special result of his lifelong perambulations of all parts of the country he knew its rich and beautiful flora as probably no one man has known it since Sibthorp. As no one can fail to perceive, Atchley was a botanist because he really loved flowers; far removed from the horrible people who for lucre dig up bulbs and make rare

plants rarer by the greedy and reckless collection of specimens.

The book is not that complete Flora of Attica which the author in happier circumstances could so well have given us. He has had to select only relatively few plants, but they are those which to his wide experience seemed most characteristic of the vegetation of Attica. On these lines Atchley drew from his much wider store a list of 138 plants, of which 78 are illustrated by Mr. Everett's drawings. The descriptions are written so as not to demand much knowledge of botanical technicalities, and with the aid of the illustrations no one who has the plants in his hands will have the least difficulty in identifying them. But this absence of formal description has the drawback that when there is no picture even the experienced botanist may well miss the help to which he is accustomed. The unpractised hand will in any case be apt to find himself in difficulties with no picture to guide him. It is possible that it would have been better to give more detailed descriptions, not of all the plants, but of those left without illustrations. Also the incompleteness of the book, though inevitable, adds to the difficulty of identifying the less conspicuously marked plants, and of discriminating between closely allied species. But the book is a legacy, and who can tell what it would have been had fate been less unkind? When it is added that the illustrations are not as complete as they might be—roots are often not drawn, root-leaves are too often omitted, and more drawings of details might with advantage have been added—I have done with the usual kind of complaint. But there is one other regret which will I think be universal. We are not given enough of Mr. Atchley's writing. When the reader studies the notes on the several plants, he cannot but be aware that the author is giving us only the fringe of a deep and delightful mass of erudition on the subject. The Greeks may be inaccurate and insufficient in their discrimination of species; they have always been humanists rather than scientists, and are also strangely devoid of that special feeling for plants which shows itself so strongly in Atchley's writing, but the country people are always full of amusing notions and fancies about the uses and qualities of their wild plants. Some of this material we have here, but the writer for one would have welcomed a great deal more. The oleander, we are told, is bitter, and Atchley knew all about the dreadful ravages of goats: I am sure that he could have told us for example that in Crete it is said that the goat tries three times a year to eat even the oleander, and always fails. For



the sea squill, *Urginea maritima*, he quotes Theophrastus to the effect that the bulb if hung up continues to keep alive for a very long time; he certainly knew that it is used in this way over doors as a charm against the evil eye and that in current Modern Greek versions of the legend of Alexander the reason why it keeps green is that it was by accident wetted with the Water of Life which the conqueror brought back from the east in a bottle. No one knew more of this plant lore than Atchley, and if he had been given a longer life or more leisure in his busy days he could have produced, and no one better, a book that one might call a humanistic botany of Greece. As it is, we have to be content with what cannot but seem to those who knew him a fragment of what he might have done, but it is such a good fragment that all our thanks are due to the pious care of his family and friends who have now given us this delightful book. Atchley lives too in the more than four thousand sheets of dried plants which he sent to the great herbarium at Kew; 'carefully collected,' says Sir Arthur Hill in his Introduction, 'well dried and nearly always abundant.'

The format of the book is agreeable; the printing good—of misprints I note only that 'sepal' appears twice (pp. 47 and 50) as 'tepal'—and the plates from Mr. Everett's water-colour drawings could hardly be better. Every flower-loving visitor to Greece should take a copy with him. R. M. DAWKINS.

**The Link; a Review of Mediaeval and Modern Greek.** Edited by N. BACHTIN. No. 1; June 1938. Pp. 86. Oxford: Blackwell. 7s. 6d.; annual subscription £1 1s.

Although provision has been made for some years past for the study and teaching of Byzantine and Modern Greek in the Universities of Oxford and London, and more recently at Cambridge, no periodical has hitherto been published in England dealing exclusively with these subjects. We may accordingly extend a warm welcome to *The Link* on its first appearance. The aims of this new and interesting venture are defined in general terms in its subtitle, and more precisely in a foreword on the inside of the cover: 'to interpret the past of Greece through its present and its present through its past, and thus to reveal the basic unity of Greek civilization in all its manifestations throughout its whole development.' Its editor is Dr. Nicholas Bachtin, and the names of the eighteen distinguished collaborators printed on

the cover assure us that he has enlisted the strongest possible support for his undertaking; and the list of contents shows that the contributors deal authoritatively with a wide range of topics in the chosen field.

It will be noted that 'articles from abroad have been translated by the Editor,' and apparently they have been rendered with skill and taste, but it must be admitted that this practice gives rise to misgivings. Not only does it obscure the international aspect of the periodical, but however skilful the translations they can hardly succeed in every case in preserving the finer shades of the author's meaning, particularly in articles dealing with literary criticism; and when we find that in S. Baud-Bovy's sensitive appreciation of Seferis the long extracts from his *Μυθιστόρημα* are all turned into English, we feel justified in protesting that we are being put off with a substitute, and deprived of the means of forming a judgment for ourselves. Having made this criticism, we may turn to some of the articles likely to appeal to readers who are not specialists in either linguistic or phonetic studies. Professor Dawkins gives us a judicious review of the Archimandrite Christophoros Ktenas' recent work on Athos, with its interesting and outspoken views on the political background of Greek Monasticism; Professor Marshall's scholarly account of Lord Guilford, whose services as a Phil-Hellene have been somewhat eclipsed by more famous names, tells the story of his efforts for Greek education, especially in founding a University in the Ionian Islands. Mr. P. Vlasto's lively plea for the appreciation of the literary merits of Modern Greek is, he admits, only a sketch, but invites quotation: e.g., 'And yet the Romaic is as fine a language as Attic. That is stating the case with moderation. . . . Its range and facility of expression can thus without exaggeration be put higher than those of Ancient Greek.' But he regretfully admits that, apart from a few inspired poets, there is little of outstanding value. 'The raw material is excellent; it awaits the hand of the creator.' Finally, the Editor's own contribution, which is a first instalment of an ambitious and thoughtful essay on the linguistic basis of translation, takes as its text G. Seferis' translation into Modern Greek of T. S. Eliot's *Waste Land*.

It remains to add that *The Link* is pleasingly produced and accurately printed, to offer the Hellenic Society's congratulations to the Editor and his supporters, and to wish *ετη πολλά* to their promising infant. That it strides over twenty-three centuries on its first outing augurs well for its energy. A. M. WOODWARD.



Μνημεία τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἱστορίας. Vol. II.  
By THE ACADEMY OF ATHENS. Pp. xviii +  
648. Athens: Academy Office, 1936-7.  
1600 drs.

This second volume<sup>1</sup> contains further *Historical Cretan Documents* edited from the *Archives of Venice* by Count Spyridon M. Theotokes, being in this case *Decrees of the Venetian Senate 1281-1385*. But, as the first fourteen volumes of the whole collection of sixty were burned, except a fragment of the first covering the period 1300-4, the documents really start with book xv in 1332 ending with book xxxix, when Noiret's collection, published in 1892, begins, while for the lost fourteen books there are only the summaries, *Le Rubriche dei Libri Misti*, which the reviewer<sup>2</sup> published in 1910 for books xv-xliv. The present collection is a valuable source for the history of Venetian Crete in the agitated period of the fourteenth century, and not for Crete alone, but for Euboea, Rhodes, Kos, Kythera, Tenedos, Dalmatia, and even Majorca, which was damaged by pirates from Kythera, while the Cretan Jews subscribed money for the suppression of the revolt at Zara. Crete was, in fact, the key of Venetian policy in the Eastern Mediterranean; there is much about the improvement of the harbour of Candia; the Turkish danger was already present, and measures were taken to prevent the immigration of Turkish colonists. Much space is devoted to Cretan insurrections, especially those of 1333 and 1363, when Venetian colonists joined with native Cretans against the taxation imposed by the home government for the harbour of Candia. The situation was so serious that Venice raised marines in England, not the last intervention of Britain in Cretan affairs. Venetian officials, like British diplomats, were not allowed to remain long in one post, lest they should become too intimate with the natives. There is mentioned an attempt to plant Armenians in Crete, while after the great insurrection the Cretans were forbidden to inhabit the upland of Lasithi for a century. The romantic element, rarely absent from Frankish Greece, appears in the matrimonial affairs of Fiorenza Sanudo, Duchess of the Archipelago, and widow of a triarch of Euboea, whence Venetian agents carried her off to Crete, so that she might make a second marriage suitable to the political interests of Venice in the Aegean. Similarly, her stepdaughter, Maria Sanudo, was not to marry without the Republic's consent.

<sup>1</sup> *JHS* liv. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, vii. 69-119.

There is much about the internal administration, taxation and the condition of the serfs. Greeks were forbidden to keep horses, but one of the great family of Kallerges, which appears often in these documents, was exceptionally allowed to buy fifteen annually; this right was, however, refused to one of his successors, as endangering the safety of Crete. In 1357 English wool was exported thither, but it paid twice the duty imposed on that from Majorca.

The editor has added brief Greek explanatory notes at the end of each chapter, an introduction, an index, and an appendix on the Venetian coinage.

W. MILLER.

Οικονομικὴ Ἱστορία τῆς νεωτέρας Ἑλλάδος.  
By CHR. EUELPIDES. Pp. 69. Athens:  
Flamma, 1939. 30 drs.

This 'brief review,' the result of 126 works, summarises the economic history of Greece during the Venetian, Turkish, and Modern periods. Taxation was lighter in Turkish Greece than in the Venetian colonies, but during the Turkish domination economic life was 'almost stationary' until the end of the eighteenth century, when the mercantile marine began to be developed, and there was trade with the Chiote, Epirote, and Thessalian colonies abroad. On the eve of the War of Independence more land belonged to Greeks than to Turks, but since 1853 the urban population has increased threefold, and to-day one-sixth of the population is concentrated in the capital and its suburbs. Trikoupes helped agriculture by building railways, but the consequent expenditure caused the financial crisis of 1893; and emigration to the United States, which began with the present century, drained off the agricultural population till a limit was imposed in America. Mining began at Laurion in 1867; the annexation of Kavalla gave Greece her greatest export, tobacco; the arrival of the refugees after the Lausanne treaty of 1923 created the carpet manufacture, and was a milestone in her economic life. Joint-stock companies, first started at Patras in 1835, are replacing personal enterprise, but big fortunes have all been made abroad. Since this useful summary was written an effort has been made to plant trees, for legislation from 1836 onwards failed to save the forests from their two enemies, goats and fires, often lighted by the peasants. This is a useful handbook with full bibliography.

W. MILLER.



Ἱστορία τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν γεωργικῆς ἐκπαιδεύσεως. [1829-1919]. By D. L. ZOGRAPHOS. 2 vols. Pp. 288 + 186. Athens, 1937-8.

The author, an expert on his subject,<sup>1</sup> shows that from 1829, when Capo d'Istria founded the first Greek agricultural school at Tiryns, for fifty-eight years little progress was made and only two laws dealt with agricultural education. Despite scholarships, students were lacking, so that this solitary school was dissolved in 1872. A better period began in 1887, when a law was passed founding agricultural schools at Roush near Athens, at Aidin in Thessaly (thanks to the generosity of Kassavetes' widow), and again at Tiryns. But then, as now, country folk 'wanted to live in the capital' and 'well-to-do farmers sent their sons to study liberal professions at Athens.' The first attempt at women's agricultural training was made; but in 1892 the schools at Roush and Tiryns were converted into 'agricultural stations,' while that at Aidin was occupied by the Turks during the war of 1897 and moved to Oreous. But in 1911 a school was founded at Larissa, and after the first Balkan war Greece took over those established by the Young Turks at Salonika and Serres. One has just been started at Kephissia.

W. MILLER.

Ἀνδρέου Μ. Ἀνδρεάδου Ἔργα, II. Μελέται ἐπὶ τῆς συγχρόνου Ἑλληνικῆς δημοσίας οἰκονομίας. Ed. by K. CH. BARBARESOS, G. A. PETROPOULOS, and I. D. PINTOS. Pp. 649. Athens, 1939.

This second volume<sup>2</sup> contains twenty-five lectures and articles, of which six are in French, the rest in Greek, dealing with the international control of Greek finance, the currant question, the economic progress of Greece during the forty years prior to 1919, the development of the mercantile marine, the Greek postal system from 1829 to the introduction of stamps in 1861, the Greek loans from the War of Independence to 1914, and the financial situation during the Balkan wars and down to 1923. 'The era of the great loans,' due to the mobilisations to obtain the cession of Thessaly and Epeiros and because of the Union of Eastern Roumelia with Bulgaria, was from 1879 to 1890 and led to the so-called 'bankruptcy' of 1893, and the international financial control of 1898, which still exists. The currant crisis was caused by over-production and the closing of the French market, but tempered by a large export to England, still the largest purchaser of

Greek currants. The draining of the Copais—another British benefit—Trikoupes' abolition of the tithe, the creation of a Ministry of Agriculture in 1917, the progress of Thessaly, where serfs have been converted into small-holders and roads and rail have replaced mule-paths, the tardy formation of sailing companies, and the attempt to remedy the lack of coal by lignite are all signs of economic progress. A historical sketch of the mercantile marine traces its rise after the treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, which gave to Greek vessels freedom of trade under the Russian flag, till the Crimean war caused the decline of sailing vessels. The Transvaal war, profitable to Greek shipping, inaugurated the new epoch; the Greek mercantile marine played a great part in the Balkan wars, but lost over half its ships by torpedoes during the Great War. The financial history of the railways evokes criticism of Trikoupes, whose mistake was 'to have large views in a small country.' The control is shown to have enabled Greece to meet the Balkan wars successfully, because she had money for armaments and the railway to the frontier. The refugees, with whose arrival in 1923 the volume ends, 'increased the general, but diminished the individual wealth.' The contents might have been compressed, for the essays sometimes cover the same ground, and in one case (pp. 241-6, 263-8) text and notes are repeated in the same words.

W. MILLER.

Τὰ 75 Χρόνια τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Δυναστείας. Edited by THE UNDERSECRETARYSHIP OF THE PRESS. Pp. 86. Athens, 1938.

Βασιλεὺς Γεώργιος Α' καὶ Ἀ. Βαλαωρίτης. Ἀνέκδοτοι Ἐπιστολαί. By KOSTAS KAIROPHYLAS. Pp. 45. Athens, 1938.

The 75th anniversary of the second dynasty last October was commemorated by the issue of this official collection of articles and anecdotes about George I, four poems to him and his wife by Valaorites, Markoras, Palamas and Drosines, Philemon's contemporary account of his acceptance of the crown, four unpublished letters of the King, and eleven illustrations. The letters have historical interest. The first three from St. Petersburg, Fredensborg, and Copenhagen in 1867 to his Prime Minister, Koumoundouros, during the Cretan insurrection, announce his engagement to the Grand-duchess Olga, and Napoleon III's activity on behalf of Cretan union with Greece, but discourage the Premier's idea of encouraging and subsidising insurrec-

<sup>1</sup> *JHS* xlv, 145; lv, 276.

<sup>2</sup> *JHS* lviii, 292.



tions in Epeiros, Thessaly and Macedonia, especially as brigandage and internal dissensions had injured Greek prestige abroad. The fourth, from Copenhagen in 1876, also to Koumoundouros, tells how he had pleaded the Greek claims to the Emperor Francis Joseph and Andrassy at Vienna during the Eastern crisis. An anecdote informs us of his intention to abdicate in favour of Constantine when he should celebrate his jubilee—a decision frustrated by his assassination at Salonika a few months before that date. There might have been more of his shrewd appreciations of his Ministers, had he not burned his diary. Of Boulgares we are told that he advised the 'removal' of a political opponent.

This Greek translation of thirteen letters from the Ionian poet and politician, Valaorites, to his wife in Italian, describing his conversations in French with George I in 1864–5, throw valuable light upon the King's early and difficult years. The writer first came to Athens after the union of the Ionian Islands to regulate the entry of the Ionian deputies into the National Assembly, returning thither when elected deputy for his native island, Leukas. He found Sponnek, the King's Danish adviser, unpopular, even with the King, who told Valaorites frankly: 'all plot against me; since I came here, I have aged ten years.' He advised George to study Greek six hours a day. He depicts the scene when the Ionians took their seats in the National Assembly, and the abolition of the Senate—revived in 1927 but again abolished in 1935—which the King called an 'asylum for the infirm.' Party feeling ran so high that Koumoundouros' life was attempted, and George told Valaorites, to whom he offered the Foreign Office, that their turns would come soon. There was even an attempt to restore the Bavarian dynasty, supported by the French Minister, Gobineau, but opposed by the British, Erskine. The King had strong likes and dislikes; he could not stand Lombardos, 'the tyrant of Zante,' but loved dogs. A bust of his confidant, Valaorites, rightly adorns the Royal garden. The book contains portraits of George, Sponnek and Valaorites, and a facsimile of one of the letters.

W. MILLER.

Ἡ Ζάκυνθος καὶ ἡ Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐπανάστασις. By KOSTAS KAIROPHYLAS. Pp. 244. Corfu, 1938. 75 drs.

The author bases his account of his native island's contribution to the War of Independence mainly on Chiotas' history and Romas' published archives. He shows how a branch of the Friendly Society was founded there in 1819 with Romas

as its chief, among them being Kolokotrones. He criticises the repressive measures of the High Commissioner, Sir Thomas Maitland, whose bust, however, still stands in Zante, where many refugees from Missalongo found help. He describes Romas' negotiations in 1825 for a British protectorate over Greece, and quotes Canning's reply that Britain would neither accept a protectorate nor allow a British prince to accept the Greek throne—a forecast of the future Duke of Edinburgh's refusal in 1862. The patriotic support of the Zantiote poets, Solomos, Foscolo and Calvos is mentioned, but the death of Hastings at Zante is omitted. The latter part contains the deeds of Zantiotes on the battlefields of Skuleni and the Morea, for many lived in the Danubian Principalities and at Patras, the latter reluctantly under the jurisdiction of the British Consul, Green. The monograph concludes with the romantic career of the Zantiote adventurer, Captain Kephala, who traversed the world from Madagascar to London. There is a full bibliography.

W. MILLER.

Βίος Εὐστρατίου Ἀργέντη τοῦ Χίου Ἐθνομάρτυρος. By A. K. SAROU. Pp. 91. Athens: Pirsou, 1938.

Βίος Εὐστρατίου Ἀργέντη τοῦ Χίου Θεολόγου. By A. K. SAROU. Pp. 154. Athens: Pirsou, 1938.

The biographer, heiress of her father's historical gifts,<sup>1</sup> has added to her life of the Argenti, who was killed by the Turks at Constantinople in 1465, that of another Argenti, who was strangled with Rhigas and six others at Belgrade in 1798. Her biography, based upon the documents from the Viennese archives published by Legrand and Amantos and the considerable printed books about Rhigas, the last of which was reviewed here,<sup>2</sup> does not contain much specially concerning Argenti's previous career, except that he was born in Chios in 1767. Head of a Viennese firm with many branches and correspondents abroad, he was 'the right hand of Rhigas,' whom he had met in the Danubian principalities and whose books he published at his own expense. The conspirators met at his house in the Sonnenfelsgasse at Vienna in 1797. Arrested there as the person most responsible after Rhigas, he was handed over with him to the Pasha of Belgrade in exchange for Polish subjects of Austria and executed probably to prevent his release by

<sup>1</sup> *JHS* xlviii, 267; lvi, 122.

<sup>2</sup> *JHS* lviii, 129.



Pasvanaglou. His dying words, engraved on his medal, of which there is a reproduction with the hero's portrait now in London, were perhaps as mythical as Pitt's, but the seed which he 'sowed' was the Friendly Society, the forerunner of the War of Independence. Petrovich, his assistant, is sometimes called a 'Serb,' sometimes a 'Slovene.'

The elder Eustratios (1685-1756), like several compatriots, combined medicine with theology, and is described as 'the herald of the Eastern Church and opponent of all heterodox.' The bitterness left by the Venetian expedition of 1694 influenced his boyhood against the Latins, whose activities in Chios dated from the Genoese occupation; and, in the intervals of teaching at the Chiote school and reposing as a lay brother at the Monastery of Mountá, he thrice visited Egypt to combat the Catholic propaganda in Greek and Arabic—for he was a good linguist and had studied in Germany. As little is known about his life, this monograph is largely filled

with an account of Mountá, the 'dark' monastery, a Byzantine foundation restored in 1582, and depending directly on the Patriarch, and with a list and summaries of his writings, of which eight are unpublished, and five published, all being dogmatic theology, except a chronology and *The Condition of the Church of Alexandria in the Eighteenth Century*. That learned historian, the late Archbishop of Athens, Chrysostom, wrote a preface. Both monographs have full bibliographies.

W. MILLER.

#### CORRECTION

Owing to an oversight the following misprints were allowed to remain in the review of Sir Aurel Stein's *Archaeological Researches in North-western India and South-eastern Iran*, which was published in *JHS* lviii (1938), p. 102:—Hydapes for Hydaspes, Salalpur for Jalalpur, Hatil Rud for Halil-Rud, Fauuch for Fanuch, Khur ab for Khurab, and Hatmozeia for Harmozeia.









AL. MINA 15









AL MINA 86









AL. MINA 86









a.



b.









b.



a.









b.



a.

AL MINA 86









*a.* ATHENS



*b.* NEW YORK

MELIAN RELIEFS









b. OXFORD



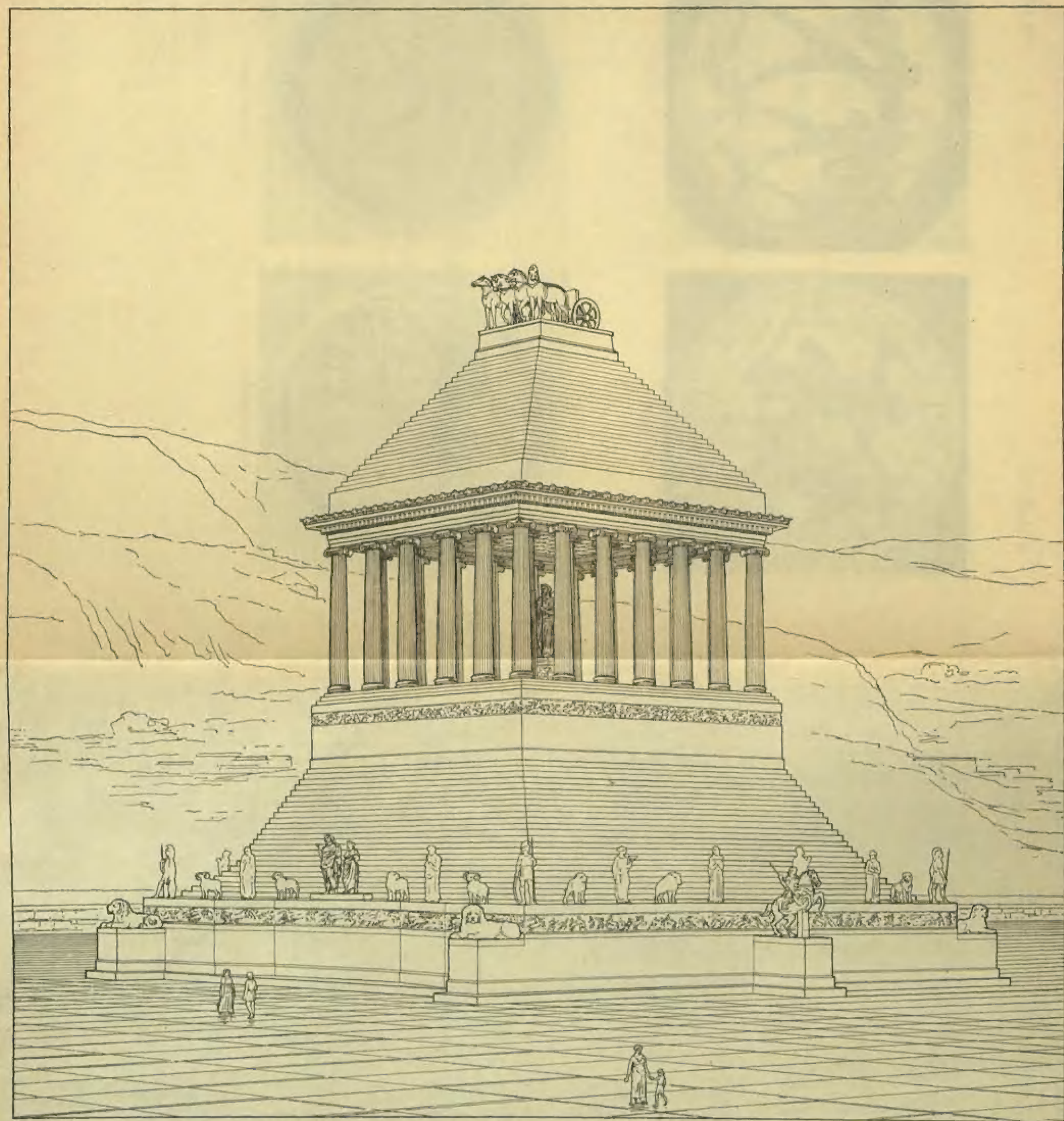
a. BERLIN

MELIAN RELIEFS









THE MAUSOLEUM









a. BERLIN inv. 3404.



b. WÜRZBURG 452.



c. BERLIN inv. 3917



d. BERLIN inv. 3724









a. MUNICH



b. FRANKFURT



c. SILVER CUP FROM DUVANLI







## ARCHAEOLOGY IN GREECE 1938-39

[PLATES XII-XIV]

THANKS are due to all those who have contributed towards this summary—in particular to Dr. Marinatos and other officials of the Greek Archaeological Department, and to various members of the American, French, German and Italian Schools of Archaeology at Athens. The material was collected by the Director of the British School, but other duties prevented him from writing it up.

The year was one of exceptional achievement, and held promise of more to come. The palace of Nestor at Pylos, the treasure at Delphi, the further finds at Olympia, Dendra and Mycenae, the ashlar beehive tomb at Isopata, the Mycenaean tomb on the slope of the Areopagos, and the exploration of Thermopylae are all discoveries of unusual interest and importance, and the further development of some of them would, in normal times, have been eagerly awaited.

### ATHENS AND ATTICA

*The Agora.*—The excavations of the American School under the direction of Dr. Shear were pursued on an extensive scale for the ninth year in succession. Apart from the few modern houses temporarily used as workrooms and for museum purposes, the whole of the area undertaken by the American School has now been cleared. These houses will be left standing until the new Agora Museum has been built.

A boundary-stone of Hymettan marble inscribed ὁρος κεραμεικοῦ was found in position in the north-west corner of a narrow area to the north of the Hephaisteion and the electric railway. It marks, therefore, the eastern or south-eastern limit of the Kerameikos. Another sixth-century boundary-stone of the Agora, similar to that discovered last year, was unearthed from a disturbed filling in the Hephaisteion, the inner foundations of which were thoroughly explored. The examination confirmed the approximate date of 450 B.C. for the beginning of the construction of the temple, and throws some light on its interior.

The most important discovery of the year was a large Mycenaean chamber tomb at the base of the northern slope of the Areopagus. The dromos, over 40 feet long, was cut through the soft bed-rock, and was perfectly preserved. The stone filling of the doorway was undisturbed. The tomb contained a single grave, which was found open and empty. It seems that after one burial the roof of the chamber collapsed, and that the tomb was then entered from above, and the body and contents of the grave removed. More than a hundred rosettes and leaves of thin gold were found to the north of the grave, and a bronze mirror, a small ivory pyxis, and some ivory pins at the side. Six vases and a large ivory pyxis were found in their original positions on a ledge which runs along the



east wall, on the opposite side from the tomb; and two large amphoras and a copper ladle were found on the floor east of the entrance. The whole of this side of the tomb was undisturbed. The vases (one shown in Fig. 1) are all remarkably fine specimens of LH III. The large ivory pyxis has already been reassembled (Pl. XIV, a). It is carved out of a single section of a tusk, and has a diameter of over 11 centimetres. The lid and sides are covered with vigorous reliefs representing a herd of deer attacked by



FIG. 1.—LH III AMPHORA FROM TOMB ON THE AREOPAGUS.

griffins. Illustrations of the finds from this tomb appeared in the *Illustrated London News* for 22nd July, 1939.

*Acropolis Slopes.*—Broneer carried out excavations on a small scale in the spring, on both sides of the area on the north slope excavated last year. The most interesting find was a group of over 200 small skyphoi of fourth-century type, arranged in a regular pattern on a ledge cut into the rock. The cups were placed upside down, and carefully aligned.

A section of the paved approach to the theatre of Dionysus on the

south-east slope was also cleared; but there is as yet no satisfactory evidence for its date.

In the autumn of 1938 W. Kolbe reopened the ground on the Acropolis at three points in the neighbourhood of the Parthenon, and also behind the small museum, with the object, mainly, of testing the theory advanced by Dörpfeld in 1902, and still upheld by him, that the Pelasgian wall remained the defence wall of the Acropolis down to the time of the construction of the Parthenon. The result of the excavation disproved the theory. It is clear that the Pelasgian wall was already in ruins when the retaining wall S2 was built, and that it neither served as a defence wall nor, at any point, as a base for the Parthenon foundations. As a result Kawerau's plan has been corrected in several respects (*AA* 1936, pp. 227-36).

*National Museum.*—In 1937 the Society of the Friends of the National Museum purchased and presented to the Museum a gold sword-hilt of Cretan workmanship, dating from about 1500 B.C. Not long afterwards a Mycenaean chamber tomb was accidentally discovered by peasants on the island of Skopelos, and excavated under the direction of the local archaeological authorities. The tomb had been pillaged, but some objects which had escaped the robbers were collected and transferred to the museum at Thebes. Among these was a whorl-shaped ornament in gold relief, which Dr. Marinatos, on a tour of inspection at Thebes, at once recognised as the pommel of the sword-hilt in question. The pommel was brought to Athens, and the identification confirmed. The edges make a perfect join, the decoration is similar, and finally a gold rivet which was attached to the hilt has its exact counterpart in another rivet found with the pommel. This find recalls the story told by Diodorus Siculus (v.79.2) of Staphylos, a chieftain of Crete whom Rhadamanthos established in Peparethos (Skopelos). This tomb is situated on a narrow neck of land connecting the main part of the island with a peninsula which, according to reports, is called Staphylos at the present day, although entirely devoid of vineyards.

The Society of Friends of the National Museum presented an Attic trefoil-mouthed olpe (Pl. XIII, *b*). The shape is found in Attic and Corinthian of the late seventh and early sixth centuries B.C., but normally with the decoration in a panel on one side. The general style of the vase puts it in the period of early Sophilos (Gorgon Painter), about 600 B.C., but certain features point back to the generation before—spirals from the upper border; profiles, particularly that of the principal figure. The latter is hard to interpret. The object carried in the left hand resembles a piece of the paraphernalia of sacrifice on the Pan Painter's Busiris pelike (Beazley, *Panmaler*, pl. 8, p. 124 note 17), and the pickaxe-like tool might be a sacrificial implement. In later times Nikai are shown sacrificing animals, and this may be a Nike on the way to such a ceremony.

For other news of the Museum, and for a full account of the reconstruction of the bastion and Temple of Nike on the Acropolis, now practically completed, I would refer readers to Lemerle's article in *BCH* lxii, 1938, pp. 443 ff.



*The Byzantine Museum.*—Among notable acquisitions this year are: an Early Christian gold ring with a sapphire intaglio showing two doves drinking out of a vase; a Byzantine gold ring with an enamel of the Pantokrator and inscriptions; three large portable icons signed by the seventeenth-century artist Elias Moschos and a fourth signed by Theodore Poulaki; also a number of unsigned icons.

*Hymettos.*—Blegen and R. S. Young dug for a total of seven days in March and July in the hollow on the ridge of Hymettos (*JHS* xliv, 1924, p. 255; *AJA* xxxviii, 1934, p. 10). Just above the hollow two small structures were found, one of which may be the altar of Zeus Ombrios mentioned by Pausanias (i, 32, 2). The remains of a small apsidal



FIG. 2.—CORNER OF FOURTH-CENTURY BUILDING AT ELEUSIS.

structure were found in the hollow itself, together with a large deposit of sherds, apparently votives from an adjacent shrine. The bulk of the pottery is Geometric, but it includes a quantity of Protogeometric and orientalising sherds and some late Roman lamps. There are more than seventy fragmentary inscriptions on sub-Geometric sherds.

*Sacred Way.*—Travlos has continued his investigation on either side of the Temple of Aphrodite, exposing the pavement of the Sacred Way at certain points where it has not been disturbed by the neighbouring torrent or the modern road. In general the pavement lies about 80 centimetres below the surface. At a distance of 1200 metres from the Temple a walled enclosure was found, containing fragments of sarcophagi, traces of burning



and a number of fourth-century vases. The burnt deposit is below the level of the Sacred Way.

*Eleusis.*—In October 1938 Kourouniotis, continuing his excavations, uncovered the foundations of a very large rectangular building, 62 × 42 metres, in front of the great propylaea. On all four sides the massive poros walls, resting on poros foundations, are preserved to a height of 1 metre. The masonry, apparently fourth century, is very fine (Fig. 2). The building is as yet unidentified.

*Eleutherae (Panactum).*—Orlandos and Stikas completed a plan of the fortress. The outside staircases to the battlements were uncovered, and a sixth gate found. A big rectangular building north of the guard-house was dug. It consists of four rooms opening off a central corridor, and was probably the captain's house. The construction is of fifth-century type, but finds show that it was used in Hellenistic times.

#### PELOPONNESE

*Corinth.*—The following has been kindly communicated by Parsons:

Broneer continued his exploration of the south stoa, chiefly at the western end, which had recently been freed of later accumulations. This end of the stoa proved to overlie the remains of a residential quarter of the fifth century B.C. In the colonnade was found an unusually fine burial dating from latest antiquity, furnished with a long iron sword, various bronze and silver ornaments, and a single coarse clay pot.

Weinberg examined a considerable mass of undisturbed ancient filling in the north *pteroia* of the Temple of Apollo, with interesting results. A fair quantity of ceramic evidence was recovered which points to a date around the third quarter of the sixth century B.C. for the construction of the temple (*Hesperia* viii, 1939, pp. 191-9). Of equal importance was the discovery, beneath the mass of working-chips from the building, of a number of fragments of wall-blocks and of terracotta roof-tiles from an earlier structure; this it may be presumed was the predecessor of the present Temple. The blocks are ashlar, of a fine-grained poros, and each is encircled by a pair of grooves for the lifting ropes. The tiles are extremely heavy and very archaic-looking; large combination rain- and cover-tiles and ridge-tiles have been identified. Many of the fragments of both blocks and tiles show traces of fire.

West of the Museum, Weinberg excavated a small area. A considerable depth of filling of the classical period was removed, and a mass of pottery, figurines, and lamps, chiefly of the early fifth century, was recovered. A well produced about 150 well-preserved vases ranging in date from the early sixth to the middle of the fifth century B.C.

More interesting was the discovery in the same area of bits of house walls and a circular hearth associated with pottery of the sub-Mycenaean and early Protogeometric period; this is the first certain evidence at Corinth of inhabitation at this time.

Below this again was a heavy deposit, apparently a made fill, dating from Early Helladic times. With the standard Early Helladic wares were



representatives of three wares usually classed as late Neolithic: grey monochrome, polychrome, and a ware decorated with *matt* paint. These earlier wares occurred in such abundance as to suggest continuity between the two periods. Some interesting terra-cotta figurines were found in the prehistoric deposit, including a seated female figure, and a large head with the features rendered in part plastically, in part with paint.

*Perachora*.—Excavations were carried out between 17th April and 6th May.

Work was chiefly directed to the preservation in good order of the buildings in the main part of the site; in particular, the Agora and the Hellenistic cistern were completely cleared of earth. Outlying parts of the site were also studied for the final report, and two of the best preserved of the houses of the town were dug. One was occupied in the late fifth century and the first half of the fourth. The other in its present form belongs to the fifth century, but was built over a roughly apsidal house of the sixth century. Its site was occupied, no doubt by private houses, as early as the early seventh century. Individual finds, as might be expected, were unimportant.

*Mycenae*.—An account of Prof. Wace's excavations appears elsewhere in this volume (pp. 210 ff.).

*Dendra*.—In the early summer Persson, finding himself unable, owing to the international situation, to resume the excavations at Mylasa in Asia Minor, begun last year, returned to Dendra, where he excavated five Mycenaean tombs. The first, described as of relatively late date, produced a fine collection of bronze knives, swords, and cups, from a small pit that had escaped plundering. The second tomb had been partly robbed. It had a side-chamber. A skeleton was found in the main chamber, with the remains of a wooden coffin. Another unique feature of this tomb was a Mycenaean bronze helmet found at the feet of the skeleton. The tomb contained also a stone seal, a dagger with gold mountings at the left elbow of the skeleton, other objects in bronze, and a series of fine vases. The third tomb had been thoroughly robbed, but the fourth, which was of great size (6.5 × 6 metres), had escaped pillage, the chamber wall at the end of the dromos being intact. The main chamber had, however, collapsed. It proved to be the tomb of a princess, the counterpart of the (male) royal tomb excavated by Persson in 1926, but apparently rather older. Persson dates this 'Queen's Tomb' tentatively to 1400 B.C. It contained many objects of rare value: a gold one-handled cup—a companion to the gold cup found in 1926; a large gold signet-ring, eight large gold rosettes, and a pair of heavy gold pendants; more than 200 gold necklace ornaments, more than 1000 glass paste beads, and 100 amber beads, apparently of Baltic amber: finely worked stone seals, one of which is two-sided, having, on one side, two couchant wild goats—a superb design—and on the other a lion seizing a goat.

The fifth tomb contained a fine collection of Late Helladic pottery. An account of these finds, with illustrations, appeared in the *Illustrated London News* for 19th August, 1939.

*Tiryns*.—K. Müller reinvestigated the bee-hive tomb on the west



side of Agios Elias. The sinking of trial pits disclosed the existence of a second tomb lower down the hill.

*Spetsai.*—Sotiriou continued his excavation of the remarkable basilica found last year on the site of 'Vrousti's mill.' It is an apsidal building divided internally by two colonnades, with a narthex covering the whole breadth and a court to the west paved with rough stones and corresponding to the aithria of big basilicas. A date in the second half of the fifth century, based on the architectural type and the form of the apse, is confirmed by architectural fragments found this year.

*Pylos.*—In their preliminary excavations Blegen and Kourouniotis obtained spectacular results. Of various possible sites, the hill of Ano Englianos was chosen, about 4 miles north of Pylos, and dominating the whole area. Remains were found of a large Late Mycenaean palace, at least  $65 \times 60$  metres, facing south-west to the bay, the outer walls of squared ashlar blocks, the inner of plastered rubble. Rooms and corridors have smooth floors of hard plaster, and there are fragments of frescoes from the walls, the best an arm holding a bow. Many walls near the centre of the building are preserved to the height of nearly a metre. Round stone column-bases have been found to west and east, and two large anta-blocks, probably of the megaron. Outside the main structure to the north is a row of column bases in purple stone. In the south quarter of the building was found a small room, round three sides of which ran a low clay shelf. On this and the floor were some 600 clay tablets, whole or in pieces, inscribed in a variation of the Minoan script named by Sir Arthur Evans 'Linear B.' They are of two main shapes, one rectangular, roughly rounded behind, flat on the inscribed surface; the other long and narrow, tapering to a rounded end. They are almost identical in appearance with the plaques found at Knossos, and, like them, are obviously of a documentary rather than a literary character. Few of them are legible at present, but as they dry it becomes possible to clean them. Their great importance lies in the fact that no others have come to light on the Greek mainland. A tholos tomb, excavated at Kato Englianos 1 mile south of the palace, had been thoroughly looted in Mycenaean times, and had partly fallen in. The dromos was hewn in hardpan and unwallled. The doorway had originally three lintels, one of which remains in position. The chamber was built of rough stones and contained one large and one small grave-pit. Besides fragments of human skeletons, were found parts of two young sheep and a bull. An account of these finds with illustrations appeared in the *Illustrated London News* for 3rd June, 1939.

*Olympia.*—In the Stadium a triangle was cleared, based on the south embankment, between the slanting line of the 1879 excavations on the west and the big cross-trench cut last year on the east. Several important conclusions were reached on the lay-out of the Stadium, particularly in its early form. About 60 miles east of the starting line came to light a stone foundation for a wooden tribune, no doubt the Kathedra of the Hellanodikai (Paus. vi 20, 8.10). It shows work of several periods, the earliest belonging to the third embankment (fourth century), when it was low and surrounded by a wooden fence. The holes for setting poles and planks are well



preserved. In Roman times the base was widened and heightened, and finally reconstructed with a bank of seats. Last year's hypothesis based on finds of armour, that trophies had stood on the first, archaic embankment, was confirmed: along its crest were found several post-holes in a slightly irregular arrangement. About half-way between the slanting line of the old excavations and the big cross-trench there is a shallow natural hollow in the ground, beginning a little south of the track and gradually widening to the south-west. When the first embankment was built (mid sixth century) the hollow was crossed by a seven-course wall in the line of the crest of the embankment, with a filling of stones to the north to keep unbroken the slope up from the track. With the second embankment (beginning of the fifth century) the part of the hollow south of the wall

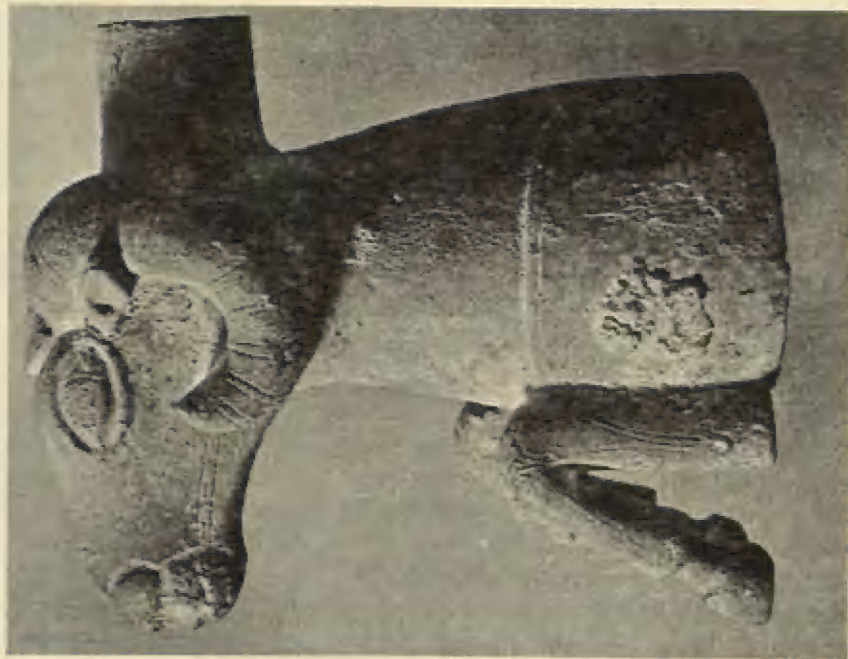


FIG. 3.—BRONZE END OF A CHARIOT-POLE FROM OLYMPIA.

was filled in too, and in this way a level run made of the whole length of the south slope, to correspond with the smooth banking to the north. On the surface of the first embankment, south of the crest, lay seven completely preserved shields, some with inscriptions, clearly belonging to trophies and carefully laid there. Several shield-devices were found, among them a flying bird and a dolphin, and a series of arm-straps, some perfectly preserved, with excellent reliefs, as well as some fine helmets. Armour apart, the earliest layers (the first and second embankments) produced few objects. The later, especially the fourth and fifth embankments, were much richer, as earth from all over the sanctuary was brought to make them. Outstanding among finds from the fourth embankment were remains of large figures in painted clay: an over half-life-size Zeus holding Gany-

mede, and the torso of a warrior with a chlamys—the latter late Archaic, the former from the time just before the sculptures of the Temple of Zeus. The head *Ol.* iii, pl. 7, 4 belongs to the Zeus, and so does a base found in the western embankment, which proves it to have been an acroterial figure, probably from one of the treasuries. The warrior, who may have belonged to a three-figure group, was probably also acroterial. The remains of the south foot of the south embankment in the ground behind the Echo Hall were explored. In the Mosaic Room was found a bothros containing three well-preserved cauldrons, a large Geometric bronze horse, cast solid, and a particularly fine, large, and well-preserved tripod-



FIG. 4.—BRONZE RELIEF PLAQUE FROM OLYMPIA.

leg; also helmets and fine reliefs from arm-straps. The excavations in the south Hall were completed, and further architectural fragments found. Under the hall were earlier remains, including an almost complete oven with a clay grate. At the lowest foundation level was a solid-cast bronze horse, 23 cms. high, of early classical date, the left trace-horse of a quadriga (cf. Paus. vi 16.6). In quality of casting and engraving, as in nobility of form, it is at least the equal of the horse in New York. A good early classical statuette of a thundering Zeus from the same site, and a small Archaic Laconian rider from the south embankment of the Stadium, were the best other small bronzes found this year. In all these excavations a mass of sherds of varying periods and styles came to light, which give important information on the hitherto almost unknown pottery of Olympia.



The extension of the western boundary of the excavations to the Kladeos threw no new light on the gymnasium, but a trench through the Byzantine walls in the southern half was rewarded with some finds of big sculpture, among them parts of the Dresden Zeus and of the Eleusinos (*Ol.* iii, 63.5). The palaestra is now completely excavated. A free-standing, four-pillared door of propylon type at the north-west corner is rather later than the main building, though still Hellenistic. West of the palaestra, Late Roman and Byzantine house- and wall-ruins were uncovered. A piece of hair from figure U of the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus was found, and a Roman portrait-head of a youth—a fine and well-preserved piece, close in style to many Antinous heads. In several places a preliminary arrangement of architectural fragments has been carried out: *e.g.*, the south Hall, the south building of the Bouleuterion, the Sicyonian Treasury, and the Nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus. We illustrate some of the bronzes found last year (Pl. XII and Figs. 3 and 4).

*Patras.*—In the Mycenaean cemetery, conjectured to belong to the prehistoric Antheia, Kyparisses opened four more tombs. Many LM vases of all shapes and sizes were found, besides a sword, spear-head, and knife-blades of bronze.

Stikas supervised the reconstruction of the skene of the Roman theatre.

*Sicyon.*—Orlandos continued his excavations. A double stoa came to light west of the Temple of Aphrodite, with two rows of houses behind it. South of the Temple were found a marble base with traces of bronze feet and a dedication to Mars by Sulla. The south wall of the Bouleuterion, previously excavated by Philadelphus, was uncovered again and shown to be constructed of stones used before. In a vineyard in the east part of the town was found a house of Greek date, in one room of which was a beautiful mosaic (Pl. XIII, *c*) made with white and dark blue pebbles. The date is the end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century. The mosaic has been removed to the Sicyon museum. An inscribed bronze tablet was also found.

#### EPIRUS

*Nicopolis.*—Sotiriou continued the excavations of the great basilica. In the narthex, which is of elaborate form and paved with mosaics, were found many architectural fragments, including Corinthian capitals taken from Roman buildings. More important is the abnormal layout of the aithrion with a mosaic-paved colonnade to north and south of the marble-paved open space, and a unique phiale occupying the eastern end (Fig. 5). This is a built water-tank with a brick floor, 12.0 × 1.50 metres and preserved to a height of 1.10 metre. On the floor of the open space was a row of marble basins, 1.0 metre in diameter, filled by metal pipes from the phiale, and no doubt used for washing hands and feet. There were also two large basins (2.80 × 1.10 metres), probably for healing baths.

#### CENTRAL GREECE

*Delphi.*—In a search for inscriptions, Amandry took up the paving-stones of certain sections of the Sacred Way, now thought to date from



early Byzantine times. At a point in the middle section of the Way, opposite the Athenian stoa, and on the traditional site of the original threshing floor, a deposit of gold and ivory ornaments was found, only 40 centimetres below the pavement level. The deposit consists of the remains of five chryselephantine statues, two of them not much under life-size. The parts recovered are heads and fragments of hands, in ivory, in varying degrees of preservation, the hair tresses of the two larger statues in pure gold, and a great number of gold relief ornaments, and of ivories, in relief and in the round, which adorned the statues themselves or their thrones. The design and workmanship throughout are exquisite—in particular may be mentioned small warrior reliefs in ivory, and various animals and fabulous monsters in gold relief. The date appears to be the beginning of the sixth century.



FIG. 5.—AITHRION OF THE GREAT BASILICA AT NICOPOLIS.

The deposit shows traces of burning. One would therefore normally be inclined to associate it with the destruction of the earliest stone temple of Apollo in or about 548 B.C. The deposit, however, contained also two fine bronze statuettes, one of a kore in a peplos, forming the stem of an incense cup, in the severe style, and the other of a pair of athletes in the Polycleitan manner. Of one athlete, only the feet remain; but the other is complete, and holds a *halter* in one hand and a *strigil* in the other. The presence of these statuettes in an otherwise early archaic deposit offers something of a problem. An account of this find with illustrations appeared in the *Illustrated London News* for 29th July, 1939.

*Thermopylae.*—Marinatos's excavations have thrown much light on the topography of the battle of 480 B.C. On the west side of the pass, Mt. Kallidromos ends in a comparatively low height running east and west.



Here the Phocaeen wall, repaired and used as a base by Leonidas, was excavated. It runs in a zig-zag along the hill, and is quite well preserved. At the west end is a rectangular tower separated from the wall by a narrow gate. Traces of this tower have always been visible, and it has been repeatedly excavated in the belief that it was the tomb of the three thousand. It is very likely that there was a similar tower at the east end, which is very much destroyed. Herodotus says the wall originally had gates, and two were found, one at least contemporary with the wall, but filled up with small stones. The original wall is of large, hard stones arranged in an archaic manner, something like Cyclopean. For later repairs a soft stone was used, formed from the deposits of the hot springs. Herodotus's story leaves no doubt that the hill to which the Greeks retreated after the death of Leonidas, and where they were killed to a man, is not the one on which stood the Phocaeen wall. A neighbouring hill (II on the older plans) was excavated. The crest had plainly undergone many changes, from the earliest times down to the Greco-Turkish war of 1897, but excavations on the sides were most illuminating. It was proved the site of a battle by quantities of bronze and iron missiles, all or almost all of fifth-century types, as is proved by comparison with pieces from Marathon and from stratified wells in the Agora of Athens. There can be no reasonable doubt that these missiles belong to the battle of 480 B.C., and they confirm Herodotus's statement that the Persians κατέχωσαν βάλλοντες the Greeks. It is also noteworthy that only one, probably Persian, spear-head was found, and one spear-butt, certainly Greek. A line of fortifications, embracing the east crest and extending down the sides in all directions, is Hellenistic, put up at various times, the eastern part in hewn poros blocks, the rest in unshaped hard stone. Remains of Roman and Byzantine houses are plentiful. The later fortunes of the site account for the disappearance of the memorials. Nobody after Herodotus mentions seeing the lion or the inscriptions set up over the corpses, nor have any traces of these been found. Herodotus says they were buried where they fell, but the peak of the hill was levelled for the fortification, and the remaining slope, the foot, is covered with a thick layer of soft stone, and the fifth-century strata are below water level.

*Thessalian Thebes (Nea Anchialos).*—Sotiriou completed the investigation of Basilica A by an exploration of its surroundings and the position it occupied in the Early Christian town. To the west was a large stoa, and east, north and south a strong enclosure wall. East and west lay main streets paved with large, rough stones, north the baths discovered last year, and south the main drain. Many fragments of architectural and decorative members were found.

#### MACEDONIA

*Kastoria.*—Draining operations in the lake revealed a large group of pile-dwellings east of Kastoria, near Dhoupiki (Dhispeleio), and between the island with the Church of the Ascension and the present edge of the water. About 500 poles have been counted in this area; some have been tested and found to be of cedar, which still grows on the hill of Dhoupiki.



A small dig produced charred poles and other evidence of burning; also pieces of obsidian, sherds of hand-made vases, polished stone implements, a bored axe and other things.

*Nestorion.*—On the acropolis are ruins, probably of the Roman period. A number of antiquities from the neighbourhood have been collected in the Demotic School, including a bronze seated Hermes and a bronze satyriskos-protome, probably from a piece of furniture.

*Salonica.*—Kalligas continued his excavations in St. Sophy. The north and south walls of an earlier building were found underneath. A layer of burned wood shows that it had a wooden roof. There are traces of frescoes. The masonry offers parallels to the original parts of St. George, and the building is therefore probably to be dated early in the fourth century. Remains of an apsidal chapel, probably early fourteenth century, were found under the north-east corner of the present building. Investigation of the tremendous foundations showed them to be 6.60 metres deep, and of the same thickness under the outer walls. The south cupola of the narthex was shown to be later than the north, and the theory that in its south-west corner there was formerly a staircase to the women's gallery was proved to be correct.

*Nea Pieria.*—Mylonas and Balalakis explored the Neolithic remains in this valley, digging on the hill of St. George near Akropotamo (Bobliane), and the Toumba of Polystylo in the plain of Philippi. On the former remains of Neolithic walls were of the slightest, but there was a rich accompaniment of sherds, the most interesting with curvilinear and spiral patterns in lustrous black on a red ground; these come from stemmed cups. They relate to Thessalian Neolithic excavated by Tsountas, and parallels to other Thessalian Neolithic wares were found in all strata. Undecorated and incised black ware was found, like that of Olynthus, Dhikeli-Tas, Thessaly, Phocis, and elsewhere. Stone axes were also found, like those from Thessaly and Olynthus, besides female terra-cotta idols of a known Thessalian type and two clay feet. Many animal bones were also found, some of which had served as pins, polishers, etc. The place was inhabited again in the fourth century B.C., and there is a cemetery of the same period on a neighbouring hill. The Toumba of Polystylo, 4 metres high, consists of the remains of successive ancient settlements. The upper half has been disturbed, and contains Roman and Byzantine as well as Neolithic sherds, but the lower is pure Neolithic. Black Neolithic sherds like those from north Mainland Greece were found, besides polychrome in the upper strata and iridescent monochrome. More uncommon are small triangular clay tripods with primitive decoration in chestnut-brown and incision. There were also found two Neolithic clay figurines, stone axes, bone implements, sling-stones, and spindle-whorls.

*Kavalla.*—Balalakis continued his excavations in the sanctuary of the Parthenos. More marble architectural members were found, belonging to the great ionic colonnade of the temple. Pottery fragments were found, of mixed dates in the upper strata, but in the lowest purely archaic: Laconian, Corinthian, Naucratic, North Ionic, and a preponderance of Attic black-figure; Attic red-figure is totally lacking. One of the b.f.



fragments bears a fragmentary signature of a son of Nearchos. There are also archaic terra-cottas. Among the later pottery are many Megarian bowls. A Cave of the Nymphs was investigated near Nea Heraklitsa. It is divided into three chambers, the second triangular, all filled with stalactites and stalagmites, one making a kind of massive pillar in the second chamber. Though crowded with stalactites and stalagmites, this room was evidently used for worship, as the floor is covered with a layer of ash and animal bones, shells, and sherds. The earliest sherds are from round, hand-made vases of the Neolithic period; there are also sixth-century and hellenistic sherds. Among them are Corinthian and Attic black- and red-figure, as well as Attic black-, one piece of which is inscribed with a dedication to Demeter or by Demetrios. Seated female terra-cottas of archaic type were also found. There are dedications to the Nymphs inscribed on a fragment of a skyphos and on a four-sided stone base. Another inscription suggests that ritual feasts took place in the cave, and further evidence of this is given by the numerous bones and sea-shells. A small dig took place in the ancient district of Biblia or Bibline, which stretched from Kalamitsa to Eleutherae, including the foot-hills of Mt. Symvolos. An inscription was found identifying the town of Oesyme, conjectured here by Collart.

#### AEGEAN ISLANDS

*Samothrace*.—Lehmann-Hartleben carried on his excavations. A rectangular hall was uncovered north of the Arsinoeion, of late archaic date, but on the site of an earlier building. It is perhaps the Anaktoron mentioned by St. Hippolytus. Sherds and fragments of an iron shield were found. An archaic hand holding a patera, found between the 'old' and 'new' temples, perhaps belonged to the cult statue of the former. In the town five early Christian graves were opened and a lead disc with a cryptogram was found. South of the old harbour an early Christian church was excavated, as well as a late Roman spring built of tufa blocks, taken from an earlier building. At a site where a hellenistic grave had already been discovered twelve more were opened and a large aryballos with incised decoration was found. Among single finds particular interest attaches to a life-size headless female figure of island marble. In spite of the poor surface it can be dated in the first half of the fifth century.

*Lemnos*.—Della Seta continued his excavations in the Sanctuary of the Cabiri at Chloi. On the slope of the hill in front of the stoa was found a terrace wall of late Roman or Byzantine date. The stoa was apparently already destroyed when this was built. The excavations in this area and west of the stoa produced fragments of statues of Hellenistic date and a number of inscriptions, one of which, still *in situ* in a small exedra, refers explicitly to the Cabiri. Among the pottery, especially that found near the big terrace wall of the stoa, were many Tyrrhenian fragments. The excavation of the big poros base in the same sanctuary has shown that it was constructed with materials from an earlier building. The discovery of architectural fragments in peperino, of the right size for the building,



show that the base supported a temple *in antis*, perhaps tetrastyle, to be dated in the third or second century B.C. A long inscription found in the immediate neighbourhood recalls the protection exercised over the sanctuary by the royal house of Macedon, especially Philip V. The excavation was extended to a Roman and Byzantine building, and produced many inscriptions from the fifth to the second century B.C.

*Chios*.—In October Miss Eccles resumed her trial excavation at Agio Gala, cutting two large sections in a cave above the one excavated in June. As had been hoped, Neolithic pottery and flints similar to those of the lower cave were here found clearly stratified beneath 3 metres of Bronze-Age material surmounted by Protogeometric, Naucratic, Hellenistic, and Roman wares. It is of interest that, whereas the Neolithic finds show connexions with Lemnos, Thessaly, and Macedonia, the Bronze-Age material has many affinities in Anatolia.

#### CRETE.

*District of Chanea*.—At Polyrrhenia two walls were discovered running from east to west for at least 60.0 metres at a distance of 7.0 metres apart. Only the northern is preserved above the foundations. At the west end of the southern is a return to the north. They appear to belong to the end of the fourth century B.C., and are variously interpreted as a stoa or a colossal altar. At Kastellios a headless marble statuette of fourth-century type was found, and at Hyrtakina a small headless marble statue of Pan of the third or second century B.C. In Chanea a grave was opened containing late Mycenaean vases, bronze mirrors, swords and knives, and beads of crystal and vitreous paste. Outside Chanea were found two empty poros sarcophagi, probably of Hellenistic date.

*District of Rhethymnos*.—At Pege was found a clay sarcophagus containing Late Mycenaean vases. At Agia Galene a fisherman brought up a bronze statuette of Nike, belonging to the bronze find of a few years ago. This find, which was taken to Athens to be cleaned, is now back in the Rhethymnos museum.

*Agia Triadha and Phaistos*.—Dr. Luisa Banti excavated at Agia Triadha. The most important find was a floor in painted plaster—the only one yet found in Crete. It shows a sea scene: three dolphins and a group of small fish are preserved complete, and there are remains of a big polyp and other fishes. Remnants of the wall decoration were also found—wavy red and blue lines in imitation of veined marble. The date is LM Ia. In the palace of Phaistos a large number of well-preserved MM vases and fragments was found.

*Knossos*.—The following report of Hutchinson's excavation of a new tholos tomb on the crest of Kephala south of Isopata must be considered as provisional, since the material has not yet been properly studied.

The tomb had unfortunately been plundered of its original contents in ancient times, but it was possible to recover some débris from the earlier burials and a great many bones and sherds of the latest Minoan period, when the tholos seems to have been used as an ossuary. From the earlier



burials come a bronze knife, a stud and rosette of gold, an ivory fragment, a piece of a stone mould, and a few beads; from the latest period several complete, or nearly complete, vases.

The tomb itself, however, is a highly interesting and important monument, the first Minoan tomb that is closely comparable to the tholoi of the Helladic mainland. It can be divided into dromos, fore-hall and tholos. The dimensions are small compared with those of the Helladic tholoi; the diameter of the tholos is little over  $5\frac{1}{2}$  metres and the width of the fore-hall and dromos only 1 metre. The fore-hall corresponds to the 'doorway' of the mainland tholoi, but the term is used deliberately, because the presence of a narrow side chamber, to the north and south of the 'fore-hall,' recalls the arrangement in the Royal Tomb at Isopata. Here, however, the fore-hall was too narrow to need a corbelled vault, and was roofed with trapezoidal slabs set on edge so that the smallest sides of the slabs were set south and north alternately.

The walling of the dromos did not bond with that of the fore-hall, and since the former contained re-used gypsum blocks or fragments of blocks (whereas no gypsum was used in the tholos or fore-hall), it seems probable that the dromos was originally unwallled.

A blocking wall of enormous uncut stones still closed the entrance to the dromos. The entrance to the tholos was also blocked, but the upper part of the blocking contained not only sherds, but also human bones, and was probably accidental.

One stone in the south wall of the fore-hall and another fallen from the tholos roof bore the 'trident' as a mason's mark. More interesting was an incised inscription on the south jamb of the entrance into the tholos, consisting of two Minoan letters set *en échelon*. The first of the letters resembles Linear Script B forms, rather than those of Linear Script A.

The tholos contained four pits, of which three were deep and rectangular and had been closed by stone slabs, but the fourth was shallow and shaped like a bath.

The masonry was good ashlar work in limestone. The stones were uneven in size, and no great attention was paid to the evenness of the courses, but the unbroken curve of the dome was very carefully preserved, so carefully that even the inner face of the jambs of the door were cut to fit the curve.

It would be rash to date the tomb too exactly, before the material has been studied, but it seems probable that it was constructed in the times of the later Palace of Minos and continued in use until the very end of the Minoan period.

A tomb, found by workmen cutting a road from Agios Ioannes to Mesa Angelias, between Herakleion and Knossos, was excavated by Hutchinson. It was a round chamber, cut in the soft rock without roof or dromos, and contained fifty-nine Protogeometric vases and evidence of several cremation burials. Small finds included a bronze belt and ring, two iron spear-heads, and three clay beads. The finest vase is a stemmed crater with goats'-head handles and some large birds among more normal elements of Protogeometric decoration. Four more tombs were opened in the same bank by



Dunbabin. These also contained Protogeometric pottery, and small finds, including two gold and two silver rings, bronze pins and rings, iron spear-heads, clay beads, and a piece of crystal.

Most of the antiquities from the Villa Ariadne have been transferred to the Candia Museum.

*Amnisos*.—Marinatos continued his excavations. The great Minoan poros wall was further excavated, to a length of 44.0 metres in all; this part is different in construction from the south extension, and has flights of steps at intervals. The excavation proves that the wall is all of Minoan date, although the purpose of the building is not yet clear. Marinatos conjectures that the north part of the wall belongs to the MM period, the south extension to the end of LM. Partly founded on this wall, but diverging very slightly from it in places, was an early Hellenistic or perhaps fourth-century wall, of which only the lowest course is preserved. Like the earlier wall, it runs a long way with no angle, and its purpose is obscure. It is possible that we have here a case of a continuous religious tradition. Evidence of religious use is provided by a large altar in front of the wall, its centre opposite the north flight of steps. Some small walls within this area seem to have been designed to hold in the refuse of sacrifices, since they were hidden in a layer of ash full of bones and other objects, including fragments of bronze tripods, a headless figurine of a naked woman, a clay bird, half a double axe, a miniature shield with a lion-protome, and in places Geometric sherds and complete miniature vases, fragments of gold, faience and paste, and under the west edge of the altar a mass of Hellenistic lekythoi. Over this part of the site is a layer of sand, and above that are remains of houses of the Roman period in excellent preservation, containing lamps, vases, bronzes, etc. By the Hellenistic wall was found a small sacrificial trench, full of little bits of burned bone belonging to sucking kids or lambs, and small one-handled cups and sherds. A trial pit sunk to the natural rock showed it to have been levelled and channelled. MM sherds were found in the channels. An inscription proves the deity worshipped here to have been Zeus Thenatas, called from the town of Thenae. The connexion of Thenae and the Omphalian plain with Zeus is witnessed by Stephanus of Byzantium, Diodorus Siculus, and Callimachus, who records that the plain gets its name because it was here that the infant god shed his navel-cord. It is interesting that this example of a religious cult running from Minoan to Roman times should be connected with the Cretan Zeus.

*Karphi*.—Pendlebury continued his excavations. A group of seven tholoi was excavated south of the spring Vitzelovrysis and two to the north, of usual type, wholly or partly free-standing. Important finds included fragments of iron, including part of a bow-fibula, and a duck-vase bordering on the Geometric period. In one tomb were many animal bones, including those of a cow, a horse, a deer, and a sheep—perhaps provision for the dead in the Egyptian manner. The spring was found to be the source for the ancient city; banking walls and the rough vault of the channel were found, and a series of square, stone-lined cisterns below the path which probably follows the line of the ancient road. On a knoll above the spring were found sherds, terracottas, and a fine pin of archaic date, suggesting a



shrine, though no trace of building remains. In the city the hill of Karphi proper was completely cleared, and a single line of building excavated along the side of the cliff to connect that quarter with the structure already partly cleared on the top of Mikre Koprana. The walls are preserved to a considerable height, and the general effect is extraordinarily like the modern Tzermiadha. The streets had widely spread steps and plinths at the sides. In plan the houses are closer to the 'Megaron' than to the Minoan type, although one is entered on the long side in the Minoan way. A bread-oven was found, the lower part of stone, the upper a dome of clay over wood—a form found to-day. Besides the built houses were some shelters made by walling up interstices in the rock. Objects other than clay vases and terra-cottas were few—some fragments of iron and bronze, a magnificent decorated adze, some stone vases of earlier date, a stone spool with a rough inscription, and a fine jasper seal-stone with a lion. Among the terracottas were three more goddesses, a horse, and an ox-head like that from Patsos. From the interstices of the rocks near the summit came many human and animal figurines, like the MM I from Petsofa and Iuktas, but all found with Intermediate (Sub-Minoan-Protogeometric) pottery. The painted decoration of the pottery also shows a bewildering mixture; one straight-sided pyxis has on the body birds, double axes and horns of consecration in Minoan style, on the lid compass-drawn concentric circles clearly contemporary with Protogeometric pottery elsewhere.

A large Mycenaean tholos tomb, of Cyclopean masonry, was discovered by peasants at Achladia near Siteia in East Crete. It is in good preservation. It contained three pithoi, one of which has a lid in the form of a bull's back, with head and tail. The pithoi had been rifled. The floor was undisturbed, and on it were found some Sub-Mycenean pots and a stone lamp.

#### CYPRUS

*Khirokitia*.—Two areas of the Neolithic settlement were investigated by Dikaios, (a) The area east of the last years excavations,<sup>1</sup> (b) the area west of the topmost part of the same excavations, and especially the neighbourhood of the tower, which, as said in last year's Report, interrupted the long, straight wall, which runs through the settlement.

It was known from previous trial trenches that the first area contained several superimposed layers, each distinguished by small circular huts which differ in size and structure from the large houses disclosed last year. The object, therefore, of the work undertaken in this part of the settlement was to study these superimposed layers in all their details, structural, and others. The results were very satisfactory, as three, four, or even five layers were laid bare. Architecturally there is no change in the different layers, the circular hut being the main feature, but different structural details will be of great value for the study of the method of constructing the superstructures of the circular huts. Moreover, by comparing these small huts to the large houses uncovered in the settlement, it may be possible to interpret the use and meaning of the latter.

<sup>1</sup> *JHS* lviii, 237 ff.



The second area investigated this year proved to be of outstanding importance. It was first found that the "Tower" mentioned above was built on an early wall of tremendous dimensions, which is in the line of the long, straight wall, running through the settlement. In a circular hollow formed in that wall were found traces of fire, consisting of great quantities of charcoal. This early thick wall extends outside the tower, and continues its course over the shoulder, which joins the Khirokitia hill with the other hills on the west.

On the west of the tower were discovered two important circular constructions. The upper was the most important of the two. It was built against the lower part of the straight wall at an early period, and lasted up to the end of the settlement. Architecturally this house is most important, as a good part of its superstructure, which was domed, was preserved. Three distinct periods were observed in this house, each distinguished by special floors.

But the most important evidence given by it concerned the custom of infant sacrifice. More than twenty-six children, all of them less than one year old, were found buried in the different floors, either near skeletons of adult people or upon them. Four skeletons of adult people were found, three of which only represented regular burials, while the fourth was simply a group of bones. On the lowest floor a kind of throne built of stones and three circular pits containing charcoal or ashes were found. Of the finds the most remarkable was a clay head of a human figure, with what appear to be snakes in relief on the back and sides. This is of exceptional interest, as we know from the Vounous Model of a sacred enclosure<sup>2</sup> that the snake was the attribute of the Chthonian deity, of whom we possibly have here a very early representation.

The exceptional character of this house is also shown by the special enclosure walls built round it, and especially on the south, where a thick wall was built on the foundations of a neighbouring house, thus rendered out of use.

The anthropological material has been greatly enriched, and it is hoped that many skulls will be reconstructed for a complete anthropological study.

Trials carried out in the north slopes of the hill revealed that the settlement extends there as well.

In conclusion, the excavations at Khirokitia have enriched our knowledge (*a*) by stratigraphical evidence concerning architecture and other aspects of culture, and (*b*) by the discovery of an important group of structures on the north-western part of the hill, the meaning of which is undoubtedly connected with religious beliefs. Of special importance is the custom of infant sacrifice, which have a remarkable analogy in Gezer.<sup>3</sup>

A trial excavation in two parts of the Neolithic settlement of Kalavassos,<sup>4</sup> not far from Khirokitia, has revealed two different cultures: (*a*) with pottery of the same kind as that found at Khirokitia, *i.e.*, reserved slip ware of very fine workmanship, (*b*) with pottery of the types found at Erimi.

<sup>2</sup> *Syria*, 1932, xiii, 345 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Macalister, *Excavations at Gezer* ii, 381 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*, 1936, i, 78.



In both sites the small trials revealed cave-dwellings, in which the pottery and other finds were found in a perfectly stratigraphical sequence. Further investigations in these sites will certainly throw abundant light on the cultures of the Fourth Millennium.

*Karamallos (Apliki). Bronze Age Miners' Settlement.*—An important discovery was made during last year, when the Cyprus Mines Corporation reported the find of some large jars *in situ*, near one of their workings at Apliki.

These proved to be of the Late Bronze Age, and excavations undertaken in the autumn through the kindness of the Cyprus Mines Corporation, and again in May 1939 with their financial assistance, uncovered a portion of a Bronze Age village.

The excavations were directed by Miss Joan Du Plat Taylor, assistant Curator of the Cyprus Museum.

The first site explored was that of a small house, partially excavated in the rock slopes; some eight rooms were uncovered, three of which had been destroyed by fire. In them pottery, burnt corn, and a few stone tools were found *in situ*, together with several clay pipes, which may have been used for small furnaces. In the secondary earth floor a large quantity of copper slag was found, indicating that the inhabitants were acquainted with methods of smelting.

A trial trench showed that the village was built in a series of rock-cut terraces: in the lowest of these a rubbish pit was found, containing imported Mycenaean pottery, together with some Cypriot wares of Late Cypriote II (1400–1225 B.C.).

This pottery, taken in conjunction with that found in the first house, indicates that the settlement was in use from the end of Late Cypriote II to the beginning of Late Cypriote IIIb.

The objects in the house show that the occupants were certainly miners, and smelters of ore, but no indications remain, on those parts of the site explored, to explain in what manner they obtained their copper. Traces of ancient shafts, and dumps, were noted on the surface, and in exploratory trenches of the C.M.C., and in one part of the site a large open cast for siliceous rock destroyed a part of the Bronze Age village. These workings may be connected with the extensive Roman mine in the neighbouring hills; but, on the other hand, a trial trench in one of the dumps produced only Bronze Age pottery. Roman pottery is only sporadically found on the surface of the site.

*Curium.*—At the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates the season's work was centred on the five-chambered south building, which, fronted by a long stoa, faced the two temples across a paved area. Here part of the stoa colonnade was set up, and the north wall of the main building, which had fallen forward on to the floor of the stoa, was partly reinstated. This work brought to light a very important inscription of the reign of Trajan which had been set up on the back wall of the stoa. Both this and another inscription found in the same area give the names of pro-consuls in the time of Trajan, and mention the second epithet of Apollo, the existence of which was inferred when the New York inscribed pithos fragment was supple-



mented by a sherd found in the 1935 excavations.<sup>5</sup> The new epithet is 'Kaisaros.'

The building lying to the west of the main Temple and adjoining the Propylaeum was further examined, and the paved street leading to the smaller temple was partly cleared.

During the spring of 1939 the Stadium, which lies to the east of the Apollo Sanctuary, and between it and the Acropolis, was investigated for the first time. A transverse trench laid bare the outside walls standing to a height of four courses, but scant traces of seating; and the clearing of the interior of the sphendone revealed an entrance passage, an unusual feature at this point.

*Bamboula (Curium).*—This report was kindly supplied by Mr. J. F. Daniel. In the settlement the western area begun in 1938 was completed. The chief discovery here was a large underground cellar, with short tunnels cut into the rock. It was apparently entered by a ladder. Masses of pottery were found here, including two large false-necked jars in a degenerate 'Palace Style' similar to those found by Blegen in Troy VI. There were, also, fragments of LH III and local figurines.

Another large area was opened on the north slope. Lying between the main cemetery and another smaller cemetery within the town, traces were found of a large and doubtless important house of the fifteenth and early fourteenth centuries B.C. Over this was another house of similar extent, but different orientation, of the late fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.

The latest floor deposits, which show signs of burning, are of the early LC III period.

The large well at the top of the hill is now completely cleared, abundant water being found in it. It is 1.82 metres square on the inside, built of rough-hewn limestone blocks to a depth of about 10 metres from the surface. Below that it is cut through solid rock to a total depth of 20 metres. The well is shown by the sherds in the foundation trench to have been built in the fourteenth century B.C. The deposit within the well lasts from Sub-Mycenaean to Archaic times.

A number of tombs were excavated, including six unplundered ones. Among the finds in these were a fine LH III krater decorated with birds in panels, other LH III and Near Eastern pottery, and an exceptionally fine collection of Cypriote pottery of the LC I-II periods. There were numerous small finds of gold, ivory, bronze, and stones. The finest are a beautiful seal of clear crystal and a cylinder seal of steatite covered with gold leaf.

The British Museum's tombs 102 and 53 were reopened, and six gold ear-rings in the shape of calves' heads, several complete pots, and thirty-five new fragments of the 'Window Krater,' Br. Mus. C. 531, were found.

MARTIN ROBERTSON.

*British Museum.*

<sup>5</sup> *Metropolitan Museum Bulletin*, xxxiii, 81.



## MYCENAE, 1939

[PLATES XIII-XIV]

THE excavations were directed mainly to four points: the ruins of the Greek temple on the summit and a large Mycenaean house on the east side of the acropolis, an area outside the Lion Gate, and the Treasury of Atreus.

The foundations of the Greek temple were cleared, surveyed, and studied in detail. As they survive to-day they are certainly of the Hellenistic period, and it is clear that neither the Hellenistic sanctuary, nor any earlier temple that preceded it, had a peristyle. Blocks from earlier structures had been built into the foundations, and all round a great variety of tiles from early archaic to Hellenistic times was found. Pottery found below the surface of the northern terrace of the temple area shows that a sanctuary had existed throughout 'Geometric' times, and the tiles and architectural fragments indicate that it was succeeded by an early archaic shrine. The temple, with the massive substructures that supported it on the north, lies south and north, and it is possible that it owes this abnormal orientation to the fact that it overlies the shrine of the Mycenaean palace, which faced south. It now seems that the early archaic sculpture in relief previously found did not belong to a temple, but, since it was all found in the southern part of the temple area, may have belonged to some structure, perhaps an altar, which stood before the south front of the sanctuary.

At the foot of the north terrace, which is over three metres high, a ledge on the brink of the steep rock was cleared. Here, on the very edge, is part of a thick wall, which, since it is connected with a deep MH deposit, is probably the remains of the earlier fortification wall of the acropolis which preceded the LH Cyclopean walls. Above the MH stratum were the ruins of two Mycenaean rooms, and in these was found a rich series of objects, which included fragments of stucco altars and terra-cotta figurines, and may have come from the Mycenaean shrine above. Foremost is a unique group carved in ivory, completely in the round, representing two sitting women with a child standing before them at its mother's knee (Pl. XIV, *b*). This group is the best Mycenaean ivory yet found, and in style, in preservation, and in artistic and archaeological value has no rival. Other notable pieces are the head of a statuette in painted plaster (Fig. 1), several gold ornaments, a cylinder seal perhaps Khurrian, and many beads in glass and faience, including a lantern bead.

The House of Columns, on a broad terrace on the east side of the citadel, which was excavated by Tsountas in 1895 but never published, was re-cleared and planned. The centre is occupied by a colonnaded court with a cement pavement. In the northern part is a megaron opening on to the court by a porch with two large column bases. The southern part was built above an extensive basement approached by a descending ramp. In one basement room was a series of pithoi, large and small, and in another the fragments of many large stirrup jars, two of which are inscribed.



The house is remarkably well built, with massive walls and thresholds of conglomerate, and is architecturally most interesting, as being the only large Mycenaean house not a palace yet found. It is probably contemporary with the large megaron and court at Tiryns, and was apparently inhabited right up to the burning of Mycenae in the twelfth century.

To the west of the Lion Gate, outside the Cyclopean walls and just north of the Grave Circle, the Granary, and adjoining buildings within the walls, an area which Tsountas had partly cleared was completely excavated. Here in a comparatively small space were found fifteen graves, ranging in date from MH to LH II. They lie in groups of five, four, or three, and several were graves of children. Some are cist graves of the usual MH type, others shallow rock-cut pits, and there is one definite shaft grave smaller



FIG. 1.—HEAD OF A STATUETTE IN PAINTED PLASTER, FROM MYCENAE.

than the Royal Graves found by Schliemann, but of the same form. In this were seven unbroken vases of late LH I style and five gold buttons. The discovery of these graves so near the Royal Shaft Graves and the shaft grave below the Granary shows that the prehistoric cemetery of Mycenae of MH and LH I-II times was cut through by the Cyclopean wall when the Lion Gate and adjoining walls were erected early in LH III.

Further excavation in this region should make still clearer the connexion between this part of the cemetery and that within the walls, the Grave Circle and the graves beneath the Granary and the houses (Ramp, Warrior Vase, and South Houses). This is of essential importance for the history of the Lion Gate and Grave Circle and Royal Shaft Graves themselves.

At the Treasury of Atreus the construction of the dromos walls was analysed in detail. They are constructed with an ashlar facing of large conglomerate blocks well bonded with a backing of undressed limestone set with yellow clay, and finally a solid support of crude brick of yellow clay



which would render the backs of the walls water-tight. The walls are built directly against the rock, and so the dromos can never have been any wider. At a point ten metres from the façade of the tomb on both the north and south sides of the dromos, in a hollow in the rock making a kind of large bothros, an enormous deposit of broken pottery, stucco fragments, terra-cotta figurines, animal bones, shells and other domestic refuse was found. The character of the pottery, much of which consists of cooking and similar domestic vessels and of the animal bones (mostly domestic animals), which are split for extraction of the marrow, indicates that this deposit is probably a dump of refuse thrown down the hill from houses above. Trial trenches in search of its origin revealed on the top of the ridge above the tomb the foundations of Mycenaean houses, apparently large and well equipped, and showed that an important residential quarter had once crowned the hill above the tomb. The bothros deposit was obviously cut through by the builders when they dug into the hillside to construct the tomb, and consequently runs under the north and south walls of the dromos. It thus without doubt antedates the tomb, and since the bulk of the pottery in the bothros is late LH II or early LH III (Pl. XIII, *a*), the Treasury of Atreus cannot be earlier than 1350 B.C. Above this bothros deposit runs a layer of chipped and powdered rock, which is obviously, since it also contains chips of conglomerate, the material hewn out by the builders of the tomb when they excavated the hillside for the dromos and the dome. This layer of powdered rock surrounds the foot of the dome and stops against a retaining wall which runs obliquely up the hill from the back of the dromos walls both north and south, from a point about ten metres from the façade. This retaining wall was apparently designed to hold up the mass of earth over the top of the dome to protect it and to weight it. At the foot of the retaining wall lay about fifty blocks of poros, tumbled down in disorder, as if the builders of the tomb had cleared them away and thrown them over the edge of the wall to get them out of the way as useless material. The poros blocks, from their shape and size, seem to have belonged to some monumental building, perhaps the wall of a large court or terrace, which was removed to make room for the Treasury. This material, poros, was popular at Mycenae in the fifteenth century, and its use preceded that of the hard conglomerate of which the tomb is built. A poros building would thus have been the natural predecessor of the conglomerate Treasury of Atreus built in the fourteenth century. Two poros blocks found at the foot of the wall which supports the terrace in front of the entrance to the dromos bear mason's marks in a form of the Minoan script, the first time that such marks have been found on the mainland.

The main results of this year's work, the determination of the date of the temple foundations, the study of the architecture of the House of Columns, the tracing of the prehistoric cemetery outside the Lion Gate, and the knowledge gained of the construction and date of the Treasury of Atreus are all factors of the first importance for the history and culture of Mycenae. Further work, however, remains to be done on all four points, and there are other areas at Mycenae which urgently demand investigation.

A. J. B. WACE.



## ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN SICILY AND MAGNA GRAECIA

IN my previous report (*JHS*, 1938, p. 247) I spoke of the work being carried on at Syracuse to bring to light the remains of the temple of Apollo. The east, north, and west sides had been freed by then, whilst the southern side was still hidden under seventeenth- and eighteenth-century houses, so that it had never been possible to dig trial trenches through their foundations to ascertain if any part of the temple was preserved there. The demolition of the houses and the excavation under the modern ground level beginning from the south-west angle have fully satisfied our hopes. Five columns of the southern flank of the peristasis have appeared, preserved to a height of over 2 metres, with the stylobate beneath them (Fig. 1): only the angle column had been destroyed during the building of the walls of the Spanish barracks. The cella is equally well preserved, and a third of its total length has already been liberated, although the work is in temporary suspense owing to unsettled disputes with the owners of the houses. The southern flank of the archaic Syracusan temple appears to be in much better condition than the others.

Important works have been carried out at Castello Eurialo. It is known that at various intervals during the last fifty years Paolo Orsi had dedicated part of his energies to exploring this imposing military building, without, however, having been able to complete his researches, owing to the scarcity of means at his disposal. Thus many problems remained obscure, and these have been formulated by Ing. Mauceri in his monograph on the castle, the second edition of which was published a few months ago. With a special State fund a very important piece of work has been initiated this year. Large quantities of fallen masonry and rubbish have been cleared away both inside and outside the keep, bringing to light the basement area of the five towers, which overlook the second moat, and their buttresses.

A lot of clearing has been started in the second enclosure of the keep, so that now one sees the positions of certain intermural passages, of some of the corner towers and, most particularly, of the large tower which rises near the entrance on the side of the city. In the same enclosure a large cistern has appeared in which the waters of the central part of the keep were collected through a special system of pipes. Large squared blocks of varying proportions and dimensions occupy the great cleared area. It would, however, be premature to advance any hypothesis on their purport in the complex architectural whole.

The *Soprintendenza* has also restored one of the ancient columns of the Olympieion, which had been struck by lightning. All the fallen bits have been put back in their place and are now held together by a metal fastening.



Prof. Cultrera has recently given a detailed account (*NS*, 1938, 7, 8, 9) of the excavation of an ancient bathing establishment, north of the Paradiso Latomia in Syracuse, and near the Grotticelle necropolis.

The casual discovery, during building, of a tomb with a red-figured column-crater of the fifth century used as a cinerary urn, had induced the *Soprintendenza* to make some tentative explorations in the necropolis, which Orsi, on the ground of previous discoveries, had dated to the fourth to third century B.C. The explorations, as far as the necropolis is concerned, were



FIG. 1.—REMAINS OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO, SYRACUSE.

almost completely negative, for all the tombs had been violated; but they led to the discovery of a singular building. The remains cover an area of  $35.30 \times 23$  metres, and the presence of a furnace, pipes, basins and of pavements in *cocciopesto* with noticeably different levels, leads the author to believe them to have belonged to a bathing establishment. He arrives at this conclusion—but not without reserve—on account of the presence of several pithoi, basins, and amphorae, which might have served for the transport of water, and also in view of the discovery of fictile baths



(Fig. 2), of which there are other examples at Serra Orlando, Selinunte, Agrigento, and Caulonia. The architectural fragments found (columns, cornices, a Doric capital, and a small lion-headed gargoyle) give weight to the author's supposition; others have thought that we might rather be in the presence of a tannery or dyeing establishment.

This edifice was certainly partly covered, as is attested by the fragments of tiles, *kalypteres*, and *opaia* (dormer windows in the roof); we have other examples of them at Pompeii, Caulonia, Gela, and at the Silaris Heraion.

The few objects recovered in the necropolis on which the edifice was built confirm Orsi's dating (fourth and third centuries), even though he had found a few other graves of the fifth and early fourth centuries.



FIG. 2.—TERRACOTTA BATH FROM SYRACUSE.

The edifice is therefore later, and its brief life must have been cut short during the occupation and partial destruction of the city at the hands of Marcellus (213, 212 B.C.).

At Selinunte, Prof. Cultrera continued his work of clearing the great temple area east of the Acropolis.

The excavation around temple E (*JHS*, 1938, p. 249) is finished. All the stylobate is now visible: many new drums of columns show traces of the original stucco, while on metopes and triglyphs one may see not only the stucco, but also traces of the colouring (red and blue). Other excavations have also been started round the peristasis of temple F, disclosing the remains of walls which, as is known, closed in the intercolumniations to a certain height.

Two courses of the walls formed with squared limestone blocks have been uncovered. The excavation extended to the whole area of the cella,



in which were found remains of the rubble filling; on the north side of the temple, which was completely buried, the stylobate was brought to light.

Ippolito Cafici, who with his brother can be considered one of the best scholars of prehistoric Sicily, has recently published a station at Marmo near Paternò, which he regards as neolithic. His study has all the accuracy needed for neolithic stratigraphy, so little known in Italy or elsewhere. The stone material is represented principally by narrow, elegant blades and a quantity of small polished pebbles, certainly imported, in view of the distance of the nearest river bed. These must have had a magic value, as many examples of European folklore would lead one to believe. Many discarded fragments, both of flint and obsidian, are a sign of local industries. The pottery is scarce and, except for one sherd, not decorated; its smooth, shiny surface is brown or red; and the reel-shaped handle is placed under the neck, as on other neolithic pottery. An isolated vase in the ware produced on the eastern side of the island is a heavy flagon with a thick, cylindrical handle. The decorated fragment belongs to the neck of a jug: the well-baked clay is tan coloured, covered with a slip and carefully polished, the neck being decorated all round by two brown lines above a tiny zigzag of the same colour: the author thinks he sees the remains of a floral decoration as well. This sherd is connected with Materano and Lipari pottery, and also with the wares of Paternò and Pula di Altamura. Bones of animals are very scarce; their absence, however, is the rule in all open settlements.

Near this station some tombs have also been found, consisting of rectangular-shaped graves, a little over 3 feet in depth, the long sides lined with two slabs. The skeletons were buried in separate graves, except in one instance where fifteen were found together. They lay with knees drawn up and head pointing to the north, on a floor covered with red ochre. The author lays much stress on this colouring, which was used for a ritual purpose and is never found in Siculan tombs, but only in pre-Siculan.

The necropolis station at Marmo has fewer archaic characteristics than the one of Stentinello, from which Orsi derived the name of this neolithic phase. Cafici's study is of particular interest, inasmuch as the field of Sicilian prehistoric archaeology is divided to-day between those who, following in the steps of Orsi, recognise the existence of a pre-Siculan civilisation, represented in the different neolithic stations of Stentinello, Matrensa, Megara-Hyblea, etc., and those who believe that, except for a few late palaeolithic stations, Sicily only began to be populated during the metal period and, with any degree of intensity, only during the Bronze Age. Prof. P. Mingazzini has taken up this point of view, illustrating in the first volume of the new *Paolo Orsi Society* the two Siculan tombs of Torre Bigini, of which I have already spoken (*JHS*, 1936, p. 217).

#### CALABRIA.

A short campaign of excavations was carried on last May in the area of Castellace, near Oppido Mamertina, where Paolo Orsi had indicated the existence of a large pre-Hellenic necropolis, and which has produced



a number of sporadic finds, among them some gold armlets now in the Museum of Reggio Calabria. These excavations, following the chance discoveries of last year (*JHS*, p. 250), led to the finding of prehistoric tombs and of a nucleus of Hellenistic ones.

According to the notes kindly sent me by Dr. Sestieri, who directed the campaign, the prehistoric necropolis shows the double rite of cremation, with big vases used as cinerary urns, and of inhumation with graves protected with slabs of soft stone. The excavator dates the necropolis from the Bronze to the Iron Age. It is most interesting to find in this southern region pre-Hellenic cremation graves which remind one at once of the Timmari necropolis in Lucania; but the campaign was too brief and the tombs found were too few for it to be possible to draw conclusions. We note, however, that in the prehistoric necropolis (Iron Age) of Torre Galli Orsi found amongst the tombs, intended for the most part for inhumation, a few cremation graves, which he thought due to Greek influence. We would not be surprised if here, too, the same phenomenon had occurred.

Amongst the most noteworthy material found in the necropolis are some bronze lance-heads of laurel-leaf shape, and fibulae, some of simple form and some in quadruple spirals; also bronze armlets and very rarely torques.

The material of the Hellenistic tombs is not of any special interest; it is probable that this necropolis continued to be used during the Roman period, as various Roman coins of the republican and of the imperial epoch were found in the same area.

Some fictile daedalic busts and a terracotta statuette of xoanon type, found years ago by Orsi in the Locri Persephoneion and not yet published, have been recently illustrated by Dr. Sestieri (*Le Arti*, i, f. 5, p. 49). Specially interesting is the statuette, which perhaps reproduces the wooden xoanon of the cult (Fig. 3). She wears a polos and her face with its archaic features is framed in a mass of hair falling down in smooth, thick curls on the shoulders and breasts; the arms are bent forward at right angles; the body and drapery from the waist down are like a rigid cylinder, at the bottom of which the toes are visible as in the Hera of Samos.

In an article intended for the general public (*Vie d'Italia*, July 1939) E. Galli formerly *Soprintendente* of Calabria has published several ancient



FIG. 3.—TERRACOTTA STATUETTE FROM LOCRI.



small bronzes coming from Bruzio and Lucania which continue the series recently collected by Jansen. Some of them, like the little Bull of Lavinium and the Lar of Sybaris, had already been illustrated in the *Atti della Società Magna Graecia*. Two little archaic bronzes deserve special attention. The first is an ascos from Crotone in the shape of a siren, the handle in the form of a slender female figure dressed in a chiton, the left hand at the side, the right holding a garland of flowers to the breast. The second, from Metapontum, is a mirror-handle in the shape of a nude youth, tip-toe on an ivy leaf, with the arms held up to carry the disc. Both, and especially the first, are fine specimens of Greek—probably Italiote—industrial art. Of all the other later small bronzes, the best is a Heracles from Cariati (the ancient Parentum on the Ionian Sea), which Galli attributes, like the other bronzes, to indigenous art under Greek influence.

#### LUCANIA.

A brief but successful excavation has been recently directed by Dr. P. Sestieri in the Metapontine zone.

South of the old necropolis already known, and not far from the road which goes from the station to the temple of the Tavole Palatine, a



FIG. 4.—HYPOGEUM DISCOVERED NEAR METAPONTUM.

funeral hypogeum has been found, consisting of two rooms (Fig. 4). It is accurately constructed of large squared blocks of stone. The walls retain traces of stucco with coloured decoration, of which there remain red and green stripes. In one of the rooms was a funeral bed of stone, with details in relief; in the other room, at the foot of the wall, runs a





FIG. 5.—TERRACOTTA FIGURINES FROM THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO AT METAPONTUM.



shelf of white chalk: this must have been the vestibule of the sepulchre. The hypogeum, which is like many others of the Hellenistic age, especially those in adjacent Taranto, is the first monumental sepulchral edifice to be discovered at Metaponto.

In the area of the necropolis other tombs belonging to the end of the fourth and the beginning of the third centuries B.C. have been found, with sherds of Apulian and Lucanian painted pottery, as well as numerous Hellenistic vases without any sort of decoration whatever.

But the most important discoveries have been the ones made in the area of the Temple of Apollo Liceo (sixth century B.C.), which was cleared two years ago (*JHS*, p. 242), but in which no further researches had been made since Lacava's excavations of more than fifty years ago.

In one trench there were found, mixed with fragments of coloured architectural terracottas (already well known by the pieces preserved in Naples, Paris and Potenza), some small terracotta female figures of very archaic form and of the daedalic xoanon type, common throughout the whole Greek world at the end of the seventh and beginning of the sixth century (Fig. 5), and some statuettes of Kouroi, also in terracotta, of pure Ionic style (Fig. 6). Are these statuettes connected with the cult of the Temple (Apollo and Artemis)? It would be premature to say so. Certainly the archaic Ionic material is particularly important for the confirmation it affords for the statements of our literary sources regarding the Ionic elements present in the foundation of the cities in this territory. The Colophonian origin of the neighbouring Siris is known from Aristotle and Timaeus, with whom Strabo also seems to concur; and the very ancient connexion between Siris and Metapontum is historically an established fact. However that may be, the material found during this brief campaign, of which Dr. Sestieri has kindly sent photographs, is still too scanty to be taken into account in this discussion. But it makes one hope that more important excavations will be undertaken at the Temple of Apollo Liceo, which many years ago yielded such precious architectural material, and amongst it, apparently, some fragments of carved metopes (mentioned by Helbig, Petersen, and Lenormant), and pedimental sculptures (mentioned by De Luynes); but what became of them, one does not know. They would have represented the first and only archaic temple sculptures in Magna Graecia previous to the finding of the rich series of metopes of the Silaris Heraion.

#### APULIA.

The Director of the Bari Museum, Prof. M. Gervasi, has published a detailed report of the different explorations made from 1930 to 1938 round Cannae, to discover the Roman and Carthagian cemetery of those who fell in the battle (*Japigia*, 1938). The cemetery was located on the right of the river Ofanto south of the little ancient city; and the report describes several discoveries which throw light on the life of those regions from the prehistoric to the Byzantine period.

Of the well-shaped graves discovered on the left of the river, and of





FIG. 6.—TERRACOTTA FIGURINES FROM THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO, METAPONTUM.



their eneolithic material, identical with that in the upper station of Pulo di Molfetta, Prof. Rellini has already spoken in his book on ancient Italian painted pottery<sup>1</sup>: he has reproduced the finest specimens.

Here, too, we have the three categories of pottery which are found in all the stations of this area, especially in the Apulian region.

First of all there are very large coarse pithoi and hydriae with a rough surface, decorated with varied impressions in the unbaked clay, which



FIG. 7.—IRON AGE POTTERY FROM CANNAE.

cover the whole vase including the handles; secondly, beautiful and elegant black-surfaced pottery marked, after baking, with the point of a flint, the markings being filled-in afterwards with some white pigment; lastly, painted pottery of the so-called *Matera* style, among which some craters and an elegant round vessel, decorated with a pattern of alternate brown and outline triangles, are conspicuous.

<sup>1</sup> *La più antica ceramica dipinta in Italia.* Roma, 1934.



Not far from the prehistoric necropolis twenty-eight Byzantine graves were found, made of regularly squared limestone slabs covered with two or three well-joined blocks of tufa. The equipment is scanty (nine small fibulae, three pairs of bronze ear-rings, one silver pendant, two marbles of glass paste). As a result of this opportunity of research in the Ofanto area a menhir was recognised which had hitherto escaped the notice of the



FIG. 8.—MARBLE TORSO FROM LECCE.

students of these monuments. Twelve have already been discovered in the Salento district and thirteen in the province of Bari; this one of Cannae marks the northern limit of the distribution of these monuments in Apulia. In this area Bronze Age objects only were recovered, proving that Apulian menhirs belong to that age, whilst elsewhere they go back to eneolithic times. Urns with children's skeletons and equipment of the Iron Age were also found, and near the necropolis of the great battle, traces



of a pre-Hannibalic inhabited centre, to which might belong some small grotto-shaped tombs that yielded geometrical Daunian and black-surfaced pottery of the Gnathia style. Of special interest are the vases of the most pure Daunian geometrical bichrome, reproduced with a skyphos of another style in Fig. 7, and which date back at least to the fourth century B.C.

Prof. Quagliati's excavations at Egnathia, interrupted in 1912, have been taken up again by Dr. L. Bernabò Brea. A great part of the campaign was devoted to clearing away thorns, brambles and stones from the already known area which includes the two Christian Basilicas built one above the other, the republican area, part of the porticoed agora, the Trajanic road and two room-shaped tombs brought to light a long time ago.

In deepening and widening Quagliati's excavations under the republican constructions, a tomb of the Hellenistic age was discovered with pottery of Gnathia type, vases from the Egyptian centre of Hatra, and some very fine female statuettes in terracotta.

During the excavations of the Roman theatre and amphitheatre at Lecce some sculptures were found, amongst them a few copies of Greek originals. A headless torso (Fig. 8) is especially remarkable, and in its rhythm, poise, anatomy, and above all the characteristic relief of the shoulder muscles, it certainly betrays Lysippic influence; in spite of the loss of head, arms, and legs, and in spite of the rather weathered condition of the front of the statue, its derivation from the Agias of Delphi is immediately obvious. Another statue is a new copy (Fig. 9) of the Wounded Amazon which Polycleitus made for the Ephesian Artemisium. Although it is headless and armless, the stumps show the arms to have been in the same position as those of the famous Berlin copy; the lower part of the legs is also missing; the drapery is well preserved. The photographs of the two fragments have kindly been sent by the Director of the Lecce Museum, Mr. Bernardini.

#### CAMPANIA.

Last August a methodical research campaign was carried out by A. C. Blanc between the Palinuro Port and Torre Muzza (south of the Infreschi bay in the most southern part of Campania) along a coast-line of more than 20 km. Its purpose was to explore a number of grottoes. Sixty-two were explored in order to find prehistoric settlements. The greater part of these had been washed away by the sea when its level rose after the Glacial period; but five grottoes have given us abundant remains of palaeolithic industries: weapons and gear of chipped flint-stones and fossil remains of repasts. Bones, teeth of animals and fragments of coal and wood were found stratified in the hearths. During this campaign there were found at Cape Palinurus—territory belonging to the Phocæan city of Velia—some tombs with archaic Greek material, which, however, is fragmentary and has not yet been unpacked for examination.

The excavation begun last year at Paestum (*JHS*, 1937, p. 246), around the so-called Temple of Ceres, has given us more precious painted fictile architectural elements, belonging to a small archaic edifice south of



the Temple, which will soon be published by Prof. Maiuri. New votive statuettes have also been found, amongst which special interest attaches to the following: a rough terracotta male head, with large eyes, prominent chin, smooth scalp and a projection running all round the low forehead and the back of the head—a type singularly reminiscent of some Canopi of Chiusi; a statuette of solid terracotta of the oriental Astarte type;



FIG. 9.—MARBLE COPY OF THE POLYCLEITAN WOUNDED AMAZON, FROM LECCE.

and, lastly, a wonderfully well-preserved treasure of twenty-two Poseidonian silver staters and half staters with incuse reverses.

The continual rain greatly hindered the spring campaign at the Silaris Heraion. Notwithstanding this, during the digging east of the fourth-century edifice, near the Stoa, we found a quantity of fragments, mostly of black-figured vases, amongst them the neck, about 49 cm. in diameter, of an enormous crater. Under the rim, decorated with a meander pattern,





FIG. 10.—FRAGMENTS OF THE NECK OF A BLACK-FIGURED VOLUTE CRATER FROM THE SILARIS HERAION.



FIG. 11.—FRAGMENTS OF A RED-FIGURED VASE FROM THE SILARIS HERAION.



the figured scenes are developed in two superposed zones (Fig. 10). We also found an Attic vase with a scene of sacrifice in a very accurate technique which we believe should be attributed to the transition period, and which recalls Andocides.

Amongst the fragments of red-figured pottery specially interesting is



FIG. 12.—INDIAN STATUETTE CARVED IN IVORY, FOUND AT POMPEII.

one belonging to a big vase of severe style. A restored fragment gives us the remains of a male figure, his long, bearded head thrown back in an almost ecstatic manner; his left hand touches the strings of a large octochord lyre, while with his right he grasps the plektron. In front of him we see an arm, the hand of which holds an oinochoe (Fig. 11).



Various other fragments represent a leg, drapery, and a youth's head. The figured scene is closed in by a pomegranate frame: the lower part of the vase is decorated with lotus flowers. The subject, the attitude of the lyre-player, the style and the technique show that the vase is of the workshop of Brygos, and the painting certainly belongs to the Brygos painter.

Although it does not refer to a centre belonging to Magna Graecia, I want to mention the list made by Adriani (*NS*, 1938, 4, 5, 6) of the 104 fragments of sculpture found in the excavations of Minturno, as some of them are of a special interest for students of Greek sculpture. I shall mention the most interesting ones; (No. 1), a Hermes Dionysophoros (0.975 metres) which represents a new type in the iconographical tradition; its original, according to the author, would be of the fifth century, perhaps of Cresilas or his school; (No. 2) a new headless copy (1.02 metres), with certain differences, of the Artemis of Versailles in the Louvre, which derives from an original of the fourth century B.C.; (No. 7) a left leg (1.07 metres) of a large nude male statue, a vigorous work of late Hellenism (second century). Carved on a thick trunk we find the names of two Athenian sculptors hitherto unknown, Callimachos and Gorgias;<sup>1</sup> (Nos. 30 and 31) two little heads, one a small replica of the Hope Hygeia, and the other a small and free replica of the Medici Aphrodite; (No. 54), a new headless copy (1.61 metres) of a statuary type of draped, standing female figure (perhaps Tyche), which must date from the fifth century B.C., and of which some known copies are at the Torlonia, Ny Carlsberg, Louvre, and Prado Museums. All these fragments are in white marble.

Lastly, I want to mention something which, though not in the field of Greek art, is important for the artistic, cultural, and religious relations of Italy with the East—the discovery (October 1938), in a house in Pompeii, of an Indian statuette carved in ivory (0.25 m. high), which has been illustrated by Prof. A. Maiuri (*Le Arti*, January 1939). It represents Laksmi, the goddess of love and fecundity, attended by two waiting-maids who hold a casket and some spiral-shaped ornaments (Fig. 12). The nude goddess is adorned with the most showy and complicated strings of necklaces and gems that Indian art has ever given us. The statuette belongs to the first decades of the Christian era, when Tiberius and Nero, having assured the transit of the Red Sea for commerce, started maritime relations with India by means of mercantile fleets defended by armed ones.

UMBERTO ZANOTTI-BIANCO.

<sup>1</sup> ΚΑΛΛΙΜΑΧΟΣ  
ΚΑΙ ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ  
ΟΙ ΜΑΛΛΙΟΥ (or ΜΑΜΙΟΥ)  
ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ  
ΕΠΙΟΙΟΥΝ



## THE SOURCES OF PLUTARCH'S *ALEXANDER*

AT the outset of the parallel lives of Alexander and Caesar, Plutarch warns his readers that what he offers them is biography, not history, and that consequently he will attend more to details which reveal character than to the great events. These he will either treat summarily or even omit entirely. Both the plan and the matter of the Life of Alexander are in harmony with this preface. The first ten chapters, which bring the story down to Alexander's accession, teem with anecdote and characterisation; then, after a rapid sketch of the wars in Illyria and Greece, the main narrative begins in ch. 15, with the crossing of the Hellespont. From thence to the end the biography is a historical sketch with digressions at intervals to illustrate various sides of Alexander's character. Thus the appointment of Aristotle as tutor to Alexander is followed by a disquisition on his attitude to learning and philosophy in general (7-8); the treatment of the captive women at Issus provokes a discussion (21, 5-23) on Alexander's continence, and subsequently on his temperance and habits of life. The journey to Siwah is followed by a general discussion of Alexander's views on his own deification (28), while the longest of such digressions, occasioned by the burning of the palace at Persepolis, deals with Alexander's generosity and his attention and loyalty to friends (39-42, 4). The common characteristics of these digressions are their disregard of chronology, their anecdotic content, and the prominence of the Letters of Alexander among the sources named in them; indeed, the only other sources appearing by name are Onesicritus (8, 2), Aristobulus (21, 9) and the official diaries (23, 4), each once.

What kind of sources would a professional biographer like Plutarch be expected to prefer for such a work as this? Clearly for the historical portions he would want a full history of Alexander—the fuller the better, as he would then, in epitomising, be able to select just those details which suited his biographical purposes. Besides this standard voluminous history, he would welcome any book which gave him that wealth of personal anecdote in which a history might be deficient. In addition, his memory or his common-place books would no doubt retain a considerable number of significant facts culled from earlier reading. What we should not expect from Plutarch is careful and constant comparison of authorities regarding those historical events to which he was comparatively indifferent.

To a reader setting out with these natural assumptions it comes as a shock to find that Plutarch cites by name no fewer than twenty-four authorities. The list is headed by those Letters of Alexander which form almost the sole source of the digressions illustrative of character: they are expressly cited in altogether more than thirty places. Next, *longo sed proximi intervallo*, come Aristobulus, Chares and Onesicritus, cited half-a-dozen times each; then Callisthenes quoted thrice, and Duris, Eratosthenes



and the *ephemerides*, or official diaries, twice each. There remain the following sixteen names, which appear once only: Anticlides, Antigeneas, Aristoxenus, Clitarchus, Dinon, Hecataeus of Eretria, Hegesias, Heraclides, Hermippus, Istrus, Philip of Chalcis and Philip the Chamberlain, Philo of Thebes, Polyclitus, Ptolemy and Sotion.

A few of these allusions, such as, perhaps, the biting comment that the jest of Hegesias about the burning of the temple of Ephesus was frigid enough to have put out the fire (3, 6), may well be recollections from earlier reading; but the great majority of these authors can never have been in Plutarch's hands. His citation of them must be derivative. Indeed, it can be made probable that in composing the Life Plutarch used only two books: the collection of Alexander's letters for the character-sketches, and for the main narrative a large *variorum* compilation on the history of Alexander, the same compilation of which Arrian's *Anabasis* is principally a judicious epitome.

The spuriousness of the collection of Alexander's letters which Athenaeus and Plutarch used has been demonstrated by Kaerst (*Philologus*, 1897, 406-12). There is no trace of them earlier than the time of Cicero (*de off.* 2, 48); no trace, that is, of a formal collection, like those other products of Hellenistic fabrication which constitute the *epistolographi Graeci*. The contents of separate genuine letters of Alexander had of course been known since the earliest historians, and formed the basis on which the forgery was erected. Such is the letter to Cleomenes in Egypt reported by Arrian (7, 23, 7-8), in which Alexander promises him pardon for all past and future offences if he will only institute the cult of Hephaestion on a grand scale throughout Egypt. But that such facts became known through court gossip and not from the published letters themselves is proved by another story of Arrian's (7, 1, 4-5), that Alexander had included in a letter to Olympias the conjecture that the Indus was really the upper Nile, but had deleted it when convinced of his mistake. The alternative is to suppose that this passage stood in square brackets in the collected letters, with a footnote to state that it was found deleted in the author's MS.

When the spurious letters came into Plutarch's hands, he was not only delighted with the flood of light which they threw on Alexander's character, but also—quite naturally—surprised to find so valuable and authentic an authority ignored by his other source or sources. The quiet *naïveté* with which again and again he takes credit to himself for making use of the letters for the first time is the best proof that he used them directly. When he comes to the battle of the Hydaspes, he deserts his main source and uses the letters, beginning (60, 1) τὰ δὲ πρὸς Πῶρον αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ὡς ἐπράχθη γέγραφε, and concluding (§ 11) ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ τῆς μάχης ποιητὴς αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς εἶρηκεν. After citing the authorities against the tale of Alexander encountering an Amazon (46, 3), Plutarch adds: καὶ μαρτυρεῖν αὐτοῖς ἔοικεν Ἀλέξανδρος· Ἀντιπάτρω γὰρ ἅπαντα γράφων ἀκριβῶς . . . Ἀμαζόνος οὐ μνημονεύει. The same tone is heard shortly after (47, 3) in the phrase ταῦτα σχεδὸν αὐτοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἐπιστολῇ γέγραπται. This self-consciousness in using the letters, the extraordinary frequency with which they are cited and the occurrence of the majority of these citations in just



those digressions on character which must be Plutarch's work, if anything is, suffice, when considered together, to prove direct use by Plutarch of the spurious Letters of Alexander.

We may now address ourselves to the consideration of Plutarch's second source.

For chronological reasons, the *Anabasis* of Arrian cannot have been used by Plutarch. Conversely Plutarch's Life of Alexander cannot have been used by Arrian, not only on account of the particular parallels to be quoted later, which only assumption of a common source can explain, but also because *a priori* a historian of Alexander would not glean his material in scraps from brief and derivative works like the biographies of Plutarch. Consequently, if Plutarch and Arrian be found repeatedly quoting the same variants of an event in the same order and in similar language, it will follow that both used the same source, and that in that source the various accounts were already collated. But if among the authorities thus 'potted' in the common source of Arrian and Plutarch there be found Aristobulus or Ptolemy or both, whether by name or not, then further conclusions may be drawn. For Arrian in his preface promises to base his narrative on the agreement of Aristobulus and Ptolemy, choosing the more credible version where they conflict, and adding other accounts ὡς λεγόμενα μόνον. It will follow therefore that Arrian's promise is to be interpreted as referring to the way in which he intends to use the *variorum* source, namely, selecting those accounts guaranteed by the names of Aristobulus and Ptolemy, and only occasionally availing himself of others.<sup>1</sup> Hence disagreement between Plutarch and Arrian need not imply difference of source, but only a different selection of the variants offered by one and the same source.

The coincidences between Arrian and Plutarch from which these three conclusions follow are in fact numerous and striking. The death of Alexander is related thus by Plutarch (75, 3-77, 5). First, without statement of source, comes the drinking-bout with Medius, followed by fever; then a rebuttal of the foolish tales of a sudden spasm or of the blasphemous drinking of a libation to Heracles (ταῦτά τινες φοντο δεῖν γράφειν, ὥσπερ δράματος μεγάλου τραγικὸν ἐξόδιον καὶ περιπαθὲς πλάσαντες); next, the brief account of Aristobulus (Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ φησιν), that the drinking of wine during fever brought on a frenzy which proved fatal on Daesius the 30th. Now follows a lengthy transcript from the official diaries, tracing the illness from its beginning on the 18th to its termination on the 28th of Daesius. The general exactitude of the transcript is emphasised by Plutarch at the end of the quotation: τούτων τὰ πλεῖστα κατὰ λέξιν ἐν ταῖς ἡμερίσιν οὕτως γέγραπται. Finally, introduced by the vague φασὶ and λέγουσιν, Plutarch mentions the rumours of poison, devised by Aristotle, sent by Antipater, conveyed in a receptacle of horn and administered by Iolas. He adds that most authorities (οἱ πλεῖστοι) reject these rumours. Now compare Arrian on the same event (7, 24, 4-27, 3). He first briefly records the potation with Medius, prefacing it by εἰσὶν οἱ ἀνέγραψαν, one of his regular

<sup>1</sup> The concluding remark of Arrian's preface, that when a critic has read all the extant histories of Alexander he will no longer wonder that the author

has increased their number, refers not to the thoroughness or originality of Arrian's research, but to the brevity and skill of his narrative.



formulae for denoting a source other than Ptolemy or Aristobulus. Then he quotes the official diaries at considerably greater length than Plutarch, with no divergence of fact, beginning καὶ αἱ βασιλικοὶ ἐφημερίδες ὥδε ἔχουσι and ending οὕτως ἐν ταῖς ἐφημερίσιν ταῖς βασιλείαις ἀναγέγραπται. Next comes the statement that Ptolemy and Aristobulus are in substantial agreement with the *ephemerides*: οὐ πόρρω δὲ τούτων οὔτε Ἀριστοβούλῳ οὔτε Πτολεμαίῳ ἀναγέγραπται. Then, after two apocryphal sayings of Alexander (οἱ δὲ καὶ τὰδε ἀνέγραψαν), which Plutarch omits, unless they have been lost with the loss of the concluding sentences of the Life, Arrian reports the story of the poison with the same details as Plutarch and mentions the alleged paroxysm of Alexander at Medius' drinking-party. He adds the foolish tale that Alexander was restrained by Roxane from drowning himself in the Euphrates, and concludes: ταῦτα ἐμοὶ ὥς μὴ ἀγνοεῖν δόξαιμι μᾶλλον ὅτι λεγόμενά ἐστι ἢ ὥς πιστὰ ἐς ἀφήγησιν ἀναγεγράφθω.

That these two passages derive in their entirety from a common source is obvious. The simple fact that Plutarch and Arrian, who quote the *ephemerides* only twice and once respectively, nevertheless both do so for the same event, is alone sufficient to demand that explanation. But the passages as a whole are as like as two pins, except that Plutarch has more neatly connected the paroxysm with the potation and specified rather more fully the version of Aristobulus, which, as Arrian claims, is substantially in agreement with the *ephemerides*. Especially striking is the anticipation by both writers of the potation with Medius, although it is mentioned immediately after in the extract from the diaries. That is not a thing which would happen twice independently.

After the battle of the Hydaspes, where Plutarch returns from the spurious letters to his narrative-source, there is an equally remarkable sequence common to both Plutarch and Arrian. The famous anecdote that Porus, when brought to Alexander as a prisoner, told him that he wished to be treated 'like a king' (βασιλικῶς), and that this request included all others, is followed immediately both in Plutarch (61) and in Arrian (5, 19, 4) by the death of Bucephalus and the foundation of Bucephalia. Plutarch reports that Bucephalus died οὐκ εὐθύς ἀλλ' ὕστερον, ὥς οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσιν, ὑπὸ τραυμάτων θεραπευόμενος, ὥς δ' Ὀνησίκριτος, διὰ γῆρας ὑπέρπονός γεγόμενος τριάκοντα γὰρ ἔτων ἀποθανεῖν αὐτόν. Arrian does not mention any of the divergent authorities by name, but alludes to them in verbal agreement with Plutarch, saying ἀπέθανεν οὐ βληθεὶς πρὸς οὐδενὸς ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ καμᾶτος τε καὶ ἡλικίας (ἦν γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη) καματηρὸς γεγόμενος. He has already previously (5, 14, 4) rejected on Ptolemy's authority the wounding of Bucephalus in the battle of the Hydaspes, mentioned by unnamed authorities (οἱ δὲ λέγουσι). Finally, rounding off the career of Bucephalus, Arrian adds the anecdote of how Alexander, when the horse was stolen by the Uxii, threatened to exterminate the tribe if it was not returned. This anecdote also is not wanting in Plutarch, but occurs in its chronological order (44, 3-5) between the conquests of Hyrcania and of Parthice. Here, then, is another far-reaching agreement between Plutarch and Arrian in sources and order which cannot be due to chance.

On the death of Callisthenes the two authors are again seen using a



source which already contained discrepant versions digested. Arrian (4, 14, 3-4) is surprised to find Aristobulus and Ptolemy divergent, the latter saying that Callisthenes was tortured and crucified (κρεμασθέντα ἀποθανεῖν), the former that he died naturally after being taken about with the army in irons (δεδεμένον ἐν πέδαις . . . νόσῳ τελευτῆσαι); he adds that there were many other conflicting accounts which he will ignore. Plutarch (55, 9) quotes the versions of Ptolemy and Aristobulus anonymously but in identical terms: ἀποθανεῖν αὐτὸν οἱ μὲν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου κρεμασθέντα λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν πέδαις δεδεμένον καὶ νοσήσαντα; then he adds one of the accounts passed over by Arrian, that, namely, of Chares.

The literary device of attaching to the murder of Clitus (Arr. 4, 8-9; Plut. 50-2, 7) the fall of Callisthenes (Arr. 4, 10-14; Plut. 52, 8-55), although later in date, is common to both authors, and expressly apologised for by both: Plutarch briefly resumes: ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὕστερον ἐπράχθη, while Arrian more diffusely explains ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὐ πολλῶ ὕστερον πραχθέντα ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς ἀμφὶ Κλεῖτον ξυνεχθεῖσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ἀνέγραψα, τούτοις μᾶλλον τι οἰκεῖα ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν.

Finally the parallelism between Plutarch and Arrian on the illness of Alexander at Tarsus and the cutting of the Gordian knot leaves no doubt of a common source already containing variants. Thus Plutarch (19, 2) writes that Alexander fell sick οἱ μὲν ἐκ κόπων, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ τοῦ Κύδνου ρεύματι λουσάμενον καὶ παγέντα λέγουσιν, and Arrian (2, 4, 7), identifying the οἱ μὲν as Aristobulus, gives: ὡς μὲν Ἀριστοβούλῳ λέλεκται, ὑπὸ καμάτου ἐνόσησεν, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸν Κύδνον ποταμὸν λέγουσι ῥίψαντα νήξασθαι . . . ἰδρῶντα καὶ καύματι ἐχόμενον.<sup>2</sup> Both authors then immediately relate the story of the physician Philippus and Alexander's confidence in him, Arrian in *oratio obliqua*, indicating that neither Ptolemy nor Aristobulus was authority for it.

So the variants on the Gordian knot are quoted in the same order and similar language, the cutting with the sword being ascribed by Plutarch (18, 3) to οἱ μὲν πολλοί, by Arrian (2, 3, 7) to οἱ μὲν, while both preface with Ἀριστόβουλος δὲ λέγει the alternative account that Alexander loosened the knot by extracting the pin which connected yoke to shaft.

The foregoing examples are more than sufficient to prove the constant use by Arrian and Plutarch of the same *variorum* source. One single clear case is, indeed, all that was required; for it is improbable to the degree of impossibility that either author, possessing and on one occasion using, a source in which variants were already digested, would ever take the needless trouble to collect and collate them for himself. There are two reasons why, despite this common source, agreement between Arrian and Plutarch is not so persistent as to force on all readers of both the conclusion which we have reached. In the first place, Plutarch is as indifferent to military details as Arrian is absorbed in them; he epitomises in a chapter or two the contents of a whole book of Arrian; and both writers preserve their stylistic independence whatever source they use, as appears clearly, for instance, in the citation of the *ephemerides* on the death of Alexander. But secondly, what is more important, the two follow different principles of selection in

<sup>2</sup> Note that here and above p. 3 ὑπὸ κόπων to καματηρός and ὑπὸ καμάτου in Arrian. The latter (? ὑπὸ κόποις) and ἐκ κόπων in Plutarch correspond root was presumably the one used in the source.



using their source: Arrian *ex professo* departs only occasionally from Aristobulus and Ptolemy, Plutarch accepts a racy story where he finds it. Hence when Plutarch and Arrian coincide outside the variant-passages already quoted, it is generally in narratives which Arrian designates as not guaranteed by Aristobulus or Ptolemy, that is, in the *ὡς λεγόμενα μόνον* of his preface.

To take a few examples, the sweating of the statue of Orpheus (Plut. 14, 8-9) is prefaced in Arrian (1, 11, 2) by *οἱ δὲ λέγουσι*, the sacrifice to Achilles at Troy (Plut. 15, 7-8) by *ὡς λόγος* (1, 11, 6), the portent at the founding of Alexandria (Plut. 26, 8) by *λέγεται δὲ τις καὶ τοιόσδε λόγος* (3, 2, 1-2), the conversation of the escaped eunuch with Darius about the treatment of Statira (Plut. 40) by *λόγος κατέχει* (4, 20, 1-3). Sometimes Plutarch preserves the name of an authority which Arrian has suppressed, as in the story of Callisthenes saying 'I go the poorer by a kiss,' which both relate in identical terms and Plutarch (56, 4) ascribes to Chares, while Arrian (4, 12, 2) merely remarks: *ἀναγέγραπται δὲ δὴ καὶ τοιόσδε λόγος*. An interesting case is the rejection by Alexander of Parmenion's advice to make a night attack at Gaugamela (Plut. 31, 11-14; Arr. 3, 10), which Arrian prefates with the usual *λέγουσιν ὅτι*. For since both Plutarch and Arrian append the same reflections on the wisdom which Alexander's light-hearted reply concealed, those reflections must belong to the common source, despite the personal tone in which Arrian makes them: *τούτων τε τῶν λογισμῶν ἕνεκα ἔπαινῶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ τοῦ ἐς τὸ φανερόν ὑπερόγκου οὐ μείον*. The implication is that some or all of the numerous other *ἔπαινῶ*—and *οὐκ ἔπαινῶ*—passages of Arrian may also be derivative. In practically all other cases of agreement between Arrian and Plutarch, which Arrian does not designate as *λεγόμενα μόνον*, one or other writer is found to indicate as the authority either Aristobulus or Ptolemy or both.

Yet however irrefragable the proof that Arrian and Plutarch used an encyclopaedic work in which the divergent versions of each successive event in a large number of historians of Alexander were collated and registered, the stupendous size and detail presumed by such a work might still make its existence difficult to believe but for the good fortune that Plutarch has in one place preserved an unaltered or almost unaltered fragment of it. In ch. 46, 1-2, where Alexander reaches the Jaxartes, Plutarch proceeds to cite *seriatim* five authorities for, and nine against, the statement that the conqueror here encountered an Amazon. No fewer than ten of these fourteen authorities are nowhere else mentioned in the biography, which as good as proves that Plutarch has not himself made the collation. The whim of Plutarch to transcribe the source here is the one chance in a thousand. Normally he would either give one name on either side, or no name but simply *οἱ μὲν, οἱ δέ*, while Arrian, since Aristobulus and Ptolemy are both in the negative, says nothing at all; for the troop of Amazons alleged (*λέγουσιν ὅτι*) to have been sent to Alexander in 323 B.C. by the satrap of Media (Arrian 7, 13, 2-6) is quite a different matter.

This providential glimpse into the *variorum* source not only removes any doubt as to the possibility of its existence, but explains how Arrian and Plutarch sometimes in different passages come to attribute the same



version to different authorities, because, namely, the source mentioned both and probably several more authorities for that particular version, and the excerptors happened on various occasions to choose different ones as representative. Thus in speaking of the Indus, at 5, 4, 2, Arrian gives the measurements of Ctesias, 40 stades minimum and 100 stades maximum, while later (5, 20, 9), after observing that 15 stades breadth at the point where Alexander crosses the Acesines is the only measurement of an Indian river given by Ptolemy, he infers from this that those authorities are not far from the mark (οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἀναγέγραπται ὅσοις δοκεῖ) who give 40 stades as the mean breadth of the Indus. It follows that at the crossing of the Indus the *variorum* source presented numerous estimates, with their respective authorities, of which Arrian first selected one, distinguishing it with the name of Ctesias, and then later another.

The clearest cases of this phenomenon are, however, found by comparing Plutarch's biography with his two declamations *de Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute*. But before passing on to these, it may be well to allude to an apparent indication of change of source which turns out to be delusory. The anecdote of Demaratus the Corinthian commiserating the Greeks who had died before seeing Alexander sit on the Persian throne is told twice—once at 37, 7, where Alexander reaches Persepolis, and again at 56, where Demaratus dies in Bactria and is commemorated there by a tumulus. *A priori* this might be taken to show change of source somewhere between chapters 37 and 56. But as we have seen that Plutarch's two sources, the Letters and the *variorum* source, were used alternately, and as only the latter could contain this anecdote, the simple explanation must be that on finding the death of Demaratus recorded, Plutarch attached the anecdote, forgetting that he had already told it. The only conclusion to be drawn from the doublet is therefore a certain hastiness of execution on Plutarch's part.

Examination of the sources of the two orations in the Plutarchic *corpus* which discuss the part played by Τύχη in Alexander's success affords complete proof that they are both authentic and were composed by Plutarch after the biography. For they show use not only of the biography itself, but also of the two sources from which, as we have seen, it was composed; and the improbability of anyone but Plutarch himself happening to use just these three is so great, that the authorship and consequently the relative date of composition are thereby settled.

In the second oration (340 E–341 D) occurs a speech supposed to be delivered by Parrhesia, or Candour, defending Alexander against Tyche. Part of it consists of a list of the wounds from which Tyche had failed to protect Alexander. In mentioning the thigh wound received at Issus, Parrhesia ludicrously cites Chares as authority for its infliction by Darius and a letter of Alexander as not mentioning the inflictor and making light of the wound. This piece of untimely erudition, the latter part of which actually militates *against* the argument of the passage, is only explicable, but is completely explicable, as a reminiscence of the account of Issus in the biography (20, 9), from which it is taken almost *totidem verbis*. This is a particularly striking example; but so much of the historical matter in the orations coincides more or less verbally with portions of the Life, that only



a few facts occur in them which are not to be found in the biography;<sup>3</sup> enough, however, to show that the biography is not the sole source, but that there was knowledge of the letters themselves and use of the *variorum* source.

Both in the passage just adduced and in another from the first oration (333 A), letters of Alexander are cited by the orator *verbatim* which in the Life are given in indirect report. Unless this is a mere mystification, these passages prove that the author of the orations had, or had once had, access to the Letters of Alexander themselves. More interesting, however, are passages which demonstrate independent use of the *variorum* source.

At the crossing of the Hellespont, Plutarch in the biography gives variant accounts of the troops and the resources of Alexander. The troops he quotes anonymously as 30,000 foot and 4000 horse at the lowest estimate, and 43,000 foot and 5000 horse at the highest. Of the resources he reports the following accounts: 70 talents, Aristobulus; 30 days' provision, Duris; 200 talents deficit, Onesicritus. The same topic recurs once in each oration. In the first (327 D-E) the same three estimates of the resources are mentioned as in the Life; but the comparative estimates of number run thus:

30,000 foot, 4000 horse, Aristobulus;  
30,000 foot, 5000 horse, Ptolemy;  
43,000 foot, 5500 horse, Anaximenes.

The allusion in the second oration (342 D) is briefer, and states only that the resources were 70 talents according to Aristobulus and 30 days' provision according to Phylarchus, *not* Duris. Clearly what we have in all three cases is a brief and less than careful excerpt from a much larger comparative table, in which not one but several authorities were named for each estimate. The original, which even by combination of all three

<sup>3</sup> This is the place to allude to 328 E, a passage to which Mr. Tarn has devoted much attention (*Greeks in Bactria and India*, 48 ff., repeated *AJP* 1939, 57). In the MSS it runs οὐκ ἂν ἡμερώθησαν, εἰ μὴ ἐκρατήθησαν. οὐκ ἂν εἶχεν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν Αἰγυπτὸς οὐδὲ Μισσηγοτία Σελεύκειαν οὐδὲ Προφθασίαν Σογδιανὴν οὐδὲ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα Καύκασος περιεκοῦσαν εἰς ὑποδοισθεῖσα ἐσβέσθη τὸ ὄργιον καὶ μετέβαλε τὸ χεῖρον ὑπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐπιζόμενον. It is self-evident that Καύκασος is here as corrupt as the words which follow it. Were it sound, a proper name parallel with Ἀλεξάνδρειαν and the rest would be required for πόλιν Ἑλλάδα, and παροικοῦσαν (so Reiske) must have been absent. The text was originally a generalising conclusion such as οὐδὲ πόλιν Ἑλλάδα ἐξόστη γὰρ βάρβαρος παροικοῦσαν, ἧς ὑποδοισθεῖς ἐβόλη. The preceding list moves from west to east, naming an important Greek town in each of four countries taken at random, Σογδιανὴ being a slip for Δραγγιανή. See now what Mr. Tarn makes of the passage. By a sweep of Ockham's razor ('it is a sound canon of historical method in dealing with ancient history that sources are not to be multiplied beyond necessity') he has concluded (p. 46) that 'from Trogus source [for Parthia and

the Farther East] must ultimately come also the notices of the Farther East in Plutarch and many scattered items in late Hellenistic writers.' The source is then dated c. 87-80 B.C., on the ground of its contents as deduced from Justin and Ptolemy. Plutarch *mor.* 328 E is *ex hypothesi* derived from it, and held to be a list of 'the capitals, or chief Greek cities, of the four civilised kingdoms E. of the Euphrates in the 1st century B.C.' Even this view, to say nothing of the startling misstatement that 'Prophthasia is never mentioned elsewhere subsequently to its foundation, and this is the one hint in Greek literature of its importance' (cf. Strabo 11, 514; 15, 723; Ptol. 6, 19, 41; 8, 25, 8; Pliny 6, 17, 21; 23, 25; Steph. Byz. s.v. φραση), is not without difficulty to be maintained. Seistan had no importance until after the assumed date, while Alexandria of the Caucasus was the capital of a kingdom only until c. 100 B.C. Seleucia is mentioned for its importance, although not the capital of Arsacid Parthia, and yet the omission of Antioch is described as 'only too natural, because it was no longer the capital of anything.'



excerpts we can only very partially reconstruct, must have been worthy of comparison with the collections for and against the Amazon episode, which we have already discussed. As we might have predicted, Arrian (1, 11, 3) gives the version of Aristobulus, without statement of source or comment.

All the other places where the orations present a fact absent from the biography are readily explicable on the same principle. Thus a source is sometimes mentioned for an incident or fact stated anonymously in the Life in almost identical terms. Eratosthenes, for instance, appears (330 A) as the authority for Alexander's court dress having been a judicious mixture of the Persian and Macedonian (45, 2); or Aristobulus (341 C) for the wounding of Alexander by a club in the town of the Malli (63, 9). We know from Arrian (6, 11, 7) that the names of the three bodyguards who protected their incautious sovereign on this occasion were given differently by different authorities: accordingly we are not surprised to find them recorded in the Life (63, 7) as Peucestas and Limnaeus, in the first oration (327 B) as Ptolemy and Limnaeus, and in the second (344 D) as Limnaeus, Ptolemy and Leonnatus, while Arrian (6, 10, 1) gives Peucestas, Abreas and Leonnatus, and mentions Ptolemy's own explicit evidence that he was elsewhere at the time.

There are one or two places where the orations appear to contain deliberate references to the Life and *vice versa*. But on closer examination they prove to be delusory. The Teubner editor, Nachstädt,<sup>4</sup> in a footnote on καὶ πῶς μὲν εἶχε πρὸς Ἀριστοτέλην εἶρηται (331 E), refers to the 7th and 8th chapters of the Life; but the word εἶρηται alludes merely to 327 E, where it is said that Aristotle's instruction was of more advantage to Alexander in his conquests than was Philip's kingdom. Nor, on the other hand, when the anecdote of Alexander as a boy questioning the Persian ambassadors is introduced in the Life as known, τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως πρέσβεις ἦκοντας, is that an allusion to the same anecdote in the second oration (342 B-C); for shortly afterwards (8, 5), though ἡ περὶ Ἀνάξαρχον τιμὴ and τὰ πεμφθέντα ζενοκράτει πεντήκοντα τάλαντα might be explained as references to 331 E and 333 B, what follows, Δάνδαμιν καὶ καλανὸς οὕτω σπουδασθέντες, is a clear anticipation of ch. 65 and has no counterpart in the orations.

Considering now the nature of the *variorum* source more closely, it is fairly clear that a work of such scale and scope could not be a general history, but only a history of Alexander. Consequently there is good reason to assume that it dealt with the life of Alexander before as well as after his accession, though, since Arrian begins only there, the point cannot be decided by a comparison. In any case two authorities, Eratosthenes (3, 3) and Onesicritus (8, 2), are common to Plutarch's earlier and later chapters. Failing evidence, therefore, to the contrary, we need not suppose a third source used by Plutarch for Alexander's *Jugendjahre*. As regards the authorship of the *variorum* source, I shall make no conjecture;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> So L. Weber, *de Plutarcho Alexandri laudatore*, Genethliacon Gottingense, Halle, 1888, 84-96.

<sup>5</sup> Beloch (III 2, 39), who briefly speaks of the biography as based on 'eine gelehrte alexandrinische Biographie' and inspection of 'some of the sources

used by Arrian,' identifies the biographer as 'perhaps Satyrus'. The date would suit, but nothing else; for the style and content of the βίβη Εὐπριδίου is totally different from that of our *variorum* source. Satyrus was also suggested by A. Schaefer, *l. citand.*



but something may be said of the date of it. Out of twenty-four historians named in the Life and the orations, all the nineteen whose period is known belong to the fourth and third centuries B.C. The latest of them is perhaps Hermippus (54, 1). This might seem to argue strongly for dating the compilation to the earlier part of the second century B.C., but such an encyclopaedic work belongs more naturally to the age of Didymus than of Aristarchus, and from Didymus on Demosthenes we know that Augustan compilers preferred to restrict themselves to sources of some antiquity and so of some authority and scarcity. The library of Alexandria was the natural place for such a piece of research.

The sources of Plutarch's *Alexander* have hitherto been a subject passed by without examination in detail,<sup>6</sup> not because examination was superfluous but because the task was considered hopeless on account of its apparent complexity. Our enquiry has shown the fallacy of that appearance and the way in which the biography, in combination with the two orations, has to be treated as a historical source; all passages under suspicion of deriving from the spurious letters of Alexander are to be rejected; the rest represents an imperfect and often careless epitome, which may be supplemented from Arrian, of an encyclopaedic Alexandrine biography.

J. ENOCH POWELL.

#### TEXTUAL NOTES ON PLUTARCH AND ARRIAN.

Plut. *Alex.* 7, 5 τῶν ἀπορρήτων καὶ βαθυτέρων διδασκαλιῶν, ὡς οἱ ἄνδρες ἰδίως ἀκροατικὰς καὶ ἐποπτικὰς προσαγορεύοντες οὐκ ἐξέφερον εἰς (τοὺς) πολλοὺς.

8, 4 αἱ φιλοφροσύναι τὸ σφοδρὸν ἐκείνο καὶ στερκτικὸν οὐκ(ἐτ') ἔχουσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀλλοτριότητος ἐγένοντο τεκμήριον.

23, 5 τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν καὶ μαγείρων ἀνέκρινεν εἰ τὰ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον εὐτρεπῶς ἔχει (MSS ἔχουσι).

26, 6-7 τότε μὲν ἔτι νῆσος ἦν τοῦ Κανωβικοῦ μικρὸν ἀνωτέρω στόματος, νῦν δὲ διὰ χώματος ἀν[εἰλ]ήπται πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον.

30, 5 οὔτε γὰρ . . . Στατεῖρα οὐδὲν ἐνέδει τῶν πρόσθεν ἀγαθῶν καὶ καλῶν ἢ τὸ σὺν ὄρᾳ φῶς, ὃ πάλιν ἀνά[λამ]ψει λαμπρὸν ὃ κύριος ὤρομάσθης.

41, 9-10 ἠρώτησε τίνος ἀνδράποδόν (MSS τίνων ἀνθρώπων) ἔστι τὸ γύναιον, ἀκούσας δ' ὅτι τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἑταίρων, ἡμᾶς μὲν, εἶπεν, ὦ Εὐρύλοχε, συνερῶντας ἔχεις, ὅρα δ' ὅπως πείθωμεν (μένειν) ἢ λόγοις ἢ δώροις τὴν Τελέσιππαν. Cf. *mor.* 339 D καὶ τίνος, εἶπε, τὸ γύναιόν ἐστιν; . . . οὐκοῦν, εἶπε, πείθωμεν αὐτὴν καταμένειν, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ διδόντες.

65, 2 οὐ διαλέξεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, οὐδ' εἰ παρ' (αὐτοῦ) τοῦ Διὸς ἀφίκεται. "From Zeus himself, (not merely the son of Zeus)".

*mor.* 331 B ποδωκέστατος τῶν ἐφ' ἡλικίας [νέων] γενόμενος.

332 A Ἡρακλέα μιμοῦμαι καὶ Περσέα ζηλῶ, (θεοὺς γενάρχας καὶ προπάτορας), καὶ τὰ Διόνυσου μετιῶν ἔχνη [θεοῦ γενάρχου καὶ προπάτορος] βούλομαι πάλιν ἐν Ἰνδῇ νικῶντας Ἑλλήνας ἐγχορεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ Καύκασον ὄρελους καὶ ἀγρίους (ἀνθρώπους) τῶν βαρβαρικῶν κώμων ἀναμνησάσθαι. Cf. Arrian 3.3.2 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ δὲ φιλοτιμία ἦν πρὸς Περσέα καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἀπὸ γένους τε ὄντι ἀμφοῖν . . .

\* The best work on the subject is A. Schoene, *De rerum Alexandri magni scriptorum, imprimis Arriani et Plutarchi, fontibus*. *Analecta philologica historica* I, Leipzig, 1870, where the common source of Arrian and Plutarch is already detected. Schoene was reviewed by A. Schaefer, *Neue Jahrb.*, 1870, 433-446, without substantial result. I have no access to

Vogel, *Die Quellen Plutarch's in der Biographie Alexanders des Grossen*, Progr. Colmar; Koehler, *Eine Quellenkritik zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, Leipzig, 1879; Laudien, *Über die Quellen zur Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen in Diodor, Curtius und Plutarch*, Königsberg Pr., 1874.



336 C ὁ μὲν οὖν Κράτης ἰδὼν χρυσῇν εἰκόνα Φρύνης τῆς ἑταίρας ἐστῶσαν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνέκραγεν ὅτι τοῦτο τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀκρασίας τρόπιον ἐστῆκεν· τὸν δὲ Σαρδαναπάλου βίον ἂν τις [ἢ τάφον (οὐδὲν γάρ, οἶμαι, διαφέρει)] θεασάμενος εἴποι τοῦτο τῶν τῆς Τύχης ἀγαθῶν τρόπιον εἶναι. The variant τάφον is however right.

337 A ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς τὴν [τότε] Τύχην οὐκ ὀκνήσω.

340 E θάλατταν (ἀντι)μαχομένην ἐπλευσεν.

Aprian 1, 7, 2 ἐπῆραν τοὺς Θηβαίους ἀποστῆναι ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου, ἐλευθερίαν τε προῖσχύμενοι (καὶ αὐτονομίαν), παλαιὰ καὶ καλὰ ὀνόματα, καὶ τῆς βαρύτητος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἤδη ποτὲ ἀπαλλαγῆναι.

2, 7, 3 παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν . . . ὅτι πρὸς νενικημένους ὁ ἀγὼν νενικηκόσιν αὐτοῖς ἐσται, καὶ ὅτι ὁ θεὸς . . . πληθός, (καὶ) ὅτι ἐσται ἡ μάχη (MS τῇ μάχῃ) οὔτε τὰ σώματα οὔτε τὰς γνώμας παραπλήσιας. Μακεδόνας γὰρ Πέρσας καὶ Μήδοις . . . εἰς χεῖρας ἤξειν.

2, 23, 3 ὅσαι δὲ αὐτῶν βέλη ἀπὸ μηχανῶν βαλλόμενα εἶχον ἢ ὅσαι τοξότας ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων ἔφερον, ταύτας δὲ ἐκέλευσεν ἐν κύκλῳ περιπλευσάσας τὸ τεῖχος ἐποκέλλειν τε ὅπῃ παρείκοι καὶ ἀνακωχέειν ἐντὸς βέλους ὅπῃ (MS ἐστέ) τὸ ἐποκέλλαι ἀπορον γίγνοιτο.

4, 4, 3 αὐθις ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει ἐβύετο, καὶ αὐθις (MS αὐ εἰς) κίνδυνον αὐτῷ σημαίνεσθαι Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ μάντις ἔφραζεν.

4, 8, 4 ἀχθόμενος τοῦ τε Ἀλεξάνδρου τῇ ἐς τὸ βαρβαρικώτερον μετακοσμήσει (MS μετακινήσει) καὶ τῶν κολακευόντων αὐτὸν τοῖς λόγοις. Cf. 9, 9 τῆς τε ἐσθῆτος τῇ ἀμείβει καὶ τῆς ἄλλης θεραπείας τῇ μετακοσμήσει.

4, 8, 6 τὸν Κλεῖτον ἤδη, οὐκέτι ἐν ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα, πρεσβεύειν μὲν τὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου, καταβάλλειν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον τε καὶ τὰ τούτου ἔργα [παροιοῦντα ἤδη τὸν Κλεῖτον] τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πολὺν εἶναι ἐξονειδίζοντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὅτι πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἄρα ἐσώθη.

4, 19, 1 πασσάλους μικροὺς σιδηροὺς . . . καλωδίοις ἐκ λίνου ἰσχυροῖς συνδῆσαντες (MS ἐκδήσαντες) τῆς νυκτὸς προὐχώρουν.

4, 24, 5 καταδραμόντες ξυνάπτουσι μάχην καρτερὰν πρὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ. ἤδη δὲ (MS γὰρ) καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ἔχων τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καταβεβηκότας πεζοὺς πρὸς τῷ γηλόφῳ ἦν. καὶ οὗτοι ἐπιγεγνόμενοι μόγις ἐξέωσαν τοὺς Ἰνδοὺς ἐς τὰ ὄρη.

5, 2, 1 (after a speech ending φέρεται), [καὶ] ταῦτα πάντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πρὸς θυμοῦ ἐγίγνετο ἀκοῦειν καὶ ἠθέλε πιστὰ εἶναι τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Διονύσου τῆς πλάνης μυθεύμενα.

5, 3, 6 καὶ ἱππεῖς δὲ ἐπτακόσιοι αὐτῷ Ἰνδῶν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν παρὰ Ταξίλου ἦκον· καὶ πόλιν Τάξιλα, τὴν μεγίστην τῶν μεταξύ Ἰνδοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ Ὑδάσπου, (ἀκοῦει) ὅτι αὐτῷ Ταξίλης ἐνδίδωσιν.

5, 4, 3 οὐδὲ τοὺς μύρμηκας τοὺς τὸν χρυσὸν σφισιν ἐργαζομένους οὐδὲ τοὺς γρύπας τοὺς (χρυσο)φύλακας.

5, 5, 3 καὶ ἐμοὶ αὐτῷ πρότερόν [πο] τε ἐπὶ τῷδε λέλεκται Καύκασος τὸ ὄρος τοῦτο καὶ ὕστερον τῷδε τῷ ὀνόματι κληθήσεται.

5, 6, 1 ὅτῳ τὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ὥδε ἔχει ὥς πρὸς τοῦ Ταύρου τε καὶ τοῦ Καυκάσου τέμνεσθαι ἀπ' ἀνέμου ζεφύρου ὥς ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην ἀνεμον τὴν Ἀσίαν, τούτῳ δύο μὲν αὐταὶ μέγιστα [πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ταύρου] τῆς Ἀσίας μοῖραι γίγνονται, ἡ μὲν ἐς μεσημβρίαν τε καὶ πρὸς νότον ἀνεμον κεκλιμένη, ἡ δὲ ἐπ' ἄρκτον τε καὶ ἀνεμον βορρᾶν.

5, 14, 4 τὸν ἵππον αὐτοῦ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν Βουκεφάλαν, φίλτατον Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ὄντα τῶν ἵππων (MS τὸν ἵππον).

5, 16, 4 κατὰ κέρας ἐτι τεταγμένοις (MS τέταραγμένοις) ἐμβαλεῖν σπουδὴν ποιοῦμενος, πρὶν ἐπὶ φάλαγγος ἐκταθῆναι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἵππον.

5, 26, 2 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Περσικοῦ (sc. κάλπου) ἡ Λιβύη (MS ἐς Λιβύην) περιπλευσθήσεται στόλῳ ἡμετέρῳ τὰ μέχρι Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν· ἀπὸ δὲ Στηλῶν ἡ ἐντὸς Λιβύῃ πᾶσα ἡμετέρα γίγνεται.

6, 20, 5 φυλακὴν (ἐγ)καταλιπὼν τῷ χωρίῳ, σίτον τε ὅσον καὶ ἐς τέσσαρας μῆνας ἐξαρκέσαι τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπηγάγετο καὶ τάλλα ὅσα ἐς τὸν παράπλου (MS ἐν τῷ παραπλῷ) παρεσκεύασεν.

6, 27, 4 τοὺς μὲν δὲ ἀμφὶ Κλεάνδρον τε καὶ Σιτάλκην . . ., ταῦτα ὥς ἐξηγγέλη, (τού)τους μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, . . . Ἡράκων δὲ . . . ἀφείθη τῆς αἰτίας, . . .

7, 7, 6 παραπλεύσας (MS περιπλεύσας) κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὅσον μεταξύ τοῦ τε Εὐλαίου ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ Τίγρητος ἐπέειχεν ὁ αἰγιαλὸς τοῦ κάλπου. Cf. § 2 παρέπλει ἀπὸ τοῦ Εὐλαίου ποταμοῦ κατὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ὥς ἐπὶ τὰς ἐκβολὰς τοῦ Τίγρητος.

7, 9, 3 τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ χωρίων τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα καταλαβόμενος τῇ ἐμπορίᾳ τὴν χώραν (MS τὴν ἐμπορίαν τῇ χώρᾳ) ἀνεπέτασε. Contrast Diod. 1, 67, 9 ἀνέωξε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθνεσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐμπόρια.

7, 9, 8 τὰ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ Κυρήνης ἀγαθὰ, ἃς (MS ὅσα) ἀμαχεὶ ἐκτησάμην, ὑμῖν ἔρχεται.



7, 10, 3 ὃ χρέα ἦν, οὐ πολυπραγμονήσας ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἐγένετο, . . . διαλέλυσθαι πάντα (MS ταῦτα).

7, 13, 2 Ἀτροπάτης ὁ τῆς Μηδίας σατράπης γυναῖκας ἑκατὸν αὐτῷ ἐδείξε (MS ἔδωκε), ταύτας φάσκων εἶναι τῶν Ἀμαζόνων. Cf. § 6 εἰ δὲ ἱππικὰς δὴ τινὰς γυναῖκας Ἀτροπάτης ἐδείξεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, βαρβάρους . . . γυναῖκας ἱππεύειν ἡσκημένους δοκῶ ὅτι ἐδείξεν.

7, 17, 3 εἶναι δὲ τῷ θεῷ τῷ Βήλῳ πολλὴν μὲν τινα (MS τὴν) χώραν ἀνειμένην ἐκ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλείων, πολὺν δὲ χρυσόν.

7, 20, 5 καὶ ἀπὸ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Ἰκάρῳ τῇ τε νήσῳ καὶ τῷ πελάγει τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν, τῇ (MS τὴν) μὲν Ἰκάρῳ καλεῖσθαι, τῷ (MS τὸ) δὲ Ἰκάρῳ.

7, 20, 8 ἐξήγγειλε τὸ μέγεθος τῆς χερρονήσου θαυμαστόν τε εἶναι καὶ ὅσον οὐ πολὺ ἀποδεῖν (MS ἀποδέον) τῆς Ἰνδῶν γῆς.

7, 23, 8 ταῦτα μὲν οὐκ ἔχω μέμψασθαι πλὴν γε δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ μεγάλοις μεγαλῶσι ἐσπούδαζε (MS μεγάλως διεσπουδάζετο).



## THE PROGRESS OF GREEK EPIGRAPHY, 1937-1938

IN the following pages I summarise briefly the work published in the past two years relative to Greek inscriptions, following the same system as hitherto; I mark with an asterisk all books or articles which I have not personally consulted. Once again I tender my warmest thanks to those scholars who have lightened my task by sending me copies of their works.

Death has claimed in the period under review a number of men who have rendered notable service to epigraphical studies, among them A. Brueckner,<sup>1</sup> R. Cagnat,<sup>2</sup> J. Chamonard,<sup>3</sup> P. Dareste,<sup>4</sup> C. C. Edgar,<sup>5</sup> P. Graindor,<sup>6</sup> E. Loewy,<sup>7</sup> P. Perdrizet<sup>8</sup> and S. Ronzevalle; but some of the veterans continue in full vigour, such as F. Cumont,<sup>9</sup> who attained his doctoral jubilee in 1937, and J. Zingerle,<sup>10</sup> who celebrated his seventieth birthday in 1938. Mention must also be made of the successful International Epigraphical Congress, held at Amsterdam in August and September, 1938, with W. Vollgraff as President and J. J. E. Hondius as Secretary.<sup>11</sup>

### I. GENERAL.

My summary for 1935-36 appeared in *JHS* lvii. 160 ff., and, so far as Egypt and Nubia are concerned, in *JEA* xxiii. 106 ff. Other bibliographies, among which the foremost place is taken by the 'Bulletin Épigraphique'<sup>12</sup> of R. Flacelière and J. and L. Robert, continue to appear<sup>13</sup> in their usual form. To H. Kasten's continuation of Ziebarth's account of Greek epigraphical studies since 1895 I refer below (p. 276). There are useful sections on inscriptions in the full indexes, issued in 1938, to vols. xxxi-xl and xli-l of the *Jahrbuch* and to vols. xvii-xxii of the *British School Annual*. To J. J. E. Hondius we owe an interesting summary,<sup>14</sup> in Dutch, of the history and value of Greek epigraphy, followed by a bibliography, occupying 115 pages, of books, periodicals, dissertations and articles which aid the study of Greek epigraphy, by far the most complete and thorough that has ever been attempted; a German edition is, I understand, in preparation.

No new fascicule of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* has appeared, but U. Wilcken's annual surveys<sup>15</sup> of the great undertaking report that good progress has been made by J. Kirchner with the final section of ii<sup>2</sup>, comprising the Attic epitaphs later than 403 B.C., by F. Hiller

<sup>1</sup> *AJA* xli. 118 f., *Прокт* 1936, 1 f., *RA* x. 250.

<sup>2</sup> *RA* ix. 234 ff., *JournSav* 1937, 49 ff., *CRAInscr* 1937, 102 ff., 375 ff., *RevHist* clxxx. 221 ff., *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 1937, 131 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *RA* ix. 241 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. Hist. Droit.* xvi. 1 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Chron. d'Ég.* xiv. 203 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *AJA* xlii. 291 f., *Byzantion*, xiii. 393 f., *RevBelge*, xvii. 1222 f., *RA* xii. 80 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Rendic. Linc.* xiv. 452 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *CRAInscr* 1938, 270 ff., *Chron. d'Ég.* xiv. 206 f., *RA* xii. 236 f., *Rev. Hist. Rel.* cxviii. 236 ff., *Byzantion*, xiii. 777 ff., *Annali d. R. Scuola Norm. Sup. di Pisa*, ii. 7. 303 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *SBBerl* 1937, 166 f.

<sup>10</sup> *Forsch. u. Fortsch.* xiv. 132.

<sup>11</sup> A. Ferrua, *Riv. arch. crist.* xv. 351, A. Calderini, *Aevum*, xii. 654 f., W. Seston, *JournSav* 1938, 271 f., R. Egger, *WienAnz* 1938, 66 f.

<sup>12</sup> *REG* li. 413 ff. (for 1936-7).

<sup>13</sup> J. Marouzeau-J. Ernst, *Année philol.* xi. 272 ff., xii. 274 ff., P. Geissler, *Archäol. Bibliogr.* 1936, 200 ff., 1937, 206 ff., W. Abel-G. Reincke, *Bibl. phil. class.* lxii. 116 ff., lxiii. 122 ff., and, in restricted fields. *Glotta*, xxvi. 28 ff. (1934), xxvii. 1 ff. (1935), *Riv. arch. crist.* xiii. 391 ff., xiv. 184 ff., 401 ff., xv. 211 ff., *BZ* xxxvii. 270 ff., 580 f., xxxviii. 278 f., 582 ff., *BNGJ* xiii. 189 ff., *RA* x. 325 ff., *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* vi. 133 ff., *Aevum*, xi. 126 ff., *RevHist* clxxxiv. 12 ff. (1933-37).

<sup>14</sup> *Saxa loquuntur*, Leiden, 1938.

<sup>15</sup> *SBBerl* 1937, liv, 1938, xlvii f.



von Gaertringen with the supplement to *IG* xii, and by C. F. Edson with the preparation of the Macedonian corpus. To the new volumes of the *Inscriptions de Délos* I refer below (p. 266). Of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* vol. viii has been issued <sup>16</sup> by J. J. E. Hondius, dealing with Palestine, Egypt and Nubia, which claim 357, 471 and 68 items respectively. I call attention to a specially full review,<sup>17</sup> by L. Robert, of Frey's *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum*, I, containing many addenda and valuable comments on individual texts. In U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Kleine Schriften* is a valuable section,<sup>18</sup> revised and annotated by F. von Hiller and G. Klaffenbach, containing twelve important articles and reviews, while of M. Holleaux's minor works two volumes have already been published <sup>19</sup> under the editorship of L. Robert, comprising forty-four chapters in all; vol. II consists of twelve studies on the Attalid monarchy. I note also L. Monteverchi's thorough and fruitful search <sup>20</sup> for epigraphical material among the codices of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, in which Greek epigraphy is represented,<sup>21</sup> though naturally to a far smaller extent than Latin. I do not know K. Strausberg's work <sup>22</sup> on Greek epitaphs, written in Lettish but provided with a Latin summary. J. Zingerle proposes <sup>23</sup> numerous corrections in geographical names occurring in inscriptions; most of these are rejected <sup>24</sup> by L. Robert, who criticises the fundamental principles of Zingerle's method.

Thrice already in this article I have had occasion to name L. Robert, whose amazing productivity and uncanny mastery of the whole epigraphical 'literature' make it hard for the ordinary student to keep abreast of his output of books and articles. I refer below (p. 245) to his edition of the Froehner Collection, the contents of which I report in their several places; his *Études anatoliennes* I mention on p. 272; the main contents of his *Études épigraphiques et philologiques* <sup>25</sup> (which, like the others, is fully indexed) are noted below, but I do not attempt to register all the countless corrections, restorations and comments which throw light on inscriptions of every district and period. Fortunately, Robert has rendered invaluable service by the compilation of a *Bibliographie et Index* of the 79 articles published by him between 1924 and 1937, with some references also to his six books.

In the realm of linguistic and literary studies we note E. Knittl's dissertation <sup>26</sup> on the phonetics, word-formation and accidence of the dialect of the Ionian Cyclades as known from inscriptions, A. Debrunner's annotated bibliography <sup>27</sup> of eighteen articles on post-classical Greek issued in 1930-35, F. S. Crawford's study, of which only a précis <sup>28</sup> has yet appeared, of the representation of the vowels e and o in early Greek inscriptions, O. Gottwald's article <sup>29</sup> on Greek consolation-decrees, making a number of additions to Buresch's list (*RhMus* xlix. 457 ff.), P. Collomp's essay,<sup>30</sup> papyrological and epigraphical, on the letter directed to several addressees, E. C. E. Owen's discussion <sup>31</sup> of οἶκος αἰώνιος and cognate phrases found in inscriptions, and L. Robert's note <sup>32</sup> on the forms taken by the name of the Batavi in epigraphical records.

Almost every page of this Bibliography attests the value of inscriptional evidence for the political, military, legal and social history of particular localities; here I mention some works of a more general scope in which epigraphical materials play a leading rôle.

<sup>16</sup> Leiden, 1938; cf. *Zeits. neutest. Wiss.* xxxvi. 304 f., *RecBibl* xlviii. 327 f., *Zeits. D. Pal.-Ver.* lxii. 161 ff.

<sup>17</sup> *REJuives*, ci. 73 ff.; cf. *JournSav* 1937, 145 ff.

<sup>18</sup> V (Berlin, 1937), 245 ff.

<sup>19</sup> *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, Paris, 1938; cf. *Epigraphica*, i. 83 f., *Gnomon*, xv. 325 ff.

<sup>20</sup> *Aevum*, xi. 504 ff., xii. 3 ff.

<sup>21</sup> xi. 506, 516, 526, 560 ff., xii. 7 ff., 24 ff., 48 f. (Index on p. 55).

<sup>22</sup> \**De titulis graecis sepulchralibus*, *Acta Univ. Latv. Phil.* iii. 9.

<sup>23</sup> *ÖJh* xxx, Beiblatt, 129 ff.

<sup>24</sup> *Études épigr. et philol.* 248 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Paris, 1938.

<sup>26</sup> *Die Sprache der ionischen Kykladen nach den inschriftlichen Quellen*, Munich, 1938.

<sup>27</sup> *Burs* cclxi. 155 ff.

<sup>28</sup> *Harvard Studies*, xlix. 268 ff.

<sup>29</sup> *Comment. Vindob.* iii. 5 ff.

<sup>30</sup> *Atti IV Congr. Pap.* 199 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Journ. Theol. Studies*, xxxviii. 248 ff.

<sup>32</sup> *Mnemosyne*, v. 302.



W. Schubart's essay<sup>33</sup> on the law and the Emperor in Greek documents is based mainly on papyri, but deals also with the edict of Tiberius Julius Alexander (*OGI* 669). H. Friedel's discussion<sup>34</sup> of tyrannicide in Greek legislation and popular feeling derives valuable materials from the Erythraean decree (*IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 10), the grant of citizenship to the restorers of Attic democracy in 403 (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 10) and the relevant decrees of Eresus (*OGI* 8) and Ilium (*OGI* 218), while F. Hampl's important work<sup>35</sup> on fourth-century Greek treaties utilises the information afforded by inscriptions, as do also E. Bickerman's study<sup>36</sup> of the institutions of the Seleucid Empire and his inquiry<sup>37</sup> into the significance of the διόγισμα (following a discussion<sup>38</sup> of the same subject by C. B. Welles), and M. Guarducci's article<sup>39</sup> on the dedications of Roman conquerors, notably T. Quinctius Flamininus, L. and P. Scipio, L. Aemilius Paulus and L. Mummius, at Delphi, Delos, Olympia and other Greek temples. S. Dow and C. F. Edson's argument that Chryseis, mistress of Demetrius II, and not Queen Phthia was the mother of Philip V of Macedon involves a detailed re-examination of the literary evidence and of the chronology of 229-5 B.C. (pp. 149 ff.), a study of the royal style of the Antigonid Kings from Antigonus Gonatas onward (pp. 128 ff.) and of the sacrificial formulae found in a series of Attic inscriptions (pp. 140 ff.) and an evaluation of the chronological implications of the recently found decree for Prytanis of Carystus<sup>41</sup> (pp. 168 ff.). P. Friedländer devotes an interesting essay<sup>42</sup> to the literary, psychological and historical interpretation of a group of epigrams relating to critical episodes of Greek history in the classical period; of these some are known only from the literary tradition, those which are epigraphically preserved are noted below in their appropriate places. A. Passerini's examination<sup>43</sup> of the influence of the interdict *uti possidetis* on public international arbitration in the second century B.C. discusses several important records of arbitrations decided under the Senate's direction, notably that between Itanus and Hierapytna (*SEG* ii. 511) and estimates the value of the Senate as a high court of justice in inter-state disputes. M. Guarducci's exhaustive monograph<sup>44</sup> on the institution of the phratry in Greece and her Italian colonies not only reviews in geographical order all literary and epigraphical sources, but gives the full texts of 52 relevant inscriptions, two of them (29 *bis*, 35(9)) previously unpublished. W. A. Oldfather sums up<sup>45</sup> the information given by inscriptions about the maintenance of Greek public libraries, P. J. Alexander derives<sup>46</sup> from the same source (see list on pp. 175 f.) materials for his study<sup>47</sup> of the letters and speeches of Hadrian, and P. H. Davis prefaces<sup>48</sup> his account of the Delian building-contracts by a general examination of the character and development of the Hellenistic building-contract in the Greek world, especially at Athens, Delphi and Epidauros.

The peculiar value of inscriptions for the study of Greek religious beliefs and practices is illustrated afresh in such works as O. Kern's *Die Religion der Griechen*, of which the third and concluding volume<sup>49</sup> carries the story from the time of Plato to that of Julian, F. R. Walton's dissertation, published only in a summary,<sup>50</sup> on the cult of the Syrian divinities, chiefly Atargatis, among the Greeks, M. Guarducci's inquiry<sup>51</sup> into the origin and

<sup>33</sup> *Klio*, xxx. 54 ff.

<sup>34</sup> *Der Tyrannenmord in Gesetzgebung und Volksmeinung der Griechen*, Stuttgart, 1937.

<sup>35</sup> *Die griech. Staatsverträge des 4. Jahrh.*, Leipzig, 1938; cf. *Forsch. u. Fortsch.* xv. 61 ff., *REA* xl. 194 ff., *Gnomon*, xiv. 367 ff., *CIRev* lii. 139 f., *ZSav* lix. 598 ff.

<sup>36</sup> *Les institutions des Séleucides*, Paris, 1938; cf. *REA* xlii. 180 ff.

<sup>37</sup> *RevPhil* xii. 295 ff.

<sup>38</sup> *AJA* xlii. 254 ff.

<sup>39</sup> *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* xiii. 41 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *Harvard Studies*, xlviii. 127 ff.; cf. *REA* xl. 190 f., *PhW* lviii. 1429 f., *REG* li. 427.

<sup>41</sup> *Hesperia*, iv. 525 ff.

<sup>42</sup> *Stud. Ital. Fil. Class.* xv. 89 ff.

<sup>43</sup> *Athenaeum*, xv. 26 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 330.

<sup>44</sup> *Mem. Accad. Linc.* vi. 1, viii. 2.

<sup>45</sup> *Library Quarterly*, viii. 287 f.

<sup>46</sup> *Harvard Studies*, xlix. 141 ff.

<sup>47</sup> *BCH* lxi. 109 ff.; cf. *AJA* xliii. 115.

<sup>48</sup> Berlin, 1938.

<sup>49</sup> *Harvard Studies*, xlix. 274 f.

<sup>50</sup> *Studi e mat.* xiv. 1 ff.



development of the worship of Euclea, originally a chthonic deity, associated, or identified, with Artemis before the fifth century B.C. and later regarded as goddess of fame and honour, P. Boyancé's substantial work <sup>51</sup> on the cult of the Muses, in which epigraphical sources (indexed on p. 361) play an appreciable part, M. Segre's admirable review and discussion <sup>52</sup> of a group of epigraphical texts relating to the purchase of priesthoods, ending with a brief history of the institution, and K. Keyssner's article <sup>53</sup> on hymns to Asclepius preserved in epigraphical form. A. Wilhelm examines <sup>54</sup> the sacrificial significance of the terms *παριστάνα*, *παρόστασις*, dealing specially with *SIG* 562.68 and *OGI* 332.42, and H. E. Del Medico inquires <sup>55</sup> into the meaning of *ΧΜΓ*, a problem raised afresh by the mosaics of Santa Sofia in Istanbul. O. Weinreich's review <sup>56</sup> of contributions made to the study of Greek religion from 1925 to 1935 contains much that is epigraphically valuable. Many other examples, relating to particular communities, are mentioned below.

I make no attempt to register vase-inscriptions published in works which deal wholly or primarily with ceramics, but I mention summarily some discoveries and discussions of the past two years, leaving others for treatment below in their geographical contexts. D. M. Robinson and E. J. Fluck discuss in their *Study of the Greek Love-names* <sup>57</sup> the *καλός*-inscriptions on Attic vases and in Greek literature (pp. 1 ff.), collect 81 'love-names' in literature and art other than vases (pp. 46 ff.), 283 on Attic vases (pp. 66 ff.) and a few on vases from other districts (pp. 192 ff.) and examine the phenomenon to which they point. J. M. Cook deals <sup>58</sup> with inscriptions on Protoattic pottery and J. Zingerle offers <sup>59</sup> interpretations of a number of ceramic inscriptions including that on the 'Arceilas-vase'. From the *Ceramicus* comes <sup>60</sup> the graffito *ACYPIH*, O. Broneer publishes <sup>61</sup> a superb kalyx-krater by Execias, found on the N. slope of the Acropolis, bearing the names of gods and warriors and the legend *Ὀνετορίδε[ς] καλός*, N. Plaoutine argues <sup>62</sup> that Onesimus was the painter of a group of vases produced in the studio of Euphronius, C. Dugas contributes <sup>63</sup> a note on Polygnotus II, and P. Raveggi <sup>64</sup> on a fifth-century Attic cup found at Orbetello. To W. Lamb's finds at Kato Phana (Chios) I refer below (p. 269). The University of Lyons possesses a fragment of a r.-f. cup <sup>65</sup> inscribed *ὁ παῖς καλός*, the Louvre two 'Homeric' bowls, <sup>66</sup> one depicting a *μυλωνάρχης* and *μυλωθροί* at their task, a number of *κίναδοι* and a *τιμωρός*, the other giving a brief account of Heracles' equipment for his fifth *ἄθλος*, Erlangen University a fragment which G. Lippold associates <sup>67</sup> with the Herodotean story of Hippocleides, the Metropolitan Museum in New York a kylix <sup>68</sup> signed by Tleson, Chicago University a number of inscribed r.-f. fragments, <sup>69</sup> and Washington University an amphora <sup>70</sup> with *Τιμῶεος καλός*. H. Comfort supplements <sup>71</sup> the inscriptions on *sigillata*-ware in the Near East.

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt publishes <sup>72</sup> a lead weight of unknown provenance bearing a hipparch's name and K. Pink mentions some inscriptions in his article <sup>73</sup> on Roman and

<sup>51</sup> *Le culte des Muses chez les philosophes grecs*, Paris, 1937.

<sup>52</sup> *Rendic. Ist. Lomb.* lxi. 811 ff., lxx. 83 ff.; cf. *REA* xxxix. 433.

<sup>53</sup> *Philologus*, xcii. 269 ff.; cf. *PhW* lviii. 805 f.

<sup>54</sup> *JRS* xxvii. 145 ff.

<sup>55</sup> *RA* xii. 58 ff.

<sup>56</sup> *ARW* xxxiv. 114 ff.

<sup>57</sup> Baltimore, 1937; cf. *AJA* xli. 647 f., *ClRev* lii. 38, *REA* xl. 90 f., *Gnomon*, xiv. 449 ff., *Athenaeum*, xvi. 208 f., *BCH* lxii. 205, *REG* li. 545 f., *RecPhil* xliii. 75 f., *PhW* lix. 494 ff., *AntClass* vii. 473 ff., *Boll. fil. class.* xlv. 238 ff.

<sup>58</sup> *BSA* xxxv. 189 f.; for early Helladic pottery at Corcyra cf. *BSA* xxxv. 24.

<sup>59</sup> *Comment. Vindob.* ii. 92 ff.; cf. *REA* xxxix. 418 f.

<sup>60</sup> *AA* 1937, 200.

<sup>61</sup> *Hesperia*, vi. 469 ff.; cf. *AA* 1937, 94 f.

<sup>62</sup> *RA* x. 27 ff.

<sup>63</sup> *REA* xl. 43 ff.

<sup>64</sup> *NSc* xii. 410.

<sup>65</sup> *BCH* lx. 169.

<sup>66</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, *AJA* xli. 86 ff.

<sup>67</sup> *RM* lii. 44 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlii. 387.

<sup>68</sup> G.M.A. Richter, *BNP* xxxiii. 52 ff.

<sup>69</sup> F. P. Johnson, *AJA* xlii. 345 ff.

<sup>70</sup> G. E. Mylonas, *ibid.* 124.

<sup>71</sup> *JAOs* lviii. 38 ff.; cf. *Zeits. D. Pal.-Ver.* lxi. 134 f.

<sup>72</sup> *Klio*, xxix. 281.

<sup>73</sup> *Klio*, xxx. 346 ff.



Byzantine weights. H. Seyrig describes <sup>74</sup> two amulets in the Newell collection inscribed ΙΑΩ, M. Schwabe <sup>75</sup> three finger-rings from Palestine, and A. Blanchet <sup>76</sup> a gnostic stone in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

C. Mercurelli gives an account <sup>77</sup> of the Christian monuments exhibited in the Mostra Augustea at Rome, including casts of Maximin's rescript from Arycanda and of the epitaph of Abercius. C. Pesce discusses <sup>78</sup> the inscribed statue of Imouthes (*OGI* 699) in the Museum of Antiquities at Turin and C. Blumel <sup>79</sup> the portrait-herm of Themistocles from the Villa Negroni (Rome), now in Berlin. L. Robert throws light <sup>80</sup> upon a group of Greek inscriptions preserved in the Toulon Museum, one found locally, one of unknown provenance and five from Sidon and Syria, and upon a dedication (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 4687a) in the Louvre, assigning <sup>81</sup> it to Piraeus. He also provides a masterly edition <sup>82</sup> of the collection of 91 Greek inscriptions amassed by W. Froehner and left by him to the Département des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, together with six others in the same Department but not from the same donor: four members of the Froehner Collection (Nos. 88-91), a lamp dedicated to Pasicrata, a votive to Sabazius, an epitaph introducing the formula χρω κτω, and a Christian tomb-inscription, are of unrecorded provenance. A. Blanchet has copied <sup>83</sup> two Greek epitaphs, one apparently unpublished, in the cemetery of Père-Lachaise at Paris. Robert proves <sup>84</sup> the Roman origin of the collection of Jewish inscriptions, Greek and Latin, in Pusey House at Oxford.

For the Helladic script G. E. Mylonas' publication <sup>85</sup> of the inscribed amphora discovered at Eleusis and the appended discussion of Helladic writing in the later thirteenth and earlier twelfth centuries B.C. is of great importance. In the field of Minoan writing I note in passing F. Chapouthier's discussion <sup>86</sup> of a hieroglyphic inscription found at Mallia, J. Sundwall's summary <sup>87</sup> of the progress made in the interpretation of the Minoan documents, A. Cuny's comments <sup>88</sup> on the inscribed double-axe of Arkalochori, C. Picard's examination <sup>89</sup> of a Minoan sign representing a helmet or possibly an idol, E. Poisson's attempt <sup>90</sup> to decipher two inscriptions in Creto-Mycenean writing, J. F. Daniel's account <sup>91</sup> of four pots and seven sherds with Cypro-Minoan inscriptions unearthed at Curium, and, above all, F. W. von Bissing's lucid and interesting survey <sup>92</sup> of the Egyptian, cuneiform, Minoan, Cyprian, Hittite, Phoenician and Sinaitic scripts, of the materials used for writing, of the book, the ways in which inscriptions serve to throw light upon the monuments and the artistic value of individual letters and of written texts.

V. Georgiev studies <sup>93</sup> the enigmatic inscription on the Ezerovo ring and offers translations into Greek and German of the original Thracian text. F. Miltner challenges <sup>94</sup> the view that the Anatolian scripts (Phrygian, Lydian, Lycian and Carian) were derived from the Greek in the seventh or sixth century B.C. and maintains that in the closing centuries of the second millennium B.C. the Anatolians incorporated the Phrygian signs in their own earlier script. B. L. Ullman too deals <sup>95</sup> with these scripts, especially Phrygian, in relation to the problem of the age of the Greek alphabet, arguing that the Midas-inscriptions really belong to the later eighth century, though they look more like

<sup>74</sup> *Syria*, xvii. 395.

<sup>75</sup> *Tarbiz*, vii. 345 ff. (*SEG* viii. 273, 350 f.).

<sup>76</sup> *Mém. Inst. Fr. Arch. Or.* lxvii. 283 ff.

<sup>77</sup> *Riv. arch. crist.* xv. 131 ff.

<sup>78</sup> *BSArch. Alex.* x. 60 ff.

<sup>79</sup> *AA* 1938, 269 f.

<sup>80</sup> *BCH* lx. 190 ff.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* 206 f.; cf. *REG* li. 430.

<sup>82</sup> *Collection Froehner*, I. *Inscriptions grecques*, Paris, 1936; cf. *D. Litte.* 1937, 1680 ff., *RA* xii. 289 ff., *AJPh* lix. 497 ff., *MalBeyr* xxi. 257 f., *REG* li. 416 f.

<sup>83</sup> *RA* ix. 89 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 419.

<sup>84</sup> *REJuives*, cii. 121.

<sup>85</sup> *AJA* xl. 426 ff., *Εφημ* 1936, 61 ff.; cf. *AJA* xli. 114, xlii. 566 f., *Class. Bull.* xii. 55 f.

<sup>86</sup> *BCH* lxii. 104 ff., *CRAI* 1937, 277 f.

<sup>87</sup> *Forsch. u. Fortsch.* xiv. 25.

<sup>88</sup> *REA* xxxix. 178 f.

<sup>89</sup> *Εφημ* 1937, 83 ff.

<sup>90</sup> *Essai de déchiffrement*, Paris, 1938.

<sup>91</sup> *AJA* xlii. 272 ff.

<sup>92</sup> *Handbuch der Archäologie*, I, 147 ff.; cf. S. Marinatos, *AA* 1937, 224 ff.

<sup>93</sup> *Zeits. vergl. Sprachf.* lxxv. 184 ff.

<sup>94</sup> *Forsch. u. Fortsch.* xiv. 407 f.

<sup>95</sup> *Classical Studies presented to E. Capps*, 333 ff.



the sixth. J. Fraser examines<sup>96</sup> the meaning of the neo-Phrygian<sup>95</sup> vi and other neo-Phrygian phrases are interpreted<sup>97</sup> by O. Haas, while P. Meriggi attempts<sup>98</sup> to translate some passages in the Lycian text of the Xanthus stele. The Lemnian stele (*IG* xii. 8. 1) also continues to attract attention; it is the object of an exchange of views<sup>99</sup> between M. Runes and F. R[ibezzo], and enters into W. Brandenstein's article<sup>100</sup> on the prehistory of the Etruscans and Tyrrhenians, while it plays a prominent part in a long essay<sup>101</sup> in which A. Della Seta publishes four vase-inscriptions in the same alphabet found by the Italian excavators at Hephæstia and reviews with their aid the significance of the Lemnian inscriptions for the Etruscan problem. Of contributions to the study of the Sinaitic script I note, in addition to von Bissing's above-mentioned work, articles by J. Leibovitch,<sup>102</sup> J. Levie<sup>103</sup> and A. Rowe,<sup>104</sup> H. Grimme's discovery<sup>105</sup> of the name Sinai in the Serabit texts and the same scholar's *Altsinaitische Forschungen*,<sup>106</sup> critically reviewed<sup>107</sup> by W. F. Albright, which contains a full discussion of the form and contents of these documents, attributed by Grimme to about 1500 B.C.

Among articles on the development of the alphabet those of S. H. Hooke<sup>108</sup> on the early history of writing, of V. Pisani<sup>109</sup> on the transition from ideographic to alphabetic script in Egypt and the Indo-Mediterranean area, and of J. Friedrich<sup>110</sup> on certain early scripts hardly concern us here. Especially noteworthy is H. Bauer's posthumous work *Der Ursprung des Alphabets*,<sup>111</sup> which maintains the Egyptian origin of the alphabetic principle, assigns the creation of a consonantal alphabet to Syria, perhaps Byblus, about 1300 B.C., denies that the letter-forms are derived from pictographic prototypes, and dates about 1000-800 B.C. the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet by the Greeks, who introduced vowels as a necessary constituent. The fullest account of the origin, evolution and diffusion of the alphabet is contained in D. Diringer's *L'Alfabeto nella storia della civiltà*,<sup>112</sup> which deals, *inter alia*, with the Cretan scripts (pp. 147 ff.), the Cyprian syllabary (pp. 209 ff.), the Sinaitic writing (pp. 245 ff.) and the Greek alphabet (pp. 351 ff.); the author holds that alphabetic writing originated in Palestine or Syria about 1800-1700 B.C. and that the Greeks learned to write towards the close of the second millennium B.C., certainly before 1000. B. L. Ullman, in a paper on early Greek alphabets,<sup>113</sup> dates the Dipylon-vase inscription (*IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 919) in the first half of the eighth century, or even late in the ninth, and assigns the Phrygian Midas-inscriptions to the great king of that name in the later eighth century. Elsewhere<sup>114</sup> he places the invention of the alphabet before 2000, since the Sinaitic script, modelled on Egyptian hieroglyphs and based on the acrophonic principle, goes back to 1900-1800 B.C., and claims that the Greeks learned their alphabet, of which the 'western' forms are earlier than the 'eastern', before 1000; the Anatolian and Etruscan alphabets, both of which can be traced back to the eighth century, were borrowed from the Greek, while the Romans derived theirs not from the Greeks of Cumæ but from the proto-Etruscan script. O. Eissfeldt, taking it as agreed

<sup>96</sup> *Acta Jutlandica*, ix. 537 ff.

<sup>97</sup> *Wiener Zeits. f. d. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, xlv. 121 ff.

<sup>98</sup> *Acta Jutlandica*, ix. 505 ff.

<sup>99</sup> *RivIGI* xx. 190 ff.

<sup>100</sup> *Belleten*, i. 714 ff.

<sup>101</sup> *Scritti in onore di B. Nogara*, 119 ff.

<sup>102</sup> *Bull. Inst. Ég.* xviii. 157 ff.

<sup>103</sup> *Nouv. Rev. Théol.* lx. 844 ff.

<sup>104</sup> *Expository Times*, xlix. 324 f.; cf. *Pal. Expl. Qu.* 1937, 178 ff., 1938, 143.

<sup>105</sup> *Orientalia*, v. 88 ff.

<sup>106</sup> Paderborn, 1937; cf. *AJA* xli. 467, *RevBibl* xlvii. 310 f., *Orientalia*, viii. 177 f., *Ann. Serv. Ant.* xxviii. 671 ff.x

<sup>107</sup> *Jewish Q.R.* xxviii. 333 ff.

<sup>108</sup> *Antiquity*, 1937, 261 ff., 359 f.

<sup>109</sup> *Ann. Scuola Norm. Sup. di Pisa*, II. v. 267 ff.

<sup>110</sup> *Zeits. D. Morg. Ges.* xci. 319 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlii. 131 f.

<sup>111</sup> Leipzig, 1937; cf. *Zeits. D. Morg. Ges.* xci. 324 ff., 341 f., xcii. 670 ff., *Syria*, xix. 88 ff., *RevBibl* xlvii. 308 ff., *PhW* lviii. 788 ff., *Gnomon*, xv. 23 ff., *Zeits. D. Pal.-Ver.* lxi. 133 f.

<sup>112</sup> Florence, 1937; cf. *RevBibl* xlvii. 259 ff., *Biblica*, xix. 343 ff., *AJA* xli. 643 ff., *MdBeyr* xxi. 290 f.

<sup>113</sup> *Classical Studies presented to E. Capps*, 333 ff.

<sup>114</sup> *AJA* xlii. 125 f.



that the Greeks learned their alphabet from the Phoenicians between 1100 and 900 B.C., summarises<sup>115</sup> some current views on the earliest stages of alphabetic evolution, and J. Day argues<sup>116</sup> that the only definite historical element in the legend of the letters of Cadmus lies in the fact of the Phoenician derivation of the Greek script. R. Carpenter returns to the attack in a spirited article,<sup>117</sup> maintaining that the inscribed Corinthian sherds belong not to the eighth but to the later sixth century, that the Hymettus fragments are probably not earlier than the Dipylon-jug, which may well belong to the 'Geometric overlap', that a careful scrutiny of the crucial letters AKM proves that the transmission from Semitic to Greek falls between ca. 825 and the seventh century, and that the fact that the Greek alphabet postulates a knowledge both of the Semitic consonantal alphabet and of the Cypriote syllabary and also the absence of B from an entire family of Greek local scripts support the theory of an eighth-century transmission, perhaps by a Rhodian at Citium; the spread of the Greek alphabet was very rapid, since it reached Corinth within a generation and Etruria in less than fifty years. Carpenter finds an ally in R. Young,<sup>118</sup> who, dating the Hymettus graffiti after 700, the Corinthian sherds after 650 and the Dipylon-jug about 700, concludes that the alphabet was unknown in Greece before the last quarter of the eighth century. G. E. Mylonas reviews<sup>119</sup> the present position of the controversy between Ullman and Carpenter, rejects the view that the Helladic and the Greek scripts were used contemporaneously on the mainland, and dates the introduction of the Greek alphabet between the twelfth and the eighth century.

A. Rehm gives an interesting and valuable account<sup>120</sup> of Greek and Italic scripts and inscriptions, in which he deals with epigraphical technique (pp. 185 ff.), the origin and early development of the Greek script (pp. 191 ff.), inscriptions as works of art (pp. 216 ff.), the materials and arrangement of inscriptions (pp. 226 ff.) and inscriptions which are archaeologically important (pp. 235 ff.). I regret that A. S. Arvanitopoulos' treatise<sup>121</sup> on Greek epigraphy is not yet accessible to me.

## II. ATTICA.

The discoveries made by the American excavators in the Athenian Agora continue to be bewildering in variety and embarrassing in number; the more interesting of them are edited with praiseworthy promptitude and admirable competence by B. D. Meritt, S. Dow, M. Crosby and other scholars. The main finds are briefly described in T. L. Shear's reports on the campaigns of 1936<sup>122</sup> and 1937,<sup>123</sup> and the total number, which by the close of 1936 reached 4264,<sup>124</sup> topped the 5000-mark a year later.<sup>125</sup> Another American excavation, that of O. Broneer on the N. slope of the Acropolis, has also proved epigraphically fruitful.<sup>126</sup>

A. M. Woodward discusses<sup>127</sup> the golden Nikai of Athena, draws up a chronological list of epigraphical references to them with valuable notes and restorations, and shows that only one of these statues survived from the fifth into the fourth century. Inscriptions also provide the main sources from which P. L. MacKendrick draws for his thesis on the Attic clan of the Eumolpidae, of which he publishes an abstract,<sup>128</sup> showing how 'a conservative aristocracy, barred from direct political influence in a society predominantly

<sup>115</sup> *Forsch. u. Fortsch.* xiv. 4 f.

<sup>116</sup> *AJA* xlii. 125.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.* 58 ff., 125.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.* 124 f.

<sup>119</sup> *ClassBull* xii. 54 ff.; cf. *PhW* lviii. 1125 f.

<sup>120</sup> *Handbuch der Archäologie*, I, 182 ff.

<sup>121</sup> \**Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐπιγραφικὴ*, I, Athens, 1937.

<sup>122</sup> *AJA* xl. 406 ff., *Hesperia*, vi. 339 ff.; cf. *BCH* lx. 457 f.

<sup>123</sup> *AJA* xli. 177 ff., xlii. 13 ff., *Hesperia*, vii. 328 ff. (esp. 358 ff.); cf. *AA* 1937, 103 ff., *BCH* lxi. 446 ff.

<sup>124</sup> *Hesperia*, vi. 378.

<sup>125</sup> *AJA* xlii. 16, *Hesperia*, vii. 358.

<sup>126</sup> *AJA* xlii. 161 ff.; cf. *AA* 1937, 93 ff., *BCH* lxi. 443 ff.

<sup>127</sup> *Εφημ* 1937, 159 ff.

<sup>128</sup> *Harvard Studies*, xlix. 271 ff.



democratic, nevertheless, throughout a millennium, maintained religious prerogatives through which it continued to exert great influence<sup>1</sup>.

[IG i<sup>2</sup>.] *Down to 403 B.C.*—Numerous inscriptions of this period have been published for the first time during the past two years. In addition to new fragments<sup>129</sup> of texts already known, the Agora has yielded a large number of ostraka<sup>130</sup> used in the ostracisms of the early fifth century, bringing the total to 247; 83 of these were given against Themistocles, 41 against Aristides, 31 against Callixenus and 30 against Hippocrates, while others bear the names of Cydrocles, Megacles and the elder Alcibiades. An ostrakon inscribed Μεγακλῆς Ἱπποκράτος Ἀλοπαῖθεν comes<sup>131</sup> from the Ceramicus, and among the most interesting finds from the N. slope of the Acropolis are 190 ostraka,<sup>132</sup> 122 of them kylix-bases, carefully inscribed by fourteen hands with Themistocles' name (in some cases with an added ἴρο, 'Themistocles must go!'), apparently 'prepared by the political opponents of Themistocles for free distribution in order to induce the public to cast their votes for the banishment of the progressive and popular leader': one ostrakon from the same well bears the name of Cimon, son of Miltiades. Other finds include a fragment of an honorary decree of 450–400 B.C., discovered<sup>133</sup> by J. H. Oliver on the S. slope of the Acropolis, three official bronze weights<sup>134</sup> of the late sixth or early fifth century, a boundary-stone from the Agora inscribed<sup>135</sup> Νυνφάλο ἡιερό ἡόπος, a short text on a sixth-century bronze horse, a kalyx-krater, doubtless by Execias, bearing the names of gods and warriors and Ὀνετοπίδε[ς] κολός, and a standard earthenware vessel, inscribed Δερύσιον and stamped with the state seal, from the N. slope of the Acropolis,<sup>136</sup> whence also comes a fragment of a fifth-century decree published<sup>137</sup> by E. Schweigert. A. Raubitschek edits<sup>138</sup> fragments of six archaic dedications in the Acropolis Museum and of two from the Epigraphical Museum, and adds other four fragments to known texts; one (No. 3) gives an almost complete votive epigram, which the editor dates 530–20 B.C., another (No. 6) may bear the signature of Archermus, and a third (No. 7) is probably from the same column as IG i<sup>2</sup>. 621. A. S. Arvanitopoulos publishes<sup>139</sup> a metrical epitaph of a warrior, which he dates 550–40 B.C., inscribed on the base of a κύπερος said to have been found on the E. slope of Hymettus, L. Robert<sup>140</sup> a fifth-century votive now in the Froehner Collection, and D. M. Robinson<sup>141</sup> a fragment of a list of ships, containing two new names, found at Piraeus and now preserved in Baltimore.

I now turn to inscriptions previously published. E. Loewy sought<sup>142</sup> to assign several texts, mainly on palaeographical grounds, to dates considerably later than those currently accepted—notably IG i<sup>2</sup>. 1 (Salaminian Decree), 3–4 (Hekatompedon inscriptions), 487 (dedication of Iphidice), 507 (dedication of Epiteles), 655 (Phayllus epigram), 761 (altar of Pisistratus) and 763 (Marathon epigrams). He suggested that 761 was originally only painted and was not engraved until after Thucydides' description of its letters as ἀμυδρά. By a combination of acute observation and tireless industry A. Raubitschek has united many of the shattered fragments of archaic Athenian votive inscriptions; he follows up his former list of the coherent numbers (cf. *JHS* lvii. 170) by an article in which, besides editing the new inscriptions mentioned above, he explains<sup>143</sup> and justifies

<sup>129</sup> See below under IG i<sup>2</sup>. 1, 67, 90, 156, 158, 191 ff., 337, 338, 363 ff., 954, 983.

<sup>130</sup> T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, vi. 344 f., vii. 361, *AJA* xlii. 13; cf. *BCH* lxi. 448 f.

<sup>131</sup> K. Gebauer-H. Johannes, *AA* 1937, 194 f.; cf. *AJA* xli. 624, *BCH* lxi. 449.

<sup>132</sup> O. Broneer, *AJA* xlii. 163 f., *Hesperia*, vii. 228 ff.

<sup>133</sup> *AJA* xl. 460 f.

<sup>134</sup> T. L. Shear, *AJA* xlii. 13 ff., *Hesperia*, vii. 362.

<sup>135</sup> *AA* 1937, 103.

<sup>136</sup> O. Broneer, *AJA* xlii. 161 ff., *Hesperia*, vi. 469 ff., vii. 222 f.; cf. *AA* 1937, 94 f., *BCH* lxi. 443 ff.

<sup>137</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 274, No. 8.

<sup>138</sup> *ÖJh* xxxi, Beibl. 23 ff.; cf. *REA* xl. 480.

<sup>139</sup> *Πολύμων*, ii. 81 ff.

<sup>140</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 1.

<sup>141</sup> *AJA* xli. 292 ff.

<sup>142</sup> *SBWien* ccxvi. 4; cf. *REG* li. 424.

<sup>143</sup> *ÖJh* xxxi, Beibl. 30 ff.; cf. *REA* xl. 480.



by illustration and comment the combination of 52 fragments to form 22 inscriptions; space forbids my giving a list of these collocations. I may also refer here to M. F. McGregor's inquiry<sup>144</sup> into the chronology of Cleon's last campaign and of the Attic calendar in 422-1 B.C., which, he maintains against Meritt, is shown by epigraphical evidence to have been an ordinary year; hence he assigns the ratification of the Peace of Nicias to March 12, 421.

In addition to the aforementioned inscriptions in *IG* i<sup>2</sup>, the following have been the objects of special study in the period under review.

1. E. Schweigert adds<sup>145</sup> a tiny fragment to the end of the 'Salaminian Decree'.

10. In an able review<sup>146</sup> of L. I. Highby's *The Erythrae Decree*, G. De Sanctis questions some of the author's views. In an article<sup>147</sup> on the beginnings of the Athenian ἀρχή, W. Kolbe re-interprets the Erythraean Decree, which he assigns to 450 or one of the immediately preceding years,<sup>148</sup> rejects Schaefer's contention that the 460's witnessed the transformation of the Delian League into an Empire, and supports Nesselhauf's opinion that this change was the work of Pericles and followed the conclusion of the Peace of Callias.

15. Kolbe also offers<sup>149</sup> a new restoration of part of the Colophonian Decree (*SEG* iii. 3), which he dates in 448-7 or 447-6.

17. E. Schweigert restores<sup>150</sup> this fragment, attributing it to 446-5 B.C. and regarding it as part of the Athenian decree for Eretria referred to in 39.42.

42, 43. He also studies<sup>151</sup> these Eretrian judicial decrees, shows that two fragments of 42 are contiguous and that 43 is opisthographic, and unites the two as parts of a single document.

49. With the aid of 41.2 f. and 55.7 ff., he restores<sup>152</sup> this fragment of another Eretrian judicial decree.

63. B. D. Meritt replied<sup>153</sup> to Nesselhauf's criticism<sup>154</sup> of the location of fragment 2 in Meritt and West's *Athenian Assessment of 425 B.C.* and of the resultant restoration and interpretation of the decree. W. Kolbe then argued<sup>155</sup> at length in support of Nesselhauf's view, the placing of fragment 2 in the position shown in i<sup>2</sup>. 63, the restoration of Olvet; in ll. 3 and 34, and the association of l. 34 not with Cleon's return from Pylos, but with Demosthenes' departure from Athens early in the fourth prytany: Meritt, however, claims<sup>156</sup> that this position of fragment 2 is physically impossible and that Kolbe's reading and restoration of l. 12 rest upon an incorrect drawing of Pittakys' copy. H. T. Wade-Gery suggests<sup>157</sup> that Cleon's delay, indicated by the decree, may have occurred at Athens, and connects it with the anecdote of Cleon's effrontery told by Theopompus (fr. 92 Jacoby) and Plutarch (*Nic.* 7, *Moralia*, 799D). Meritt answers<sup>158</sup> some criticisms and rejects some proposals of L. Robert, making suggestions of his own with reference to certain towns of Asia Minor which figure in the assessment-list (ll. 110 ff., 140 f., 216 f., 279 f.).

65, 66. Meritt reconstructs<sup>159</sup> from eleven and three fragments respectively these important decrees relative to tribute-collection in the Archidamian War, of which he regards 66 as the earlier.

<sup>144</sup> *AJPh* lix. 145 ff.

<sup>145</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 264 f.

<sup>146</sup> *RivFil* lxxv. 299 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 425.

<sup>147</sup> *Hermes*, lxxiii. 249 ff.

<sup>148</sup> So too Meritt, *AJPh* lviii. 360 f.

<sup>149</sup> *Hermes*, lxxiii. 256 ff.

<sup>150</sup> *Hesperia*, vi. 317 ff.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.* 320 ff.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.* 322 f.

<sup>153</sup> *AJPh* lviii. 152 ff.

<sup>154</sup> *Gnomon*, xii. 296 ff.

<sup>155</sup> *SBBerl* 1937, 172 ff.

<sup>156</sup> *AJPh* lix. 297 ff.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.* 129 ff.

<sup>158</sup> *AJPh* lviii. 385 ff.

<sup>159</sup> *Documents on Athenian Tribute* (Harvard U.P., 1937), 3 ff. Cf. *JHS* lviii. 108 f., *ClRev* lii. 138 f., *AJA* xlii. 601 ff., *Class. Weekly*, xxxii. 87 f., *RivFil* lxxvi. 409 ff., *RA* xii. 291 f., *REG* li. 289 f., 425 f., *GGA* cc. 159 ff., *D. Litztg.* 1938, 1033 ff., *LitAnn* xxv. 63 ff.



- 67, 156. E. Schweigert adds <sup>160</sup> new fragments to these decrees.
90. Meritt adds <sup>161</sup> to the treaty between Athens and the Bottiaeans two fragments, one from the Agora and one in the Epigraphical Museum.
105. He modifies, <sup>162</sup> in view of De Sanctis' criticism (cf. *JHS* lvii. 173), his restoration of the decree for Archelaus of Macedon, suggests Alcibiades as its proposer (l. 4) and reaffirms his assignment to 407-6 B.C.
108. The decrees for Neapolis are restudied <sup>163</sup> by P. Collart.
156. See 67.
158. E. Schweigert adds <sup>164</sup> two further fragments to this mutilated decree.
- 191 ff. Further progress has been made with the study of the quota-lists. Three more fragments of the *lapis primus*, found in the Agora, are edited <sup>165</sup> by Meritt, one containing *SEG* v. 8 i 26-30 and another 14 ii 88-93, completing the list of Carian cities for 441-0 B.C. A. B. West locates <sup>166</sup> Stolos (Scolus) by the aid of the quota-lists and of *IG* iv<sup>2</sup>. 1. 94, and Meritt discusses <sup>167</sup> the Ὀρωνιῆται of *SEG* v. 2 and 4, and supports against L. Robert the Κι[λ]λαρε[ς] of 4 v 28, while in his masterly *Documents on Athenian Tribute* <sup>168</sup> he develops the results of Wade-Gery's discovery (*BSA* xxxiii. 101 ff.) for the early lists (pp. 61 ff.), gives a final proof that v. 28 belongs to 430-29 and v. 25 to 429-8 B.C. (pp. 98 ff.), and establishes the true positions of various fragments hitherto unplaced or wrongly assigned (pp. 101 ff.). I need not give details here, for the conclusions reached are incorporated in the definitive work of Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, *The Attic Tribute Lists*, published in 1939 and so falling outside the present survey. W. Kolbe appeals <sup>169</sup> to the quota-lists in support of his views on the development of the Athenian Empire.
- 264, 268-70. L. Robert gives <sup>170</sup> a note on and a photograph of the stone, now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, containing parts of the Hekatompedon-inventories for 422-1 and 418-5 B.C., and Meritt supplies <sup>171</sup> some new readings of the text.
302. These accounts play an important part in J. Hatzfeld's article <sup>172</sup> on the sailing of the Sicilian Expedition, which he dates about June 20, 415.
331. A new fragment of the sale-lists of the Hermocopidae, published <sup>173</sup> by Meritt, may be part of this text.
338. E. Schweigert makes <sup>174</sup> an important addition to the accounts of the statue of Athena Promachos.
- 339-52. B. Schweitzer uses <sup>175</sup> the Parthenon-accounts in his 'Prolegomena to the Art of the Parthenon-Master'.
- 363 ff. Two further fragments of the Propylaea-accounts, of uncertain location, have been found <sup>176</sup> in the Agora.
- 370-1. C. Picard shows <sup>177</sup> that these accounts throw light on the location of the Athenian Eleusinium and Hephaestium and on the history of a group of statues by Alcamenes.
377. J. Coupry summarises <sup>178</sup> this record of the Athenian Amphictions of Delos.
394. In his study of the lay-out of the Periclean Acropolis G. P. Stevens discusses <sup>179</sup> the inscribed base of the thankoffering for the Athenian victories of 506 B.C.

<sup>160</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 269 ff., Nos. 4, 5.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.* 80 f.

<sup>162</sup> *Classical Studies presented to E. Capps*, 246 ff.

<sup>163</sup> *Philippos, ville de Macédoine*, 110 ff.

<sup>164</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 271 f., No. 6.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.* 77 f.

<sup>166</sup> *AJPh* lviii. 157 ff.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.* 385 ff.

<sup>168</sup> See footnote 159.

<sup>169</sup> *Hermes*, lxxiii. 258, 267 f.

<sup>170</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 92.

<sup>171</sup> *AJPh* lix. 501.

<sup>172</sup> *REG* l. 293 ff.

<sup>173</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 81 f.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.* 264 ff.

<sup>175</sup> *Jdl* liii. 6 ff.

<sup>176</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 79 f.

<sup>177</sup> *CRAI* lxxxviii. 1938, 384 ff.

<sup>178</sup> *BCH* lxi. 365.

<sup>179</sup> *Hesperia*, v. 504 ff., *The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens* (Harvard U.P., 1936), 62 ff.



609. A remarkable reconstruction<sup>180</sup> of the memorial of Callimachus, Athenian polemarch in the battle of Marathon, is due to A. Raubitschek.

763. A. S. Arvanitopoulos offers<sup>181</sup> a new restoration of the 'Marathon epigrams', referring the first to those who fell there, the second to those who faced the Persians at Phalerum.

778-800. In a discussion of Theraean cults, F. Hiller von Gaertringen re-examines<sup>182</sup> the dedications from Vari, especially those of Archedamus of Thera.

831, 837. J. Kirchner and S. Dow re-edit<sup>183</sup> the dedication of Euphorus at Laurium, dating it before 450 B.C., and the herm of Hipparchus midway between Athens and Cephale, on which J. F. Crome also comments.<sup>184</sup>

927. P. Friedländer discusses<sup>185</sup> the couplet commemorating the Corinthians killed at Salamis and regards the second distich added in the literary tradition as an independent epigram.

954, 957, 964. Meritt unites<sup>186</sup> these three name-lists and adds three further blocks discovered in the Agora as parts of the same original inscription.

976. A. S. Arvanitopoulos re-edits<sup>187</sup> the archaic metrical epitaph of Tettichus.

983, 988. A. Raubitschek gives<sup>188</sup> a complete reading of the sepulchral epigram of Nelonides and discusses the date of the sculptor Endoeus; he adds<sup>189</sup> a new fragment ('Ελληνικά, viii. 215 ff.) to a metrical epitaph on a monument which he attributes to Aristion of Paros.

K. Schefold makes some remarks<sup>190</sup> on the inscribed basis of the statues of the tyrannicides (cf. *JHS* lvii. 169), T. L. Shear maintains<sup>191</sup> the Simonidean authorship of the couplets engraved on it, and P. Friedländer discusses<sup>192</sup> the character and significance of the epigram. The 'Coronea epigram' is examined<sup>193</sup> by C. M. Bowra, who restores [εἰς ἡρόδ]ν in l. 4 and ἀε[π]το in l. 1, regards Orion rather than Trophonius as the hero who aided the Boeotians, and assigns certain unusual features to the influence of the Peloponnesian elegiac lament. K. Reinhardt makes<sup>194</sup> further criticisms and suggestions, notably πρόφρον [γάρ ὁ τοισι]δε in l. 5. Neither scholar discusses the authorship of the poem. The inscription on the shield captured by the Athenians at Pylos in 425 is published<sup>195</sup> by Shear. W. S. Ferguson examines<sup>196</sup> the extant portions of the Attic law-code published, partly in Attic script, partly in Ionic, in the last decade of the fifth century, discusses the arrangement of the content, and shows their importance as proving the existence of pre-Solonian tritities, and F. Sokolowsky deals in detail<sup>197</sup> with some passages of the *fasti sacri* inscribed on the fragment recently unearthed in the Agora (*Hesperia*, iv. 21 ff.).

Though not strictly relevant here, I mention the full publication<sup>198</sup> by M. Segre of an important new fragment, found at Cos, of the Athenian ordinance imposing on all members of the Empire uniformity of coinage, weights and measures (cf. *JHS* lvii. 198): not only does this considerably extend our knowledge of the text of the decree, but it shows

<sup>180</sup> *BCH* lxi. 442 f.

<sup>181</sup> 'Ελληνική Ἐπιγραφική, 118 ff.; cf. D. M. Robinson, *CIPhil* xxxiii. 211, P. Friedländer, *Stud. Ital. Fil. Class.* xv. 93 f.

<sup>182</sup> 'Εφημ 1937, 58 f.

<sup>183</sup> *AM* lxii. 1 ff., 6 f.

<sup>184</sup> *AM* lx-lxi. 305 f.

<sup>185</sup> *Stud. Ital. Fil. Class.* xv. 95 ff.

<sup>186</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 82 ff.

<sup>187</sup> *Πολύμων*, ii. 87 f.

<sup>188</sup> *ÖJh* xxxi, Beibl. 62 ff.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.* 58 ff.

<sup>190</sup> *Jdl* lii. 34 f.

<sup>191</sup> *Hesperia*, vi. 352.

<sup>192</sup> *Stud. Ital. Fil. Class.* xv. 89 ff.

<sup>193</sup> *CIQu* xxvii. 80 ff.

<sup>194</sup> *Hermes*, lxxiii. 234 ff.

<sup>195</sup> 'Εφημ 1937, 140 ff., *Hesperia*, vi. 346 ff.; cf. *JHS* lvi. 138 f., *Die Antike*, xiii. 151 f.

<sup>196</sup> *Classical Studies presented to E. Capps*, 144 ff.

<sup>197</sup> *Eos*, xxxvi. 450 ff.; cf. P. Boyancé, *Le culte des Muses*, 26, n. 3.

<sup>198</sup> *Clara Rhodos*, ix. 151 ff.



by the character of the script that its date, placed by Segre about 446 B.C., must be considerably earlier than has hitherto been thought (Tod, *GHI* 67).

[*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>.] After 403 B.C.—No further instalment of *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. has appeared, but attention may be drawn to S. Dow's review<sup>199</sup> of part iii, fasc. 1. J. Kirchner examines<sup>200</sup> the operation of the law of Demetrius of Phalerum which in 317 checked luxury in graves, pointing out that in the third century we have at most 12 stelae adorned with reliefs or other decoration and that all these commemorate foreigners, while in the second century only three of the ten extant decorated stelae mark citizens' graves.

The Agora still provides the great majority of new Attic inscriptions. T. L. Shear's reports (see p. 247) give photographs or texts of some—notably a statue-base<sup>201</sup> with a dedication to Demeter and Core and the signature of Praxiteles, a second base<sup>202</sup> signed by that sculptor, a base<sup>203</sup> of a statue of Hadrian, a relief<sup>204</sup> depicting a funeral-banquet inscribed Χρυσίς ἡρώι, a bowl inscribed Διώνυσος and a Hellenistic krater<sup>205</sup> dedicated to Dionysus and Artemis, a base,<sup>206</sup> dedicated by Herodes Atticus, of a statue of Civica Barbarus, consul in A.D. 157, a sixth-century B.C. stand,<sup>207</sup> a cup of the Roman period inscribed Σφαγιστήρια, and a gnostic gem,—while others he briefly describes.<sup>208</sup> H. A. Thompson's full account of the buildings on the W. side of the Agora includes<sup>209</sup> a fourth-century altar of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratría, a roof-tile of the Hellenistic Metroön, a second-century base signed by Hermippus of Sunium, and a fourth-century relief offered Μητρί θεῶν. Many texts from the Agora have been admirably published. G. W. Elderkin deals<sup>210</sup> with two leaden tablets containing long and lurid curses, one against an individual, the other against a gang of thieves and their accomplices, and M. MacLaren<sup>211</sup> with three metrical epitaphs of Hellenistic and Roman times, one of which commemorates a merchant killed by pirates. W. S. Ferguson gives<sup>212</sup> a masterly edition of two perfectly preserved stelae, one of 363–2 and the other of about 250 B.C., recording agreements reached between two sections, οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ἑπταφυλῶν καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Σουλίου, of the γένος of the Salaminii, which later became separate γένη, throwing valuable light on their organization and cults and helping to identify the site of the Eurysaceum, together with a boundary-stone of an οἰκία λεγὰ of Athena Polias (p. 74). H. A. Thompson adds<sup>213</sup> a note on the Salaminians' property at Sunium, and M. P. Nilsson some further interpretations<sup>214</sup> of these documents, suggesting (p. 387) that there was an exchange between Attic cleruchs and native Salaminians, who, taking with them some of their cults, were transported to Attica, where they gained property and citizenship. To M. Crosby has been entrusted the publication<sup>215</sup> of twelve texts—an honorary decree of 319–18 B.C. (No. 1), which she re-edits elsewhere<sup>216</sup> with the aid of a new fragment, third-century decrees (Nos. 2, 3) for the σιτοφύλακες and for the Ephesian δῆμος, fragments (Nos. 4, 6, 7) of a tribe- or guild-decree, of fourth-century building-accounts and of a list of officials, two fourth-century dedications (Nos. 9, 10; 10 was published as an epitaph in *IG* ii. 2174), a signature of Eucheir and Eubulides (No. 11), and a statue-base<sup>217</sup> (No. 12) of A.D. 14–37, by which the Arcopagus honours 'Ιουλίαν Σεβαστήν Βουλαιάν, mother of the Emperor Tiberius, together with two documents noted below. Even more

<sup>199</sup> *AJPh* lix. 357 ff.

<sup>200</sup> *Εφημ* 1937, 338 ff.; cf. *Die Antike*, xv. 93 ff.

<sup>201</sup> *AJA* xl. 406 f., *Hesperia*, vi. 339 ff.

<sup>202</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 329 f.; cf. *AA* 1937, 108.

<sup>203</sup> *Hesperia*, vi. 352 ff.

<sup>204</sup> *AJA* xlii. 184 ff.

<sup>205</sup> *Hesperia*, vi. 373 ff.

<sup>206</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 328.

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.* 342 ff., 348, 359 ff.; cf. *BCH* lxi. 447.

<sup>208</sup> *AJA* xl. 410 ff., xlii. 16, *Hesperia*, vi. 348 f.,

354, vii. 359 ff.

<sup>209</sup> *Hesperia*, vi. 106 f., 192 f., 197, 204.

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.* 382 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 418.

<sup>211</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 468 ff.

<sup>212</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 1 ff.; cf. vi. 348 f., *REG* li. 422 f.

<sup>213</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 75 f.

<sup>214</sup> *AJPh* lix. 385 ff.

<sup>215</sup> *Hesperia*, vi. 442 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 422.

<sup>216</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 476 ff.

<sup>217</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, vi. 354.



interesting are the 17 texts (Nos. 11-27) edited <sup>218</sup> by B. D. Meritt. From the fourth century date two decrees (Nos. 11, 15), one of which, perfectly preserved, belongs to 327-6 and comes from the Eurysaceum, two dedications, a mortgage-record and an epitaph; from the third date six new decrees and additions to two already known (*IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 700, 778), and a fragment (No. 22) of the dramatic *didascaliae* of 251-0, the value of which for the history of Attic drama is discussed <sup>219</sup> by A. Körte. Of the decrees one (No. 17) confirms Dinsmoor's restoration of an important decree (ii<sup>2</sup>. 389) and leads to a new edition of ii<sup>2</sup>. 378, another (No. 18) provides a new archon for 284-3, is of great historical value and gives rise to a re-edition of ii<sup>2</sup>. 670, and a third (No. 24) fixes in 243-2 the archonship of Polyeuctus, so settling one of the most vexed problems of Athenian and Delphian chronology. In the light of this Meritt presents (pp. 131 ff.) a new table of archons and secretaries for 307-6 to 196-5 B.C., with notes on the special chronological problems of the years 307-6, 261-0, 258-7, 257-6, 251-47 and 245-4 B.C. and corrected restorations of ii<sup>2</sup>. 455, 477, 768, 774 and 775. Of the second century he edits a fragment (No. 26) of a sale-list of confiscated properties and part of a decree from the Tholos which is a copy of ii<sup>2</sup>. 1013, so that each helps in the restoration of the other. The outstanding value of Meritt's article, as also that of Miss Crosby, is enhanced by the full indexes appended to them. Less varied, but of no less scholarly excellence, is S. Dow's *Prytaneis*,<sup>220</sup> a study of the 121 inscriptions (ranging from 327-6 B.C. to about A.D. 120) honouring the Athenian councillors; 62 of these, mostly from the Agora, are wholly new, seven have new fragments added to them, and 52 were already published (see p. 258). Every aspect of this important group of texts is studied in detail and, while the new texts are edited with exemplary care and illustrated by brilliant photographs, many of those previously known are here enriched by new readings and restorations. In an appendix (pp. 198 ff.) Dow discusses the allotment-machines (κληρωτήρια) used in Attic public life and describes the eleven which are represented by extant fragments.<sup>221</sup>

On the N. slope of the Acropolis O. Broneer has found <sup>222</sup> graffiti on an amphora and a pitcher, and E. Schweigert has published <sup>223</sup> other epigraphical fruits of the same excavation, for the most part seriously mutilated—14 fragments of fourth-century decrees, part of an inventory of the Opisthodomos (No. 7), a financial record (No. 11) and a name-list (No. 29) of the same century, and two portions of third-century decrees (Nos. 32, 33), as well as additions to eight texts already known (see below). On the S. slope J. H. Oliver has discovered <sup>224</sup> parts of a decree of 372 B.C. relative to the admission of a state into the Athenian League, and of a decree, the first extant, of the allied *συνέδριον*, a fourth-century proxeny-decree, and a statue-base of Leocrates, and Broneer has deciphered <sup>225</sup> some letters on the gutter of the Dionysus-Theatre. A saucer with the graffito <sup>226</sup> 'Αουρίη has been unearthed in the Ceramicus, and I. Threpsiades has discovered <sup>227</sup> at Kastella of the Piraeus part of a vase dedicated to Artemis, a tile inscribed *Χερε Μουνη*- and fragments of fourth-century inscriptions. A number of askoi <sup>228</sup> marked *Ισών* have come to light at Vouliagmeni, near Apollo's temple on Cape Zoster, while on the Sacred Way five fragments of dedications <sup>229</sup> attest the location of a shrine of Aphrodite. L. Robert has found <sup>230</sup> at Acharnae two stelae of extraordinary interest; one contains a deme-decree concerning the erection, in response to a Delphian oracle, of

<sup>218</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 91 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 422.

<sup>219</sup> *Hermes*, lxxiii. 123 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlii. 16, *Hesperia*, vii. 359 f.

<sup>220</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. I. Cf. *JHS* lviii. 109 ff., *ClRev* lii. 204, *AJPh* lx. 257 ff., *REG* li. 291, *REA* xl. 331 ff., *Gnomon*, xiv. 458 ff., *RA* xiii. 146 f., *RevPhil* xiii. 256 ff.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. G. Klaffenbach, *Die Antike*, xiv. 353 ff.

<sup>222</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 182 f., 215.

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<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.* 264 ff.

<sup>224</sup> *AJA* xl. 460 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 423.

<sup>225</sup> *Classical Studies presented to E. Capps*, 29 ff.

<sup>226</sup> *AA* 1937, 200, *AJA* xli. 625.

<sup>227</sup> *Προεκ* 1935, 6, 187 ff.; cf. *JHS* lvi. 142.

<sup>228</sup> *BCH* lx. 460.

<sup>229</sup> I. Travlos, *Προεκ* 1937, 29 f.

<sup>230</sup> *Études épigr. et philol.* 293 ff.; cf. *CRAcInscr* 1932, 237 f.



altars to Ares and Athena Areia, and the other a fourth-century dedication by a priest of these deities, followed by the complete formula of the ephebic oath and of that sworn by the Athenians on the eve of the battle of Plataea. A series of excursions in Attica afforded J. Kirchner and S. Dow some valuable finds <sup>231</sup>—two fragments of second-century victor-lists of the Eleusinia, an early fourth-century dedication (No. 5), a boundary of the precinct of the hero Angelus (No. 7) at Markopoulo, an inscribed herm (No. 8) of the Imperial period from Kalyvia Chassia, and four mining-inscriptions from Laurium (Nos. 10–13). Four inscribed grave-stelae <sup>232</sup> from Koropi and elsewhere have recently been added to the National Museum. W. Peek publishes <sup>233</sup> three metrical epitaphs, one from the Sacred Way, a second consisting of four short poems of 300–250 B.C., and a third, of the third century A.D., comprising three epigrams engraved on a stone of which part was found in Hadrian's Library and part is in the Epigraphical Museum.

A. Dain's account of the Greek inscriptions in the Bardo Museum at Tunis includes <sup>234</sup> five Attic stones salvaged from an ancient wreck at Mahdia; he had previously edited <sup>235</sup> two honorary decrees of the Parali (of which one is *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. 1254) and two epitaphs, but here first we have a decree of 363–2 B.C. and a list of gifts made by Athens, especially to the temple of Ammon. In the Froehner Collection at Paris, published <sup>236</sup> by L. Robert, are 19 new Attic texts of this period—two epitaphs (Nos. 5, 6), a dedication (No. 9), two *defixiones* (Nos. 11, 12) and 14 heliastic tickets (No. 10)—and D. M. Robinson's collection at Baltimore has acquired <sup>237</sup> part of a treasure-record of the middle of the fourth century B.C.

In addition to the texts in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup>. mentioned above, the following have received special attention:

96, 97 are used by G. P. Karydis in his history of Corcyra (below, p. 262).

143. To this decree and epigram E. Schweigert adds <sup>238</sup> a new fragment.

210 + 259. He unites <sup>239</sup> these portions of an honorary decree and adds a further fragment.

258 + 617. He also joins <sup>240</sup> these fragments of a decree for Chalcidians.

337. S. Dow discusses <sup>241</sup> this evidence for the cult of Isis at Athens.

387, 388. M. Crosby studies <sup>242</sup> these decrees of 319–18 B.C. in the light of a new discovery.

414, 433. To these honorary decrees Schweigert adds <sup>243</sup> new fragments.

455–64. A. B. West marshals <sup>244</sup> the epigraphical evidence for the calendar of 307–6, criticising Meritt's reconstruction. W. K. Pritchett's notes <sup>245</sup> on that year include a restoration of an interesting formula in 456*b* 16.

485 + 563. To these fragments of a late fourth-century decree Schweigert adds <sup>246</sup> 621.

525 + 675. Pritchett assigns <sup>247</sup> this decree to 306–5 and restores it accordingly.

563. See 485.

597. This fragment is now in the Froehner Collection.<sup>248</sup>

617. See 258.

621. See 485.

<sup>231</sup> *AM* lxii. 1 ff.

<sup>232</sup> *AA* 1937, 86 f.

<sup>233</sup> *Festgabe T. Wiegand dargebracht*, 30 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 429.

<sup>234</sup> *Inscriptions grecques du Musée du Bardo*, 9 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 423 f.

<sup>235</sup> *REG* xlv. 290 ff.

<sup>236</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, I, pp. 3 ff.; cf. *AJPh* lix. 497 ff., *REG* li. 418 f., 429.

<sup>237</sup> *AJPh* lviii. 38 ff.

<sup>238</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 278 ff.

<sup>239</sup> *Hesperia*, vi. 329 ff.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid.* 327 ff.

<sup>241</sup> *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxx. 184 f.

<sup>242</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 477 ff.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.* 296 f., 300 f.

<sup>244</sup> *Classical Studies presented to E. Capps*, 356 ff.

<sup>245</sup> *AJPh* lviii. 220 ff.

<sup>246</sup> *Hesperia*, vi. 323 ff.

<sup>247</sup> *AJPh* lviii. 329 ff.

<sup>248</sup> L. Robert, *Coll. Froehner*, No. 3; cf. *REG* li. 423, *AJPh* lx. 202.



652. A. Wilhelm restores and interprets <sup>249</sup> anew this decree, enfranchising Aeschron, and 845, which honours his grandson. He also emends or comments on various other decrees, a list of which is added to his article.

675. See 525.

700. Meritt reconstructs <sup>250</sup> this ephebe-decree, adding a new fragment.

775 ff. S. Dow and C. F. Edson examine <sup>251</sup> the sacrificial formulae of this group of Athenian decrees. To 778 Meritt adds <sup>252</sup> a new fragment, re-editing the whole. Dow dates <sup>253</sup> 794 after 229 B.C., probably to 216-15 B.C., and offers a new text and restoration: he also contributes <sup>254</sup> textual notes on 799.

845. See 652.

966. A. Wilhelm restores <sup>255</sup> ll. 8-12 of this decree, which he refers to Attalus I.

993. Dow adds <sup>256</sup> a fragment to this refoundation-record of the Lycaea, which he dates about 215 B.C.

1076. L. Robert proposes <sup>257</sup> a new restoration of ll. 32 f.

1292, 1367. The decree of the Sarapiastae, in the British Museum, is re-edited and studied <sup>258</sup> by Dow, who also examines ll. 4-6 of the Attic sacrificial calendar.

1299. Dow and Edson discuss <sup>259</sup> the Macedonian references in this text.

1367. See 1292.

1370 ff. A. B. West and A. M. Woodward re-examine <sup>260</sup> with characteristic thoroughness the Hekatompedon-inventories from 403-2 to 390-89 B.C., settling, so far as possible, their chronological order, uniting fragments published separately, identifying unpublished pieces and restoring some texts; the results, tabulated on p. 73, show that 1382 and 1383 (discussed pp. 73 ff.) fall shortly before 403. To 1375 E. Schweigert adds <sup>261</sup> a new fragment.

1419, 1469. M. N. Tod suggests <sup>262</sup> slight restorations in these *traditiones*.

1424. Woodward shows <sup>263</sup> that 1689 joins 1424. 27 ff.

1438. To this inventory Schweigert adds <sup>264</sup> a new fragment.

1469. See 1419.

1590 + 1591. M. Crosby makes <sup>265</sup> a considerable addition to this list of leases.

1604a. L. Robert republishes <sup>266</sup> this part of a fifth-century navy-list.

1654. Schweigert identifies <sup>267</sup> a new fragment of the Erechtheum-accounts.

1670, 1681. P. H. Davis dates <sup>268</sup> 1681 in 341-0 B.C. and restores part of it in the light of 1670, which may belong to the same contract and relate to the portico of the Telesterion.

1689. See 1424.

1837, 1839, 1847, 1858, 1869, 1874, 1886 are republished <sup>269</sup> by L. Robert with a number of new *tesserae iudicum*.

1929. Schweigert edits <sup>270</sup> a new fragment of this list of substitutes.

1984. This ephebe-list, now at Paris, is republished <sup>271</sup> by Robert.

1990. He explains <sup>272</sup> the phrase ἀριστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων found in l. 5.

<sup>249</sup> \*Πραγματικὸν Ἄκτθ. Ἀθ. iv. 3 ff.; cf. REG li. 428.

<sup>250</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 110 ff.

<sup>251</sup> *Harvard Studies*, xlviii. 140 ff. For 790 cf. Dow, *Prytaneis*, 66 ff.

<sup>252</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 118 ff.

<sup>253</sup> *Harvard Studies*, xlviii. 105 ff.; cf. REG li. 427.

<sup>254</sup> *Harvard Studies*, xlviii. 114, note 2.

<sup>255</sup> *WienAnz* 1937, 71.

<sup>256</sup> *Harvard Studies*, xlviii. 120 ff.; cf. REG li. 427.

<sup>257</sup> *Études anat.* 14, note 2.

<sup>258</sup> *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxx. 188 ff., 224 f.

<sup>259</sup> *Harvard Studies*, xlviii. 145 ff.

<sup>260</sup> *JHS* lviii. 69 ff.

<sup>261</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 274 f.

<sup>262</sup> *JHS* lviii. 97 f. For σηματο- read συμματο-.

<sup>263</sup> *Εφημ* 1937, 167.

<sup>264</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 281 ff.

<sup>265</sup> *Hesperia*, vi. 454 ff.

<sup>266</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 2.

<sup>267</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 268 f.

<sup>268</sup> *Classical Studies presented to E. Capps*, 86 ff.

<sup>269</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 10.

<sup>270</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 277 f.

<sup>271</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 4.

<sup>272</sup> *Études anat.* 142.



- 2350, 2375. He also re-edits <sup>273</sup> these lists, now in Paris.
2501. He proposes <sup>274</sup> a new restoration in l. 8 of this lease.
- 3056, 3083. G. Welter deals <sup>275</sup> with these dedications in his article on the choregic monument of Thrasyllus.
3091. T. B. L. Webster discusses <sup>276</sup> the date and composition of Sophocles' Telephea.
3117. M. MacLaren re-edits <sup>277</sup> this choregic epigram, adding a new fragment.
3169. By l. 30 of this victory-list L. Robert explains <sup>278</sup> the PERI on Sidonian coins.
- 3189 (Add. p. 349). W. Peek publishes <sup>279</sup> two epigrams of the third or second century B.C. relative to a certain Pythocles; one of them was partially known, the other is wholly new.
3424. Wilhelm restores <sup>280</sup> the poem in honour of Antigonus and Demetrius which marked the dedication of an altar, or two altars.
- 4401, 4462, 4473, 4509-10. K. Keyssner restores <sup>281</sup> the hymn of Macedonius (4473) by aid of the paeon to Asclepius of which copies survive at Athens (4509) and elsewhere; he also discusses <sup>282</sup> the Sophoclean hymn (4510) and suggests <sup>283</sup> restorations in 4401 and 4462.
4527. This dedication to Asclepius, now at Paris, is re-edited <sup>284</sup> by L. Robert.
- 4546-8, 4563. O. Walter discusses <sup>285</sup> three inscribed reliefs from Phalerum and one <sup>286</sup> from Piraeus.
- 4692, 4702, 4994. S. Dow restores <sup>287</sup> a dedication to Sarapis and Isis, dating it soon after 200 B.C., and examines 4702, 4994 and other texts relative to the Egyptian cults in first-century Athens.
4758. G. P. Stevens uses <sup>288</sup> the inscription of Γῆ καρποφόρος in examining the lay-out of the Acropolis.
4817. Kirchner and Dow re-edit <sup>289</sup> this dedication of a cult-guild.
- 4867a. Robert assigns <sup>290</sup> this third-century dedication, now in the Louvre, to the Metroön in Piraeus.
- 4926a. O. Walter examines <sup>291</sup> this fifth-century relief at Vienna, later inscribed.
4984. H. A. Thompson describes <sup>292</sup> the altar of Apollo Patroös.
4994. See 4692.
- I add four items relating to *IG* ii<sup>1</sup>. and iii.
- ii. 3223, 3859. Robert proves <sup>293</sup> from these epitaphs the existence of Castolus (Lydia) in Hellenistic times.
- iii. 3839. W. K. Pritchett assigns <sup>294</sup> this fragment to the Sarapion-monument (cf. *JHS* lvii. 178), the date of which he discusses.
- iii. App. 66. H. C. Youtie gives <sup>295</sup> a better reading and restoration of this *defixio*. Several texts from the Agora, published in *Hesperia*, are further discussed.
- ii. 395 f., No. 15. Schweigert adds <sup>296</sup> two fragments to this decree.

<sup>273</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, Nos. 8, 93.

<sup>274</sup> *Études anat.* 36 f.

<sup>275</sup> *AA* 1938, 33 ff.

<sup>276</sup> *Introduction to Sophocles*, 3, 173 f., 179 f.; cf. *Bull. Rylands Library*, xxii. 543 ff.

<sup>277</sup> *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxviii. 78 ff.

<sup>278</sup> *RevNum* 1936, 274 ff.

<sup>279</sup> *Festgabe T. Wiegand dargebracht*, 14 ff.; but cf. L. Robert, *Études anat.* 142, note 5.

<sup>280</sup> *Εφημ* 1937, 203 ff.

<sup>281</sup> *Philologus*, xcii. 269 ff.; cf. *PhW* lviii. 805 f.

<sup>282</sup> *Philologus*, xcii. 277 f., 284.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.* 278, note 1, 284.

<sup>284</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 7.

<sup>285</sup> *Εφημ* 1937, 97 ff.; cf. *RA* xiii. 143 ff.

<sup>286</sup> *ÖJh* xxxi. 53 ff.

<sup>287</sup> *Harvard Theol. Rev.* xxx. 198 ff., 212 ff.

<sup>288</sup> *Hesperia*, v. 471.

<sup>289</sup> *AM* lxii. 9 ff.

<sup>290</sup> *BCH* lx. 206 f.; cf. *REG* li. 430.

<sup>291</sup> *ÖJh* xxx. 50 ff.; cf. M. P. Nilsson, *ARW* xxxiv, 108 ff.

<sup>292</sup> *Hesperia*, vi. 110 f.

<sup>293</sup> *Études anat.* 159 f.

<sup>294</sup> *AJPh* lix. 343 ff.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.* 346 ff.

<sup>296</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 289 ff.



iii. 42 f., No. 31. This list of officials is re-edited <sup>297</sup> by M. Crosby.

iv. 71 ff., No. 37. F. Sokolowski examines <sup>298</sup> the references to the Pythaid in this ephēbe-decree of 128-7 B.C.

iv. 161, No. 18. Schweigert publishes <sup>299</sup> two further fragments of this decree.

iv. 330 ff., v. 41 f. C. P[icard] <sup>300</sup> and W. A. Oldfather <sup>301</sup> comment on the dedication and the regulation of the Trajanic Library.

v. 419 ff., No. 15. F. M. Heichelheim confirms <sup>302</sup> Meritt's dating of the decree for Cephisodorus in 196-5 B.C.

Finally, Kirchner and Dow give <sup>303</sup> a corrected version of a dedication to Artemis (*AM* xix. 532) found near Laurium.

### III. THE PELOPONNESE.

[*IG* iv.] G. Welter publishes <sup>304</sup> photographs of a bronze hydria dedicated to Zeus Hellanios, found at Aegina in 1904, and P. Boyancé discusses <sup>305</sup> the significance of an Aeginetan epigram (*IG* iv. 53). C. H. Morgan's excavations in the Agora of CORINTH have brought to light <sup>306</sup> an honorary inscription for the Emperor Trebonianus Gallus, a graffito and a stamped loom-weight; from the cemetery near the Christian basilica of the Cenchrean gate come <sup>307</sup> the metrical epitaph of a young ὀρθογράφος and a graffito consisting of the new word προικοφάχα, edited by F. J. de Waele, and from the meat-market the graffito of a butcher, discussed <sup>308</sup> in O. Broneer's study of Corinthian topography at the time of St. Paul. M. Mitsos gives a revised text <sup>309</sup> of two inscriptions (*REG* xxi. 168 f.) near Cenchreae, and M. Guarducci comments <sup>310</sup> on one of these, which supplies the first evidence for the cult of Zeus Dionysus in Greece.

A. Orlandos publishes <sup>311</sup> fourteen new inscriptions; mostly fragmentary, from the neighbourhood of SICYON, together with revised versions of two important texts already known (*IG* iv. 431, Δελτ x, παρ. 21); the most interesting of these is a bronze plate, now in the Athens Museum, on which are engraved, in Sicyonian script of about 450 B.C., 73 male names. A Christian clay seal of the fifth century A.D. found at Spetsai is discussed <sup>312</sup> by G. A. Soteriou, and a Christian epitaph of the same period from Argos <sup>313</sup> by M. Mitsos, who also publishes <sup>314</sup> three dedications and two epitaphs from the Epidaurian Asclepieum. To G. Klaffenbach we owe <sup>315</sup> new readings of and notes on the Spartan decree honouring T. Statilius Lamprias (*IG* iv<sup>2</sup>. 86), and H. Thiersch re-examines <sup>316</sup> the building-inscription of the Asclepieum (*IG* iv<sup>2</sup>. 102) with special reference to the passages bearing on the sculptured decoration of the temple, and devotes an article <sup>317</sup> to the meaning of the term ἐργαστήριον which occurs in it, maintaining on the basis of the available evidence, literary, epigraphical and archaeological, that it denotes specifically the workshop in which the sculptors carried out their task. K. Keyssner comments <sup>318</sup> on the hymn to Asclepius (*IG* iv<sup>2</sup>. 135) from the same site, and L. Robert

<sup>297</sup> *Hesperia*, vi. 460 f.

<sup>298</sup> *BCH* lx. 386 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 428, *BCH* lxi. 439, note 1.

<sup>299</sup> *Hesperia*, vii. 275 ff.

<sup>300</sup> *RA* xii. 108.

<sup>301</sup> *Library Quarterly*, vii. 437.

<sup>302</sup> *Aegyptus*, xvii. 61 ff.

<sup>303</sup> *AM* lxii. 8.

<sup>304</sup> *AA* 1938, 8 ff.

<sup>305</sup> *Le culte des Muses*, 345 ff.

<sup>306</sup> *AJA* xl. 470 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 326, *AJA* xlii. 155.

<sup>307</sup> *Classical Studies presented to E. Capps*, 90 ff.

<sup>308</sup> *Εφημ* 1937, 132 f.

<sup>309</sup> *Εφημ* 1936, 146.

<sup>310</sup> *Epigraphica*, i. 17 ff.

<sup>311</sup> *Ελληνικά*, x. 5 ff.

<sup>312</sup> *Πρακτ* 1937, 106; cf. 102.

<sup>313</sup> *BNGJ* xiii. α, β.

<sup>314</sup> *Εφημ* 1936, 143 ff.

<sup>315</sup> *Εφημ* 1937, 263 ff.

<sup>316</sup> *Gött. Nachr.* ii. 163 ff.; cf. J. F. Crome, *AA* 1938, 772 ff.

<sup>317</sup> *Gött. Nachr.* iii. 1 ff.

<sup>318</sup> *Philologus*, xcii. 283 f.



tentatively attributes <sup>319</sup> to Epidaurus a fragmentary dedication to Zeus Κρονίων, now in Paris.

[IG v.] The Froehner Collection also includes <sup>320</sup> three unpublished inscribed bronzes from LACONIA—a priestly crown and a votive goat from the sanctuary of Apollo Hypereteates at Epidaurus Limera and a ram dedicated to Posidon at Taenarum; a bronze knuckle-bone dedicated to Αἰγλαπῖος may also be of Laconian origin, as well as a bronze goat said to have been found at Gytheum and the famous cymbal of (Artemis) Limnatis (IG v. 1. 225). From ARCADIA come <sup>321</sup> the opening portion of a Tegean decree honouring Cassander of Alexandria Troas, in whom Robert sees a man of affairs rather than of letters, a dedication to Artemis from Lusi, and an interesting arbitral delimitation-record, perhaps from the same temple, together with two already known bronze ex-votos from Lusi (IG v. 2. 402, 406) and one of uncertain provenance (IGA 556).

A. J. B. Wace discusses <sup>322</sup> a fragment of an archaic Spartan hero-relief inscribed [X]ἰον (IG v. 1. 244), and J. Zingerle examines <sup>323</sup> a number of passages in the familiar regulations (*ib.* 1390) of the Andanian mystery-cult with a view to determining and correcting certain idiosyncrasies of the engraver.

M. Mitsos edits <sup>324</sup> two newly discovered documents of Tegea—a grant of proxeny to an Orchomenian in the late fourth or early third century, and an ephebic record of the second—and twelve from Thelpusa, among which are an inscribed fragment of a triglyph of about 450 B.C., an inscription of an imperial freedman honouring Trajan between A.D. 103 and 116, and nine epitaphs. M. Guarducci considers <sup>325</sup> some problems raised by the opening paragraphs of IG v. 2. 3, relative to the Alea-temple at Tegea, especially the meaning of ἡφορβισμός, which she translates 'seizure', 'sequestration', and examines <sup>326</sup> the fifth-century inscriptions legible on the base on which L. Mummius added his own dedication after his conquest of Greece in 146 B.C. (IG v. 2. 77), suggesting that Φασσυνόχο may be the name of the famous Spartan admiral rather than an epithet of Athena. She further deals <sup>327</sup> with] the fifth-century judgement for ἀσέβεια (*ib.* 262) from the Alea-temple at Mantinea, with text, critical notes and a fresh interpretation of the content, while E. Schwyzler comments <sup>328</sup> on the perfect forms ἐπείτευχε and ἀνώκεικε found in a Mantinean text of the first century B.C. (*ib.* 266) and L. Robert explains <sup>329</sup> the phrase ὑπὲρ γραμματείας, which occurs in an inscription erected at Mantinea in honour of Hadrian (*ib.* 302).

[IG vi.] The Froehner Collection includes <sup>330</sup> two votive cymbals from Elis and a bronze helmet, of dubious authenticity, from OLYMPIA, inscribed [Ζη]νὸς Ὀλυ[νπι]ῶν Φλειοντόθεν. The resumed German excavation of the Olympian Stadium has brought to light <sup>331</sup> an archaic ex-voto to Zeus and a ἀλτήρ dedicated by a Lacedaemonian victor in the pentathlon. J. Zingerle restores <sup>332</sup> the closing words of the record (SIG 1071) attesting Bybon's feat of strength as ὁ φορ[ετόν], conjecturing that Hesychius, who has entries *s.v.* οὐ φορητός and ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς, may have known this text: S. Accame, on the other hand, reads <sup>333</sup> ὁ Φοκίο[ν]ο[s] and thinks that, though the engraver was Elean, Bybon himself was a Euboean, probably of Eretria. Zingerle also essays <sup>334</sup> a new restoration of the Olympian inscription (*Inscr. v. Ol.* 267, Schwyzler, DGE 794) of Micythus of

<sup>319</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 34.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 21–3, 40, 33, 24.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 25, 27, 41, 26, 28, 29.

<sup>322</sup> *Εφημ* 1937, 217 ff.; cf. *RA* xiii. 137 f.

<sup>323</sup> *Ūjh xxx*, Beibl. 315 ff.

<sup>324</sup> *Εφημ* 1936, 136 ff.

<sup>325</sup> *RisFil* lcv. 169 ff.

<sup>326</sup> *Bull. Mus. Imp. Rom.* vii. 41 ff.

<sup>327</sup> *Studi e mat.* xiii. 57 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlii. 140.

<sup>328</sup> *Zeits. vergl. Sprachf.* lxiv. 41.

<sup>329</sup> *Études anat.* 414, note 7.

<sup>330</sup> L. Robert, *Coll. Froehner*, Nos. 30, 31; 32 is perhaps also Elean.

<sup>331</sup> *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (in *JdI* lii), 78, 82.

<sup>332</sup> *Comment. Vindob.* ii. 111 f.; cf. *PAW* lviii. 471.

<sup>333</sup> *RisFil* lxxvi. 167 ff.

<sup>334</sup> *Comment. Vindob.* iii. 113 ff.



Rhegium, commemorating the healing of his son, and L. Robert believes <sup>335</sup> that *Inscr. v. Ol.* 219 and a Milesian honorary inscription (*Milet*, i. 9, No. 369) refer to the same successful athlete.

## IV. CENTRAL AND NORTHERN GREECE.

[*IG* vii.] The Froehner Collection contains <sup>336</sup> two unpublished inscriptions from MEGARA, a dedication to Artemis Orthosia and an epitaph, as well as an already known grave-inscription of Pegae (*IG* vii. 197), and three further Megarian epitaphs are published <sup>337</sup> by B. Laourdas. L. Robert suggests <sup>338</sup> that the recipient of the honours recorded on a stele from the Oropian Amphiaräum ('Εφημ 1925-6, 11 ff.) is the Athenian commemorated on a Delphian monument (*SIG* 654).

The inscriptions of BOEOTIA collected by Froehner comprise <sup>339</sup> two bronze bulls from Thebes, dedicated to the Cabirus, and two archaic dedications already published (*IG* vii. 2731, 2735) from Acraephia. W. Peek offers <sup>340</sup> new readings, restorations and interpretations of 14 Boeotian epigrams from Tanagra (*ib.* 581), Plataea (1670), Thespieae (1818, 1886, *BCH* l. 444 ff.), Thebes (*IG* vii. 2470, 2533-4, 2538, 2540-1, 2544), Acraephia (*BCH* xxiv. 70 ff., 530 f.) and Chaeronea (*IG* vii. 3434). A. D. Keramopoulos edits <sup>341</sup> 32 further Boeotian texts now in the Museum at Thebes, most of which come from Thespieae or Thebes; eight of these are revised readings of documents previously published, <sup>342</sup> and the remainder are chiefly lists of names, especially of those who on completing their ephebic training were enrolled on the army-register (ἐν τάγμα, ἐμ πελτοφόρος, ἐν τῷς ἱππότας κῆ ἐπιλέκτως κῆ πελτοφόρος), together with a well-preserved quintet of Thespian proxeny-decrees. Keramopoulos appends <sup>343</sup> a brief account of scattered inscriptions, mostly epitaphs, from Hysiae, Thespieae, Thisbe, Chorsiae and Lebadea, and notes on three published texts (*IG* vii. 2239, 2359, *AM* lvi. 127, No. 10). M. Feyel has rendered service of special value to students of Boeotian epigraphy. To him we owe detailed studies <sup>344</sup> of some of the documents recording leases of public or sacred lands at Thespieae in the third century B.C., including additional critical notes on an important text already discussed by him (*BCH* lviii. 501 ff.) and new editions, with a full critical apparatus and commentary, of an opisthographic stele containing leases of sacred lands and of a pyramidal stone bearing a decree authorising the publication of leases of state-domains, together with a new interpretation <sup>345</sup> of the acrophonic numeral system peculiar to Thespieae. He has also published, <sup>346</sup> with N. Platon, a tapering stele from the acropolis of Chorsiae, dating from about 386 B.C., with an inventory, by far the earliest such document from Boeotia, of ἱερὰ χρήματα Θεσπιέων in 'the Heraeum' (probably that of Chorsiae, though the Hera-temple at Plataea may be intended), at Siphae, and at Creisys (Creusis); among them are λάβητες and δαρχμαὶ ὀβελισκῶν, which had perhaps served at an earlier period as money. No less interesting are two inscriptions <sup>347</sup> found by chance at Acraephia (Karditsa), namely (a) a decree for a tribunal sent from Cleitor about 140 B.C., in connexion with which Feyel re-edits a similar and approximately contemporaneous decree for Megarian judges (*BCH* xxiv. 74 ff.), and (b) a list of salt- and fresh-water fish, with prices affixed, perhaps part of a market-tariff drawn up between 200 and 150 B.C.

<sup>335</sup> *Études anat.* 141.

<sup>336</sup> L. Robert, *Coll. Froehner*, Nos. 18-20.

<sup>337</sup> *Ἑλληνικά*, viii. 345 f.

<sup>338</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, p. 31.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 14-17.

<sup>340</sup> *Hermes*, lxxii. 232 ff.

<sup>341</sup> *Ἑφημ* 1936, παρ. 23 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 433.

<sup>342</sup> *IG* vii. 1728, 1756-7, 1889, 2423, *BCH* xix.

337 ff., xxiii. 198, *SEG* iii. 335.

<sup>343</sup> *Ἑφημ* 1936, παρ. 45 ff.

<sup>344</sup> *BCH* lx. 175 ff., 389 ff., lxi. 217 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlii. 570, *REG* li. 434.

<sup>345</sup> *BCH* lxi. 228 ff. For Thespieae cf. also L. Robert, *Études anat.* 140 f. (restoration of *SEG* iii. 336. 9).

<sup>346</sup> *BCH* lxii. 149 ff.

<sup>347</sup> *BCH* lx. 11 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlii. 571.



Further epigraphical finds from Acraephia still await publication.<sup>348</sup> A. G. Roos proposes<sup>349</sup> a new explanation of a phrase found in an Acraephian decree recently published by L. Robert (*BCH* lix. 438 ff.), and P. Guillon<sup>350</sup> edits a fourth-century boundary-stone from Copae (Topolia) inscribed *ἡρώος Μηθύωω*, while L. Robert publishes<sup>351</sup> a fragment from Coronea, now in the Museum at Thebes, containing part of a *senatus consultum* of 170 B.C. very similar to that relating to Thisbe (*SIG* 646).

[*IG* viii.] For DELPHI we have two indispensable historical works, each by a competent epigraphist who makes the fullest use of the all-important inscriptional sources. R. Flacelière's book,<sup>352</sup> admirably summarised<sup>353</sup> by G. Klaffenbach, deals with the period from 300 to 191 B.C.; it publishes<sup>354</sup> a few new fragments, discusses (pp. 57 ff.) the Aetolo-Bocotian Treaty (*SIG* 366, *IG* ix<sup>2</sup>. 1. 170 + Add.) and the vexed problem, now settled by an Athenian find (above, p. 253), of Delphian chronology and the Soteria (pp. 125 ff.), and especially the Chian (pp. 228 ff.) and Smyrnaean (pp. 147 ff.) decrees relative to the festival, and in two appendices gives a revised edition (pp. 385 ff.) of the Amphictionic lists from 278 to 192 B.C. and a catalogue (pp. 419 ff.) of the third-century inscriptions of Delphi arranged under archons and bouleutai. G. Daux takes up the story in 191 and carries it down to 31 B.C. in an impressive volume<sup>355</sup> of 750 pages, in which a score of *inedita* are published or utilised and many known texts are re-edited, corrected or restored (see index, pp. 733 f.). After an introduction (pp. 3-69) paying special attention to the proxy-list (*SIG* 585) and to the manumissions of this period, Daux lays a chronological foundation by dealing (pp. 71-209) with the successive priesthoods and archonships, summing up his results in a new table of *νεωκόροι*, priests and archons (pp. 185 ff.); he then traces in detail the history of Delphi and the Amphictiony from 191 to 31 B.C. (pp. 211-410) and ends with an account (pp. 411-605) of the Delphian institutions and populations, arbitrations and foreign tribunals, and of Delphi's relations with Central Greece, the Hellenistic monarchies, Athens and Roman visitors, a brief conclusion and twelve appendices, most of which are epigraphical in subject. Among the many important texts here studied I may mention an Amphictionic decree of 184-3 (*SIG* 613) on pp. 280 ff., another in honour of Eumenes II on pp. 293 ff., an Aetolian decree for the same king (*IG* ix<sup>2</sup>. 1. 179) on pp. 298 ff., the dossier relative to 'the scandal of 125' on pp. 372 ff., 699 ff., a letter from Licinius to the Amphictiony on pp. 675 ff., the Lamian arbitral award (*SIG* 668) on pp. 679 ff., a Delphian decree for Chersonesus Pontica (*SGDI* 2652) on pp. 658 ff., and the records of the Attalid benefactions (*SIG* 671-2) on pp. 682 ff. G. Klaffenbach's review<sup>356</sup> of this work is especially valuable. Daux's *Pausanias à Delphes*<sup>357</sup> also contains remarks on inscriptions engraved on monuments described by the traveller, and to the same scholar we owe further (a) a rejection<sup>358</sup> of the view, based on a misunderstanding of Plutarch, that Delphi had a suburb named Pylaea; (b) a new reading<sup>359</sup> of a seventh- or sixth-century graffito, part of an early fifth-century dedication, remarks on the inscription of Cleobis and Biton (*SIG* 5), a correction in the regulations of the Labyadae (*SIG*<sup>2</sup> 438), and a new fifth-century dedication of the Messenians, and (c) a series of 'Notes on Aetolian and Delphian Epigraphy',<sup>360</sup> supplementing and correcting the above-mentioned works of Flacelière and Daux and *IG* ix<sup>2</sup>. 1, and eliminating many names, mostly of *πρόξενοι*, from the prosopographia of

<sup>348</sup> *BCH* lx. 461, *AA* 1937, 125.

<sup>349</sup> *Mnemosyne*, vi. 174 ff.

<sup>350</sup> *RA* ix. 198.

<sup>351</sup> *Études épigr. et philol.* 287 ff.

<sup>352</sup> *Les Aitoliens à Delphes*, Paris, 1937; cf. *REG* li. 435 f., *REA* xxxix. 394 ff., *RevBelge* xvii. 305 ff., *Class Weekly*, xxxi. 175 f.

<sup>353</sup> *Klio*, xxxii. 189 ff.

<sup>354</sup> Pp. 268, 441, 480, 483, 495.

<sup>355</sup> *Delphes au II<sup>e</sup> et au I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C.*, Paris, 1936; cf. *REG* li. 436, *BCH* lx. 447 ff., *RA* x. 140 f., 397, *AJPh* lix. 109 f., *JHS* lvii. 99 f., *ClRev* li. 191 f., *PhW* lviii. 1083 ff.

<sup>356</sup> *Gnomon*, xiv. 6 ff.

<sup>357</sup> Paris, n.d.; cf. *REG* li. 435, *JHS* lvii. 89.

<sup>358</sup> *RA* xi. 3 ff.

<sup>359</sup> *BCH* lxi. 57 ff.; cf. *AJA* xliii. 113 f.

<sup>360</sup> *RevPhil* lxiv. 149 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 436, 438.



Aetolia and Delphi; he deals (pp. 150 ff.) with the Aetolian σύνεδροι (*IG* ix<sup>2</sup>. 1. 172), adds a fragment (p. 156) to a third-century Delphian decree, discusses (pp. 160 f.) the ethnic Μαχητιεύς (*IG* ix<sup>2</sup>. 1. 36, 69) and examines the phenomenon of emancipation in two stages, correcting the restoration of *Fouilles*, iii (2). 225. N. Valmin publishes<sup>361</sup> eight new manumissions in his article on certain priesthoods and archonships, which has evoked a critical response<sup>362</sup> from Daux, L. Lerat<sup>363</sup> the inscriptions on four unpublished fourth-century reliefs, and A. E. Contoleon<sup>364</sup> a mason's mark, an epitaph, a list of officials and a fragmentary proxeny-decree, while P. Lemerle reports<sup>365</sup> further interesting finds. L. Robert's chapter<sup>366</sup> on 'Festivals, Musicians and Athletes' re-edits a Delphian decree (*SEG* i. 166) for a μαγφδός and an honorary inscription for a pantomime (*ib.* 167), publishes decrees for a Roman rhetorician and a Damascene ἐγκωμογράφος, and explains a Delphian text as relating to a flautist (*Fouilles*, iii (4). 86). E. Cavaignac argues<sup>367</sup> for 121-0 as the date of Euclidas' archonship, N. G. L. Hammond claims<sup>368</sup> that Diodorus' narrative favours Homolle's and Beloch's dating of the ναποιοί-lists as against that of Bourguet, and U. Kahrstedt re-examines<sup>369</sup> the Delphic and Amphictionic records of the Soteria in order to solve the chronological problem of that festival. J. Jannoray interprets<sup>370</sup> τὸ γυμνάσιον τὸ κάτω in a third-century decree (*BCH* lix. 9) as meaning 'the lower terrace of the gymnasium' rather than 'the lower gymnasium'.

Besides the inscriptions mentioned above, others have been re-edited, emended or interpreted. E. Loewy dates<sup>371</sup> the original dedication of the Marathon ἀκροθίνα (*SIG* 23) in the 460's at earliest and the inscription of the Athenian Portico (*SIG* 29) after the battle of the Eurymedon; C. Picard insists<sup>372</sup> that at least the Athenian Treasury must have been built very soon after 490; P. Friedländer analyses<sup>373</sup> from the historical and literary standpoints the Marathonian dedication and the epigram in praise of Lysander (Tod, *GHI* 95), and F. Sokolowski corrects,<sup>374</sup> on the basis of autopsy, the text of the Paean of Philodamus, especially in ll. 6, 9 and 84, and adds to his account<sup>375</sup> of the Dionysus-cult at Delphi a critical edition of the whole poem, first sung at the Theoxenia of 328 B.C. In the θεωροδόχοι-list (*BCH* xlv. 1 ff.) minor restorations are made by M. Guarducci<sup>376</sup> and L. Robert,<sup>377</sup> and the latter also explains<sup>378</sup> the title ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐργῶν τῶν βασιλικῶν applied to an envoy of Attalus I (*SGDI* 2001) and a misunderstood passage in a decree of the σύνδοξος τῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐποποιῶν (*SIG* 699 = *Fouilles*, iii(2). 50),<sup>379</sup> and discusses<sup>380</sup> the identity of the person whose honours are recorded in *SIG* 654 (*Fouilles*, iii(2). 135). A. Wilhelm's article (above, p. 255) on Attic decrees contains readings or restorations of several Delphian documents (*Fouilles*, iii(1). 457, 487, (4). 47, 49, 50), J. Vanseveren proposes<sup>381</sup> convincing restorations in two important Chian decrees found at Delphi (*SIG* 402.38, *SEG* ii. 258. 47), L. Lerat republishes<sup>382</sup> a dedication to Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira (*SIG* 397), J. Jannoray corrects<sup>383</sup> the inscriptions on statue-bases of Nero (*SIG* 808) and of Drusilla (*SEG* i. 157), F. Sokolowski uses the Delphian record of the Pythaid of 127 B.C. (*Fouilles*, iii(2). 24) to restore a contemporaneous Athenian

<sup>361</sup> *BCH* lx. 118 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 436, *AJA* xlii. 571.

<sup>362</sup> *BCH* lx. 447 ff.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.* 350 ff.; but see *REG* li. 437.

<sup>364</sup> *BCH* lx. 371 ff.

<sup>365</sup> *BCH* lxi. 457.

<sup>366</sup> *Études épigr. et philol.* 7 ff. (see Index, p. 331).

<sup>367</sup> *REG* li. 282 ff.

<sup>368</sup> *JHS* lvii. 62 ff.

<sup>369</sup> *Hermes*, lxxii. 369 ff.

<sup>370</sup> *BCH* lxi. 53 ff.

<sup>371</sup> *SBWien*, ccxvi. 4. 14 ff.

<sup>372</sup> *RA* x. 116 f.

<sup>373</sup> *Stud. Ital. Fil. Class.* xv. 99, 108 ff.

<sup>374</sup> *BCH* lx. 193 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlii. 570 f., *REG* li. 437.

<sup>375</sup> \**Kult Dionysos zu Delfach* (Lwow, 1936); cf. *REG* l. 508 f.

<sup>376</sup> *RivFil* lxiv. 153 ff.

<sup>377</sup> *Études anat.* 171 f.; cf. *Études épigr. et philol.* 213 f.

<sup>378</sup> *Études anat.* 87 ff.

<sup>379</sup> *Ibid.* 449, note 7.

<sup>380</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, pp. 30 f.

<sup>381</sup> *RevPhil* xi. 333.

<sup>382</sup> *BCH* lx. 354 ff.

<sup>383</sup> *BCH* lx. 374 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 340, *REG* li. 437.



document (above, p. 257) and E. Hermann investigates<sup>384</sup> the meaning of the word ἀγρωθέωντι used in a Delphian manumission (*SGDI* 2034. 17).

[*IG* ix.] A. D. Keramopoulos gives<sup>385</sup> an improved edition of a metrical epitaph from Daulis, now in the Chaeronea Museum, and W. Peek a full publication<sup>386</sup> of a charming third-century grave-epigram from W. Locris (*SEG* iii. 435). To Daux's 'Notes on Aetolian and Delphian Epigraphy' I have already referred (p. 260). In the Froehner Collection is a third-century document of the Acarnanian League, first published<sup>387</sup> by L. Robert. Among the results of her excavations on Ithaca, S. Benton republishes<sup>388</sup> a terra-cotta mask bearing a dedication to Odysseus. The epigraphical sources used by G. P. Karydis in his history of Corcyra<sup>389</sup> are for the most part Attic rather than Corcyraean in origin.

Turning to THESSALY, we note a full and painstaking edition<sup>390</sup> by T. A. Arvanitopoulou of twelve epigrams, eight from Demetrias and one each from Gonni, Phthiotid Thebes, Scotussa and Larisa; all except the last (which is at Larisa) are now in the Volo Museum, and all save one (No. 9, a dedication to Artemis Eulochia) are sepulchral. Most of them date from the fourth or third century B.C., but one (No. 7) is assigned to the first half of the seventh. Two (Nos. 1, 3) had been independently published<sup>391</sup> by W. Peek, who also discusses<sup>392</sup> the rest in a valuable review. N. I. Giannopoulos reports<sup>393</sup> on recent epigraphical accessions made to the Museums of Volo (four epitaphs of Amphanae and Demetrias and a manumission-list from Scotussa), Halmyros and Tsaritsani (Perrhaebia). Y. Béquignon's exhaustive account<sup>394</sup> of the Spercheus Valley down to the fourth century makes frequent use of inscriptions (indexed on pp. 379 f.), but quotes no texts *in extenso*. The excavations of G. A. Soteriou at Nea Anchialos (Thebes in Achaea Phthiotis) continue to yield finds<sup>395</sup> of interest for Jewish and Christian epigraphy. The dedications of Pantalces (*SEG* i. 247-8) at the grotto near Pharsalus, studied by D. Comparetti<sup>396</sup> and by J. U. Powell,<sup>397</sup> are re-edited<sup>398</sup> with a full commentary by W. Peek and are examined<sup>399</sup> by F. Hiller von Gaertringen in connexion with the grotto of Chiron at Thera. L. Robert points out<sup>400</sup> that the letter of the praetor P. Sextilius found at Tricca (cf. *JHS* lvii. 188) is followed by a *senatus consultum* and proposes several restorations. Y. Béquignon's account of the archaeological researches carried out at Pherae includes a chapter<sup>401</sup> on the inscriptions found there, containing an annotated list of the 45 texts in *IG* ix. 2. 412-56 and an edition of 79 others now housed in the Museums at Volo, Halmyros and Agyia, the great majority of which were previously unpublished; among them are two grants of proxeny (Nos. 1, 75) and a number of dedications to Enodia (27), Zeus Thaulios (52, 65-6, 71) and Aphrios (73) and the Dioscuri (62, 78). L. Robert brings<sup>402</sup> confirmation of his suggestion (cf. *JHS* lvii. 189) that a list of names now in Berlin originates from Larisa, and N. I. Giannopoulos appends to his edition<sup>403</sup> of a Christian epitaph from Volo a catalogue of the early Christian inscriptions of Thessaly.

<sup>384</sup> *Ann. Inst. Phil. Hist.* v. 467.

<sup>385</sup> *Εφημ* 1936, πρρ. 47; cf. *REG* li. 434.

<sup>386</sup> *Festgabe T. Wiegand dargebracht*, 27 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 438.

<sup>387</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 35; cf. *REG* li. 438.

<sup>388</sup> *BSA* xxxv. 54 f.; cf. 24.

<sup>389</sup> *Ἱστορία τῆς νήσου Κορκυῶρος μέχρι τοῦ 229 π. Χ.* (Leipzig, 1936), 103 ff.

<sup>390</sup> *Πολύμων*, ii. 6 ff.; cf. *RA* xii. 292.

<sup>391</sup> *Festgabe T. Wiegand dargebracht*, 38 ff.

<sup>392</sup> *Gnomon*, xiv. 472 ff.

<sup>393</sup> *AA* 1937, 146 f.

<sup>394</sup> *La vallée du Spercheios des origines au IV siècle*, Paris, 1937; cf. *REA* xxxix. 396 ff., *PhW* lix. 534 ff.,

*REG* li. 546.

<sup>395</sup> *Πρρστ* 1935, 11, 60 ff., 1936, 12, 64 ff.; cf. *BCH* lx. 475 f., *AA* 1937, 148.

<sup>396</sup> *Annuario*, iv-v. 147 ff.; cf. D. Levi, vi-vii. 27 ff.

<sup>397</sup> *New Chapters*, ii. 55 ff.

<sup>398</sup> *Festgabe T. Wiegand dargebracht*, 18 ff., 42.

<sup>399</sup> *Εφημ* 1937, 57 f.

<sup>400</sup> *Études épigr. et philol.* 287 f.

<sup>401</sup> *Recherches archéol. à Phères* (Paris, 1937), 75 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 439 f., 547, *REA* xxxix. 398 f., *AntClass* vi. 441 f., *RevBelge* xvii. 1010 ff.

<sup>402</sup> *BCH* lx. 205 f.

<sup>403</sup> *Επετ. Βυζ. Σπουδῶν*, xii. 401 ff.



## V. MACEDONIA, THRACE AND SCYTHIA.

[IG x.] In the Froehner Collection at Paris, published by L. Robert, are <sup>404</sup> three fragments of bronze plates from DODONA and, probably of the same provenance, the dedication of a bronze tripod. Robert also proves <sup>405</sup> that an inscription (*SGDI* 3254) now at Trogir (Tragurium) in Dalmatia originates from Issa, and A. Mentz proposes <sup>406</sup> an interpretation of eleven shorthand signs engraved on the tomb of Asterius at Salonae (*CIL* iii. 8899). Inscriptions afford some of the materials of E. Condurachi's article <sup>407</sup> on the Jews in Illyricum, and the admirable *corpus* of inscriptions of Noricum and Upper Pannonia edited by V. Hoffiller and B. Saria <sup>408</sup> includes two Greek texts (Nos. 525-6) and one Latin-Greek bilingual (No. 346).

I. I. Russu's detailed essay on the language and ethnography of MACEDONIA contains <sup>409</sup> a long and elaborate 'Onomasticon Macedonicum', in which epigraphical materials play a prominent part. L. Robert restores or explains <sup>410</sup> two epitaphs of Kavadar and one of Melniča (*SEG* ii. 432) and a dedication from Prilep, and A. D. Keramopoulos publishes <sup>411</sup> a funeral relief and a dedication to Zeus ὕψιστος from the village of Syndendron near Grevena in N. Macedonia. Ch. I. Makaronas inventorises <sup>412</sup> the antiquities of Elimia and Eordaea in the Archaeological Collection at Kozani, re-editing ten inscriptions and publishing for the first time seven, mostly votives, while among the documents discussed <sup>413</sup> by C. B. Welles is a letter sent by Philip V about December, 181 B.C., recently found at Koilada near Kozani (cf. *JHS* lvii. 191). B. Saria's account of the theatre at Stobi includes <sup>414</sup> three inscribed seats and a dedication to Nemesis, and A. Marmorstein devotes an article <sup>415</sup> to the famous synagogue-inscription of that town. A silver tablet from Beroea, bearing a magical inscription of the third or fourth century A.D., has been acquired and edited <sup>416</sup> by D. M. Robinson; L. Robert publishes <sup>417</sup> a Hellenistic epitaph and re-edits <sup>418</sup> a Jewish tomb-inscription, while S. B. Kougeas examines <sup>419</sup> a Byzantine text (Demitsas, 112) of the same provenance.

C. B. Welles discusses <sup>420</sup> the διαγράμμα of 187 B.C. found at THESSALONICA, which also serves as the starting-point of E. Bikerman's investigation <sup>421</sup> of the nature of the διαγράμμα in general, and H. Thiersch comments <sup>422</sup> on a Thessalonian text (*JHS* xlii. 167 ff.) referring to the Panhellenion. L. Robert re-edits <sup>423</sup> an epitaph (Demitsas, 627) of the same city, now in Paris, shows <sup>424</sup> that an interesting grave-inscription (*CIG* 1976 = 3645) belongs to Lampsacus rather than to Thessalonica, restores <sup>425</sup> in two texts a reference to the ἱερεὺς Ῥώμης καὶ Ῥωμαίων εὐεργετῶν and comments on the guild-title ἡ συνήθεια τῶν πορφυροβάφων τῆς ὀκτωκαιδεκάτης found there. D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham refer <sup>426</sup> to various epigraphical discoveries at Olynthus and publish (pp. 314 ff., 353) a number of graffiti on pithoi and inscriptions on weights, and G. Bakalakis locates <sup>427</sup> the Almopia of Thucydides (ii. 99) between Chalcidice and Mount Pangaeum by the aid of

<sup>404</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, Nos. 36-9.

<sup>405</sup> *Istros*, ii. 18 ff.

<sup>406</sup> *APF* xlii. 72 ff.

<sup>407</sup> *REJuives*, ci. 87 ff.

<sup>408</sup> *Antike Inschriften aus Jugoslavien*, I, Zagreb, 1938.

<sup>409</sup> *Ephem. Dacoromana*, viii. 163 ff.; cf. 114 ff.

<sup>410</sup> *Istros*, ii. 14 ff., *Coll. Froehner*, p. 96; cf. *REG*

li. 441.

<sup>411</sup> *Прокт* 1936, 67 f.; cf. *AA* 1937, 148.

<sup>412</sup> *Εφημ* 1936, πορ. 2 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 440.

<sup>413</sup> *AJA* xlii. 246 ff.

<sup>414</sup> *AA* 1938, 95, 106, 111.

<sup>415</sup> *Jewish Q.R.* xxvii. 373 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlii. 298.

<sup>416</sup> *Studies in Honor of E.K. Rand* (New York, 1938),

245 ff., *Proc. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxvii. xlv f.

<sup>417</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, pp. 96 f.

<sup>418</sup> *REJuives*, ci. 83 ff.

<sup>419</sup> *Ελληνικά*, ix. 167 ff.

<sup>420</sup> *AJA* xlii. 249 ff.

<sup>421</sup> *RevPhil* xii. 295 ff.

<sup>422</sup> *Gött. Nachr.* II. x. 235 ff.

<sup>423</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 45.

<sup>424</sup> *Études anat.* 444.

<sup>425</sup> *Ibid.* 448, note 3, 535, note 3.

<sup>426</sup> *Excavations at Olynthus*, viii (Baltimore, 1938), 7, 55, 83, 87, 97, 117.

<sup>427</sup> *Прокт*, 'Ακαδ. 'Αθ. xii. 484 ff.



a late Roman inscription beginning θεῶς Ἀλμωπίας ἀμπέλος, and publishes <sup>428</sup> two epitaphs of Serrhae, one of which records the bequest of an endowment for an annual commemoration ἐν ταῖς Μαινάσι, the nature of which is investigated <sup>429</sup> by M. Guarducci. At Neapolis (Kavala) and the neighbouring Kalamitsa G. Bakalakis' excavations have brought to light <sup>430</sup> fragments of archaic dedications on sherds and many inscribed amphora-handles, mostly of Thasian origin, as well as an epitaph <sup>431</sup> and two votive inscriptions dedicating to Parthenos τὸ κρεοφυλάκιον and τοὺς θάκους καὶ τὰς τραπέζας, of which the latter is new. P. Collart's masterly history <sup>432</sup> of PHILIPPI utilises all the available epigraphical evidence, Latin and Greek, for that colony. J. Coupry and M. Feyel publish <sup>433</sup> seven inscriptions found in 1934-5, among them a dedication to Apollo of the late fourth or early third century B.C., the earliest extant text of Philippi, an honorary inscription of a πραγματοεῦτης for his patron and a family memorial erected by a νέος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, probably in A.D. 262-3, and comment (pp. 38 ff.) on some dated documents of this district. A memoir by Coupry on a group of Hellenistic inscriptions found on the site of the Philippian basilica (an ordinance of Alexander, four third-century acts relative to the sale of the ἱεροκηρυκεία, etc.) is reviewed <sup>434</sup> by P. Jamot. J. Roger publishes <sup>435</sup> a base, probably of A.D. 202, commemorating a sacrifice offered by a group of five cities in honour of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Julia Domna, and P. Lemerle <sup>436</sup> an interesting record of an endowment left in A.D. 175-250 to the συνπρόσιον θεοῦ Σουρμεγέθου for an annual celebration at the *rosalia*, and an inscription <sup>437</sup> relative to work carried out under Nicephorus Phocas (A.D. 963-9), while L. Robert corrects or comments <sup>438</sup> on several texts previously edited by Lemerle (*BCH* lix. 126 ff.).

Turning to THRACE we note again the activity of Bulgarian scholars in the discovery, conservation and publication of their country's antiquities. G. Kazarow's article <sup>439</sup> on 'The Thracian Rider and St. George' includes photographs of two inscribed reliefs of Glava-Panega, and elsewhere he publishes <sup>440</sup> a thankoffering from the district of Tatar Pazardjik and compares a relief, already known, from the shrine near Dinicly. To C. M. Danov we owe <sup>441</sup> five new ex-votos from various sites dedicated to Hera, the Nymphs ἀνάσσει and σώττειραι, Asclepius and Zeus Ζβελσοῦρδος, and three new texts <sup>442</sup> from Philippopolis—a record of a pancratiast's victories, an honorary inscription for an ἀγωνοθέτης [τ]ῶν πρώτων Πυθ[ι]ων Κενδρεισίων ἐ[[ι]σελαστ[ικῶν ἀγώνων] and ἀγαθῆς τύχης prefixed to a Latin epigram—to D. Detchev <sup>443</sup> four epitaphs from the district of Sveti Vrač, to D. P. Dimitrov <sup>444</sup> an article on the forms of Roman tombstones in Bulgaria, to I. Velkov <sup>445</sup> an inscribed sherd from Mezek, and to D. Zontchev <sup>446</sup> an interesting boundary-stone now in the Plovdiv Museum. A. Salač discusses <sup>447</sup> an epitaph of the second or third century A.D. found near Petritch, K. M. Apostolides publishes collections of inscriptions found in or near Trajana Augusta <sup>448</sup> and Philippopolis, <sup>449</sup> and other valuable finds have been made at Didymoteichos <sup>450</sup> and at the place where the Via

<sup>428</sup> Ἐφημ 1936, πορ. 14 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 442, L. Robert, *Études épigr. et philol.* 185.

<sup>429</sup> *Studi e mat.* xiv. 168 ff.

<sup>430</sup> *Πρακτ* 1935, 38 f., 1936, 80, 1937, 61, 65 f.; cf. *BCH* lxi. 468.

<sup>431</sup> Ἐφημ 1936, 29 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 442 f., P. Collart, *Philippes*, 108 f., 182.

<sup>432</sup> *Philippes, ville de Macédoine*, Paris, 1937; cf. *REG* li. 442.

<sup>433</sup> *BCH* lx. 37 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 338 f., *REG* li. 442.

<sup>434</sup> *CRAI nscr* 1938, 185 ff.

<sup>435</sup> *BCH* lxii. 37 ff.

<sup>436</sup> *BCH* lx. 336 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 340, *REG* li. 442.

<sup>437</sup> *BCH* lxi. 103 ff.

<sup>438</sup> *Istros* ii. 16 f.; cf. *REG* li. 442.

<sup>439</sup> *Antiquity*, xii. 290 ff.

<sup>440</sup> *RA* x. 39 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlii. 145.

<sup>441</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* xi. 196 ff.

<sup>442</sup> *ÖJh* xxx, Beibl. 77 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 360 f.

<sup>443</sup> *ÖJh* xxx, Beibl. 69 ff.

<sup>444</sup> *AA* 1937, 511 ff.

<sup>445</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* xi. 121.

<sup>446</sup> *AA* 1938, 201 ff.

<sup>447</sup> *Munera philol. L. Cwikliński oblata*, 125 ff.

<sup>448</sup> \*Θρακικά, viii. 69 ff., x. 280; cf. *RA* xii. 348.

<sup>449</sup> \*Θρακικά, vii. 177 ff., viii. 106 f., x. 264 ff.; cf. *RA* xii. 348 f.

<sup>450</sup> \*Θρακικά, viii. 190 ff., x. 199 ff.; cf. *RA* xii. 349.



Egnatia crossed the Nestus,<sup>451</sup> including two set up by ἡ Ἀδριανέων Ἀβδηρεϊτῶν πόλις to thank Hadrian Ζεὺς Ἐφόριος for the extension of the city's territory. J. Bousquet publishes<sup>452</sup> an inscription found near Abdera in which an ἀρχιβούκολος dedicates a μάγαρον, or Dionysiac grotto, θεῶν Διον[ύ]σῳ καὶ τοῖς συνμύσταις. L. Robert re-edits<sup>453</sup> an epitaph of a καθηγητής from Madytus, and restores two texts<sup>454</sup> of Perinthus and one<sup>455</sup> of Selymbria.

H. Grégoire restores<sup>456</sup> two texts, dated A.D. 668 and about 641, on a tower of the land-wall of BYZANTIUM, and R. Demangel and E. Mamboury discuss<sup>457</sup> two inscriptions, of the 9th and 10th centuries, on a tower of the Marmara-wall, A. M. Schneider re-examines,<sup>458</sup> with one addition and one correction, a group of sixth-century epitaphs of Gothic *foederati* of Justinian's reign, and T. Whittemore<sup>459</sup> and H. E. Del Medico<sup>460</sup> describe some of the newly uncovered mosaic inscriptions of Santa Sofia. Some interesting finds from the Greek colonies on the W. coast of the Pontus claim our notice, though to my regret several of the articles relative to them are inaccessible to me, notably K. M. Apostolides' 'Collection of Greek Inscriptions discovered in and near the Greek Colonies on the Euxine'.<sup>461</sup> C. M. Danov publishes<sup>462</sup> the opening portion, found near Apollonia (Sozopol), of a decree honouring a Tarsian officer sent by Mithridates Eupator, A. Salač<sup>463</sup> the end of a decree of Mesembria conferring various privileges and honours on a doctor, and Danov<sup>464</sup> the epitaph of an ἀρχίατρος καὶ δημοφίλητος and his wife and a sepulchral epigram<sup>465</sup> from Odessus (Varna). J. Sauciuc-Săveanu's reports on the excavations carried on at Callatis from 1928 to 1931 contain<sup>466</sup> numerous amphora-stamps, an inscribed clay lamp and leaden weight and other minor texts, together with a dedication engraved on a limestone base (p. 281); G. Cantacuzino adds<sup>467</sup> the amphora handles found in 1932-5. L. Robert corrects<sup>468</sup> the restoration of a decree of Callatis (*IGRom* i. 656) and gives an impressive collection of examples of gods and heroes serving as eponymi. Sauciuc-Săveanu also deals<sup>469</sup> with a bilingual dedication to Antoninus Pius set up by Callatis under the supervision of the Imperial legate T. Vitrasius Pollio, and with an epitaph<sup>470</sup> from Tomi (Constanza). L. Robert restores and interprets<sup>471</sup> a *lex sacra* of Tomi (*LGS* 84) as well as another honorary text (*IGRom* i. 622)<sup>472</sup> of the same provenance and S. Lambrino re-edits<sup>473</sup> a Dionysiac dedication to Gordian III and Tranquillina (*ib.* 615). He also throws light<sup>474</sup> upon the cults of Histria by an examination of four texts of the fifth and early fourth centuries, one of them new, relating to the worship of Apollo ἱερπός and Leto, and L. Robert corrects<sup>475</sup> the restoration of an honorary inscription (*AEM* xi. 66) from the same site and discusses the meaning of τροφεύς, annotates<sup>476</sup> a metrical epitaph (*AEM* vi. 46) of the Dobrudja, pointing out that Τείλου means Tian and not Tean, interprets and restores<sup>477</sup> a decree of Olbia (*IOSPE* i<sup>2</sup>. 35) for a pilot who had brought envoys and aid from Mithridates, and explains<sup>478</sup> an epitaph of Chersonesus appealing for vengeance on the slayers of the person commemorated.

<sup>451</sup> \*Θρακικά, viii. 15 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 385 f.

<sup>452</sup> *BCH* lxii. 51 ff.

<sup>453</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 46.

<sup>454</sup> *REJuives*, ci. 82, *Études anat.* 261; cf. *REG* li.

<sup>455</sup>

<sup>456</sup> *Istros*, ii. 7 ff.

<sup>457</sup> *Byz* xiii. 165 ff.

<sup>458</sup> *BCH* lx. 208 ff.

<sup>459</sup> *Germania*, xxi. 175 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 355.

<sup>460</sup> *AJA* xlii. 219 ff.

<sup>461</sup> *RA* xii. 49 ff.

<sup>462</sup> \*Θρακικά, x. 283 ff.

<sup>463</sup> *ÖJh* xxx, Beibl. 87 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 361.

<sup>464</sup> *RA* ix. 14 ff., \**Listy fil.* lxiv. 369 ff.

<sup>465</sup> *ÖJh* xxx, Beibl. 84 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 361.

<sup>466</sup> *Bull. Inst. Arch. Bulg.* xi. 203 ff.

<sup>467</sup> *Dacia*, v-vi. 251 ff., 281, 289 ff.

<sup>468</sup> *Ibid.* 321 ff. For *APIMX* in No. 8 I suggest χάρις.

<sup>469</sup> *Istros*, ii. 1 ff.; *REG* li. 444.

<sup>470</sup> \**Titus Vitrasius Pollio q̄i oraful Callatis*; cf. *RA* x. 407 f., *REG* li. 444.

<sup>471</sup> \**Anal. Dobrogei*, xv. 1 ff., 113 f.

<sup>472</sup> *Istros*, ii. 10 f.; cf. *REG* li. 444.

<sup>473</sup> *Études anat.* 249 ff.

<sup>474</sup> \**Rev. Ist. Rom.* vii. 32 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 444.

<sup>475</sup> \**Εφημ* 1937, 352 ff.

<sup>476</sup> *Istros*, ii. 12 f., 20.

<sup>477</sup> *Ibid.* 13 f.

<sup>478</sup> *Ibid.* 5 f.; cf. *REG* li. 445.

<sup>479</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, pp. 54 f.; cf. *AJA* xlii. 295.



## VI. ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN.

[IG xi.] The difficult task of editing the rich store of inscriptions discovered during the excavation of DELOS has been carried forward by P. Roussel, aided by M. Launey, with equal promptitude and ability. In 1937 two fascicules of the *Inscriptions de Délos* were issued <sup>479</sup> in rapid succession, forming a single volume and bringing the great undertaking within measurable distance of completion. They comprise the remaining documents later than the restoration of Athenian control of the island in 166 B.C., consisting of decrees of the Athenian people and of the cleruchs on Delos (1497-1509), a *senatus consultum* (1510), part of the lex Gabinia-Calpurnia granting privileges to Delos (1511), a group of decrees of Cretan cities and Cretan auxiliaries of Ptolemy VI (1512-18) and several decrees of associations (1519-24), including that of the Posidoniasts of Berytus (1520) recently brought from Cairness House to the Ashmolean Museum, an immense array of dedications to Greek, Egyptian, Syrian and other divinities (1525-2528), some with artists' signatures and dates (2489-2528), *leges sacrae*, curses and commemorative inscriptions (2529-47), poems (2548-54), boundary-stones, etc. (2555-81), a small group of Christian records (2582-88 *bis*), and numerous lists of gymnasiarchs, ephebi, priests, subscribers, etc. (2589-2645) and indeterminate fragments (2646-2879). The volume contains 1397 texts in all, of which 29 are bilingual, 33 Latin, one Arabic and the rest Greek: 435 are here first published, and though the great majority of these are too short or too mutilated to be of much value, yet some of the texts hitherto unknown are of considerable interest (*e.g.* 1810, 1923, 1949, 2549, 2552). To J. Coupry we owe two detailed studies, of which one <sup>480</sup> deals with the two fifth-century administrative records of the Ἀθηναίων Ἀμφικτύονες found at Delos, dated in 409 and 407 B.C., giving a new reading of the former (Tod, *GHI* 85) and a first edition of the latter, together with a useful summary of the known facts about Delian participation in the administration of the Apollo-temple at that period, while the second <sup>481</sup> discusses afresh, with new readings and restorations, a similar fourth-century Amphictyonic record (*BCH* xxxv, 5 ff.). L. Robert comments <sup>482</sup> on a well-known metrical graffito of a Syrian slave (*Délos*, viii, 423). The following inscriptions, cited by the numbers borne in *IG* xi and *Inscriptions de Délos*, have also been studied anew.

142, 199, 291-2, 294, 306. The accounts relating to the Delian theatre have been examined <sup>483</sup> and elucidated by P. H. Davis.

161 *B* 61 f., 162 *B* 50, 296 *B* 48 f., 399 *B* 142, 1444 *Aa* 12 f. R. Vallois investigates <sup>484</sup> the nature of ἡ καλουμένη γέρανος in inventories of the Artemision.

353. L. Robert gives <sup>485</sup> a note on, and excellent photographs of, this account of 219 B.C., now in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris.

500-8. P. H. Davis discusses the Greek building-contract in general, and gives <sup>486</sup> valuable textual and exegetical comments on six of the Delian contracts.

1298. L. Robert proposes <sup>487</sup> a new restoration of a passage in the Delphian oracle given to Cyzicus.

1520. C. Picard discusses <sup>488</sup> the decree of the Posidoniasts of Berytus, with special reference to the extant remains of their club-house, and R. D[ussaud] comments <sup>489</sup> on the same decree.

1923 *bis*. This inscribed base, set up in 126-5 B.C. by οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες in honour of

<sup>479</sup> Paris, 1937; cf. *JHS* lviii, 281, *CRAIInscr* 1937, 311 f., *REG* li, 445 f.

<sup>480</sup> *BCH* lxi, 364 ff.; cf. *CRAIInscr* 1937, 176 ff.

<sup>481</sup> *BCH* lxii, 85 ff.

<sup>482</sup> *Études anat.* 416, note 7.

<sup>483</sup> *AJA* xli, 109.

<sup>484</sup> *REA* xxxviii, 413 ff.

<sup>485</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 94.

<sup>486</sup> *BCH* lxi, 109 ff.

<sup>487</sup> *Études épigr. et philol.* 295, note 4.

<sup>488</sup> *RA* viii, 188 ff.

<sup>489</sup> *Syria*, xix, 102 f.



their gymnasiarch and bearing the signature of Eutychides, the earliest of the sixteen extant signatures of this sculptor, is first published <sup>490</sup> by J. Coupry.

2240-1. H. Grégoire regards <sup>491</sup> τὸν ναμῶσαν dedicated to Ἀγνή Ἀφροδίτη as a candelabrum, the word being a modification of the Syrian *menara*.

2260. F. R. Walton gives <sup>492</sup> an independent reading of this dedication to Syrian Aphrodite and corrects or annotates a score of Delian texts published in various books and articles.

2271. One fragment of this dedication is published <sup>493</sup> by the same scholar.

2308. The god Horon, or Houroun, of this dedication by three Iamnites Ἡρακλῆ καὶ Αὐρώνα θεοὶς Ἰάμνιαι κατέχουσιν is discussed by W. F. Albright, <sup>494</sup> H. Seyrig, <sup>495</sup> C. Virolleaud <sup>496</sup> and R. D[ussaud]. <sup>497</sup>

2311. C. Picard compares <sup>498</sup> the name Pakeida borne by a Syrian deity at Gerasa with the Πακεδοκώσω of this dedication.

2354 *bis*. This inscribed bronze bull's head was first edited <sup>499</sup> by L. Robert.

2584, 2584 *bis*, 2585 *bis*. These Christian inscriptions first appeared in A. C. Orlandos' article <sup>500</sup> on Christian Delos, which also suggests a solution of a difficulty in 2583.

[IG xii.] C. Blinkenberg collects and discusses <sup>501</sup> the evidence, mainly from RHODES, afforded by literature, inscriptions (17 texts are quoted, two of them unpublished) and sculpture (in two cases inscribed) relative to the ἡμιολία and τριημιολία, both of which words, he argues, denote the same type of ship, and publishes an honorary inscription of 40-30 B.C. engraved on a Rhodian base. I. R. Arnold's study <sup>502</sup> of the Rhodian festivals rests largely on epigraphical materials. The metrical epitaph of the Platonic philosopher Aridices of Rhodes (*BCH* xxxvi. 230 ff.) is examined <sup>503</sup> by P. Boyancé, and M. Segre proves <sup>504</sup> the Rhodian origin of a dedication made by five πρυτάνεις and a γραμματεὺς βουλῆς in the late fourth or early third century and discovered near Rosetta, whither it may have been taken in antiquity; he publishes a similar ex-voto of the late third century from Rhodes, but denies the Rhodian provenance of a fragmentary decree in the Alexandria Museum. Blinkenberg also discusses <sup>505</sup> the chronology of two valuable lists of cult-officials at Rhodes, that of the priests of Apollo Erithimius (*IG* xii. 1. 730) and that of the προφηταί (*Annuario*, viii-ix. 315 ff.), and re-examines an interesting dual honorary inscription (*IG* xii. 1. 75). He further re-edits <sup>506</sup> a Lindian catalogue, dating from the third and following centuries, of the priests of Posidon Hippios, first lifelong but later, from 324 B.C., annual (*ib.* 926), while S. Accame gives <sup>507</sup> a new and greatly improved version of a fifth-century Lindian decree (*SEG* iv. 171), imposing on all οἱ καὶ στρατεῦνται ἐκ Αἰνῶς [ἡ] δ[α]μ[ο]σίαι ἡ ἰδία the duty of dedicating a sixtieth of their wage to Enyalios for the offering of sacrifices and the building of a temple, and M. Segre comments <sup>508</sup> on Momigliano's treatment (*RivFil* lxiv. 49 ff.) of a fourth-century decree of Camirus, adding a new fragment and revising the whole.

E. David publishes <sup>509</sup> two Aeolic texts discovered at Eresus in LESBOS, a late inscription honouring Aurelius Styra, πρύτανιν εἰρεᾶ καὶ ἀρχεῖρεα καὶ ἀγωνοθέταν καὶ πανηγυριάρχον καὶ ἀπὺ προγόνων λίτουργον καὶ πρῶτον στρόταγον, and a mutilated decree honouring a

<sup>490</sup> *BCH* lx. 66 f.

<sup>491</sup> *Byz* xliii. 181 f.

<sup>492</sup> *AJA* xliii. 77 ff.

<sup>493</sup> *Ibid.* 78.

<sup>494</sup> *AJSemLang* liii. 1 ff.

<sup>495</sup> *Syria*, xvi. 417 f.

<sup>496</sup> *CRAIscr* 1936, 237 f.

<sup>497</sup> *Syria*, xvii. 394.

<sup>498</sup> *Ibid.* 315 f.

<sup>499</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 42.

<sup>500</sup> *BCH* lx. 82 f., 98 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlii. 584 f., *RA*

x. 339.

<sup>501</sup> *Kgl. Danske Videns. Selskab, Meddelelser*, II. 3; cf. *REG* li. 447.

<sup>502</sup> *AJA* xl. 432 ff.

<sup>503</sup> *Le culte des Muses*, 278 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 447.

<sup>504</sup> *BSArch. Alex.* x. 131 ff.

<sup>505</sup> *Kgl. Danske Videns. Selskab, Meddelelser*, II. 4.

<sup>506</sup> *Ibid.* II. 2; cf. *REG* li. 448.

<sup>507</sup> *Clara Rhodos*, ix. 211 ff.

<sup>508</sup> *RivFil* lxxv. 173 ff.

<sup>509</sup> *Εφημ* 1936, παρ. 20 ff.



public-spirited doctor and envoy, which L. Robert restores.<sup>510</sup> I. D. Kondis' 'Remarks on Lesbian Inscriptions'<sup>511</sup> deal with the text on the throne of Potamon (*IG* xii. 2. 272) and with a Colophonian decree published at Methymna (*ib.* 658), giving a revised reading and rejecting Robert's proposal to add *ib.* 509 to it; Robert, however, maintains<sup>512</sup> his view, for which he claims the support of W. Lamb and G. Klaffenbach. The word *υα*, found in an inscription of Mytilene, is explained<sup>513</sup> by Klaffenbach as equivalent to *υιή*, 'daughter', rather than to *υις*, 'son'.

Robert corrects<sup>514</sup> an ethnic in an honorary inscription of a religious society at Syme (*IG* xii. 3. 6. 3) and shows<sup>515</sup> how to this island inscriptions were brought from various sites, including Theangela (Caria). G. Daux accepts and confirms<sup>516</sup> a restoration proposed by A. Wilhelm in the decree of the Cretan *κοινόν* granting *ἀσυλία* to Anaphe (*ib.* 254. 20). P. Boyancé discusses<sup>517</sup> several passages in the Testament of Epicteta from THERA (*ib.* 330), L. Robert re-edits<sup>518</sup> a decree of the *ἀλειφόμενοι* (*ib.* 331 + p. 285), now in Paris, and F. Hiller von Gaertringen describes<sup>519</sup> in outline the archaeological work done in the island, examines two texts (*ib.* 452, 1324) referring to the race run at the Carnea and discusses the grotto of Chiron and various questions of Theraean cults. F. M. Pontani confronts<sup>520</sup> anew the problems of the archaic Melian dedication on the 'columna Naniana' (*ib.* 1075), regarding *Ἐκπῆοντοι* as a vocative and *Γροπθον* as a personal name rather than a participle.

To the epigraphy of Cos M. Segre makes some notable contributions. In his essay on the sale of priesthoods he examines, restores and explains<sup>521</sup> two relevant Coan texts (*SIG* 1012, Paton-Hicks, 28), and the publication<sup>522</sup> of two fragments of a stele recording the dedication of a precinct to *θεὰ Ἀρσινόα Φιλάδελφος* in response to an oracle opens a discussion of the cult of that queen in other Greek cities. Of yet greater interest are (a) an opisthographic stele<sup>523</sup> containing a letter written in 81 B.C. by Sulla *Ἐπαφρόδειτος δικτάτωρ* to the Coan state, granting to Alexander of Laodicea, envoy from the Iono-Hellespontine *κοινόν* τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, leave to erect at Cos a record of the privileges accorded by Sulla to the *τεχνίται*, and (b) a Coan fragment of the fifth-century Athenian currency-law (see above, p. 251). G. Levi Della Vida and Segre publish<sup>524</sup> a Greco-Nabatean dedication to Aphrodite, set up at Cos in A.D. 9. L. Robert argues<sup>525</sup> in favour of Myndus as the provenance of a dedication, found at Cos, *ὕπερ ὑγίειας καὶ σωτηρίας* of Trajan's father (*Clara Rhodos*, ii. 212).

E. Knitl devotes a dissertation<sup>526</sup> to certain aspects of the speech of the Ionian CYCLADES as reflected in their inscriptions. C. Karouzos publishes<sup>527</sup> an Orientalising amphora of the early seventh century, of which fragments have been unearthed at Naxos, one inscribed *Ἀρρο[δ]ίτη*. L. Robert discusses<sup>528</sup> ll. 6–8 of a third-century Siphnian decree (*IG* xii. 5. 481) and offers a restoration confirmed by the Berlin squeeze. M. Segre studies<sup>529</sup> the provisions of an Andrian decree (*ib.* 721) relative to the tenure of a priesthood, suggesting new restorations, and G. Klaffenbach reads<sup>530</sup> *Ἀμφείωνι* in place of *Ἀμφερωνι* in a Tenian decree honouring a Hierapytnian (*ib.* 840. 13).

<sup>510</sup> *REG* li. 448 f.

<sup>511</sup> *Ἐφημ* 1936, 55 ff., *παρ.* 48; cf. *AJA* xlii. 571.

<sup>512</sup> *REG* li. 448.

<sup>513</sup> *Zeits. vergl. Sprachf.* lxxv. 258 ff.

<sup>514</sup> *Études anat.* 489, note 3.

<sup>515</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>516</sup> *BCH* lxi. 439 f.

<sup>517</sup> *Le culte des Muses*, 330 ff.

<sup>518</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 93.

<sup>519</sup> *Ἐφημ* 1937, 48 ff.

<sup>520</sup> *RivFil* lxxv. 50 ff.

<sup>521</sup> *Rendic. Ist. Lomb.* lxxix. 818 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 449.

<sup>522</sup> *BSArch. Alex.* ix. 286 ff.

<sup>523</sup> *RivFil* lxxvi. 253 ff.; cf. *Aevum*, ix. 254, *SBBer* 1935, 974, note 1, C. Lanzani, *Lucio Cornelio Silla Dittatore*, 175 ff.

<sup>524</sup> *Clara Rhodos*, ix. 137 ff.

<sup>525</sup> *BCH* lx. 199 f.

<sup>526</sup> *Die Sprache der ionischen Kykladen nach den inschriftlichen Quellen*, Munich, 1938.

<sup>527</sup> *Jdl* lii. 166 ff.; cf. *Πρακτ* 1937, 115 ff.

<sup>528</sup> *BCH* lx. 184 ff.

<sup>529</sup> *Rendic. Ist. Lomb.* lxx. 89 ff.

<sup>530</sup> *Klio*, xxx. 256 f.



In a chapter on 'Inscriptions of SAMOS and CHIOS' <sup>531</sup> L. Robert publishes a third-century list of the names and ethnics of 15 members of the Ptolemaic garrison of Samos and examines the epigraphical evidence for the relations of that island with the Lagid monarchs; he also gives (pp. 118 ff.) a fuller discussion of the Chian slave-list (cf. *JHS* lvii. 198 f.) of the late fifth century B.C., unites two fragments of an agonistic document (pp. 126 ff.), restores and interprets a group of seven texts, one of which is here first published (p. 133), relating to Claudia Metrodora, a benefactress of Chios in the first century A.D., and the relations of that state with Antiochus IV of Commagene, and examines (pp. 143 ff.) the tenure of eponymous offices in Greek states by foreign kings, emperors or magistrates. A. Rumpf denies <sup>532</sup> the identity of the 'Αθηνᾶ 'Αθηνῶν μεδέουσα of two Samian boundaries with 'Αθηνᾶ πολιός, and L. Robert gives <sup>533</sup> new readings and restorations of a Samian agonistic list (*AM* xxviii. 357 f.) and re-edits <sup>534</sup> a metrical epitaph (Kaibel, 295) of Icarus. Numerous sherds of Naucratic A and coarse ware, bearing painted or incised dedications, were found <sup>535</sup> by W. Lamb at the Apollo-temple of Phanae in Chios. M. Segre shows <sup>536</sup> that a long-known Chian text (*BCH* xxxvii. 194 ff.) refers to the sale of a priesthood and restores its opening lines. In an article of marked importance J. Vanseveren publishes <sup>537</sup> (a) a third-century list of donations for the fortification of the walls, of which only the heading was previously known, (b) the prescript of a similar list, (c) part of a list of πρόξενοι, begun in the fourth century and continued later, which with two like texts ('Αθηνᾶ, xx. 213 ff., Nos. 12, 13) throws light on Chian commerce, (d) the close of a decree ending τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τόδε ἀφήκειν εἰς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν τοῦ δήμου, a phrase which enables us to restore three other decrees, <sup>538</sup> (e) a fragment of a third-century honorary decree, perhaps of Delphi or the Aetolians, (f) a record of an endowment of 10,000 dr. (resembling *IGRom* iv. 941, 954, *CIG* 2214 f.), the interest of which is to plate with silver the barrier and table in the Asclepieum and later to provide gold and silver offerings, and (g) a third-century decree relating to a reconciliation (σύλλυσις) brought about by Chios between Lampsacus and Parium.

Vanseveren also makes a valuable contribution to the epigraphy of AMORGO by publishing <sup>539</sup> (a) a new fragment of a text of Minoa (*IG* xii. 7. 245 + 237), confirming L. Robert's interpretation (*REG* xlii. 20 ff.) of the document as part of a law regulating the investment of a trust-fund, (b) a mortgage-record of the late fourth or early third century from Arcesine, and (c) a long decree of the same city honouring a magistrate for his generosity in connexion with the cult and festival of Athena Itonia, restored by aid of *IG* xii. 7. 32, 33, and helping in turn to restore l. 7 of the latter text.

The sanctuary of the Cabiri on LEMNOS is identified <sup>540</sup> by means of some fifty votive and other texts and many inscribed sherds. A list of initiates from Samothrace (*IG* xii. 8. 195), now in Paris, is re-edited <sup>541</sup> by L. Robert, and A. Wilhelm examines <sup>542</sup> the inscription on a sundial of the same island (*ib.* 240). P. Guillon publishes <sup>543</sup> a Thasian boundary-stone Διὸς Κτησίῳ Πατρώϊο of the fifth or early fourth century, comparing two other δῶροι of about the same date, while an 18-line lease and a fragmentary dedication from Thasos are reported. <sup>544</sup> P. Collart re-examines <sup>545</sup> a Thasian decree (*ib.* 264) dealing with enfranchisement, and M. Launey edits <sup>546</sup> a document from the Heracles-temple, which, though incomplete, is of value for Thasian officials and cults;

<sup>531</sup> *Études épigr. et philol.* 113 ff.

<sup>532</sup> *Jdl* li. 65 ff.

<sup>533</sup> *Études anat.* 402, note 3.

<sup>534</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 43.

<sup>535</sup> *BSA* xxxv. 161.

<sup>536</sup> *Rendic. Ist. Lomb.* lxix. 812 ff.; cf. L. Robert, *BCH* lix. 434.

<sup>537</sup> *RevPhil* xi. 321 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 450 f.

<sup>538</sup> *IGRom* iv. 938.6, *SIG* 402.38, *SEG* ii. 258.47.

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<sup>539</sup> *RevPhil* xi. 313 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 451 f.

<sup>540</sup> *BCH* lxi. 470 ff.

<sup>541</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 44.

<sup>542</sup> *Ōjh* xxx. 141 ff.

<sup>543</sup> *RA* ix. 195 ff.

<sup>544</sup> *AA* 1937, 158.

<sup>545</sup> *Philippei*, 129 f.

<sup>546</sup> *BCH* lxi. 380 ff.



it resembles *IG* xii. 8. 265, here re-interpreted, and records the conditions of the lease of Heracles' Garden, noteworthy for the heavy burdens imposed on the lessee. To L. Robert we owe the fourth-century epitaph <sup>547</sup> of a loyal slave.

In the Froehner Collection is a *defixio* from Carystus in EUBOEA, now first published <sup>548</sup> by L. Robert, who also restores <sup>549</sup> an item in an Eretrian victor-list (*IG* xii. 9. 94). H. Volkmann discusses <sup>550</sup> an archaic metrical epitaph (*ib.* 286) of a Spartan who was reared at Athens and died at Eretria, and C. B. Welles re-edits <sup>551</sup> the regulations, found at Chalcis (cf. *JHS* lvii. 200), defining the duties of supply-officers of the Macedonian army under Philip V. An inscribed grave-stele has come to light <sup>552</sup> near Chalcis.

[*IG* xiii.] E. Kirsten's dissertation <sup>553</sup> on the history of CRETE in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. makes full use of the available epigraphical sources, and M. Guarducci, discussing the Cretan *περίοικοι* with special reference to J. A. O. Larsen's article (*CIPh* xxxi. 11 ff.), maintains <sup>554</sup> that their true title is *ὑπόφοικοι* and that the *Κρονσσοί* of a Gortynian text (*SGDI* 5019) were a community of this status. Studying the influence of the interdict *uti possidetis* in the inter-state arbitration of the second century B.C., A. Passerini emphasises <sup>555</sup> the importance of the record (*SEG* ii. 511) of the arbitration between Itanus and Hierapytna and examines it anew. P. Lemerle announces <sup>556</sup> the discovery, on the site of the old Aphrodite-temple at Olus, of a copy of the Cnossian arbitration between Lato and Olus already known from a Delian text (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1513), a new Cnossian award and other interesting documents. At Drerius S. Marinatos has found <sup>557</sup> two copies of an honorary decree for an Aspendian, dating from the late third or early second century B.C., and seeks to calculate the population of Drerius at that time from data supplied by the Drerian oath (*SIG* 527 = *Inscr. Cret.* I. ix. 1). P. Demargne and H. van Effenterre edit <sup>558</sup> two short texts, of which one is a proprietor's mark and the other perhaps a boundary, and have excavated an ancient cistern in which an inscription <sup>559</sup> has been found contemporary with that oath, recording the construction of the *λάκκος* by aid of *Ἀπελλῶν Δεελίνιος*, together with 13 archaic fragments <sup>560</sup> from the E. wall of the Delphinium giving parts of 8 inscriptions—laws, *leges sacrae*, juristic records, etc.—which rank among the earliest extant Cretan texts and may be assigned to the late 7th century; of one of these, noteworthy both for constitutional interest and for dialect, they give a full edition. Elsewhere <sup>561</sup> van Effenterre discusses the Drerian oath, its date and the political situation it reflects, in which democracy is temporarily in the ascendant and rallies to its support the youth of the state. G. Klaffenbach corrects and explains <sup>562</sup> three inscriptions of Lyttus imperfectly edited in *Inscr. Cret.* I. xviii. 56, 151, 170–1. From Amnisus S. Marinatos publishes <sup>563</sup> five texts of the Roman period, four of which begin *ἐπὶ κόσμων τῶν σὺν τῷ δεῖναι*. M. Guarducci, who hopes to issue soon the second volume of the *Inscriptiones Creticae*, makes two contributions to Gortynian studies, re-editing <sup>564</sup> a puzzling fourth-century fragment of a sacred calendar prescribing the appropriate offerings made by, or gifts distributed among, the citizens and claiming the *Θερμόλοια* as a Gortynian festival, and elsewhere criticising <sup>565</sup> Kirsten's aforementioned work, especially as regards the building on which the 'Great Inscription' was

<sup>547</sup> *Études anat.* 369 f.

<sup>548</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 13.

<sup>549</sup> *Études épigr. et philol.* 24.

<sup>550</sup> *Klio*, xxxi. 244 ff.

<sup>551</sup> *AJA* xlii. 251 ff.

<sup>552</sup> *AA* 1937, 163.

<sup>553</sup> *Die Insel Kreta im fünften u. vierten Jahrh.* 1936.

<sup>554</sup> *RioFil* lxiv. 356 ff.

<sup>555</sup> *Athenaeum*, xv. 34 ff.

<sup>556</sup> *BCH* lxi. 473 ff.

<sup>557</sup> *BCH* lx. 280 ff.

<sup>558</sup> *BCH* lxi. 8 f.

<sup>559</sup> *Ibid.* 29 ff.

<sup>560</sup> *Ibid.* 333 ff., lxii. 194 f.; cf. lx. 486 f., *AA* 1937, 176 f.

<sup>561</sup> *BCH* lxi. 327 ff.

<sup>562</sup> *Klio*, xxx. 254 ff.; cf. *D. Litetg.* 1937, 957 ff.

<sup>563</sup> *Πρακτ.* 1936, 85 f.; cf. 1935, 201 f., *AJA* xlii. 137, *RA* x. 375, *Glotta*, xxvii. 225.

<sup>564</sup> *RioFil* lcv. 381 ff.

<sup>565</sup> *RioFil* lxvi. 264 ff.



first engraved and its date, which Guarducci places in 480-60 B.C. while Kirsten relegates it to the late fifth or even the early fourth century B.C. Fabricius' copy of this inscription is now deposited in Berlin.<sup>566</sup> J. Zingerle restores and discusses<sup>567</sup> both the extant texts from the Asclepieum at Lebena recording the cure of P. Granus Rufus (*Inscr. Cret.* I. xvii. 17, 18), concluding that 'in the sanctuary of Lebena a treatment was followed which was, in view of the contemporary position of medical science, wholly rational'; he also emends<sup>568</sup> the text of another record from the same site (*ib.* 20). A Rhodian amphora-handle has been found<sup>569</sup> at Phaestus, and M. Guarducci proves,<sup>570</sup> by reference to Polybius and an unpublished alliance between the Oreioi and Magas King of Cyrene, found at Lisus in S.W. Crete, the existence in the third century B.C. of a short-lived confederation of \*Ορείοι or \*Οπίοι in that part of the island.

## VII. WESTERN EUROPE.

[*IG* xiv.] From SICILY there is little to report. A caduceus-button inscribed 'Αἰεονζίνου δαμόσ(ιν)', now at Paris, is re-edited<sup>571</sup> by L. Robert. C. P[icard] maintains<sup>572</sup> that the 'Apollonion-inscription' (*IG* xiv. 1) relates not to the temple, probably that of Artemis, but to ex-votos dedicated there, and Robert interprets<sup>573</sup> two Jewish epitaphs (*CIJud* 651-2) of Syracuse. P. E. Arias edits<sup>574</sup> four epitaphs, one of them that of a doctor, and 9 stamped amphora-handles from Còmiso, N.E. of Camarina. M. Feyel, abandoning his previous interpretation and attacking that of Robert (cf. *JHS* lvii. 202), reads<sup>575</sup> τὸ(ς) τριᾶκονταμέρος, 'magistrates in office for thirty days', in a decree of Phintias (*IG* xiv. 256). P. Mingazzini publishes<sup>576</sup> two archaic epitaphs, one inscribed boustrophedon, of 500-450 B.C. from Monte Saraceno near Ravanusa, E. of Agragas, and Robert re-edits<sup>577</sup> an honorary decree of Agragas (*ib.* 954), found between Tibur and Praeneste and now in the Froehner Collection. Five epitaphs, one of them metrical, have been unearthed<sup>578</sup> at Catana by G. Libertini, who also examines<sup>579</sup> the name \*Ροδογούνη found in a Catanian epigram (*ib.* 499).

W. C. Kamps studies, in a paper of which only a summary<sup>580</sup> has yet appeared, the inscriptions of MAGNA GRAECIA relative to the *donatio mortis causa*, stressing the analogy of the Greek usage with the *mancipatio familiae*, and N. Putorti examines<sup>581</sup> the *matris tutela* suggested by the *donatio* of Crimisa. A puzzling archaic text from Locri is published<sup>582</sup> by L. Robert, a Greek inscription from Velia containing the names of Persephone and Hades by F. Ribezzo,<sup>583</sup> and some sherds with dedications to Hera from the Lucanian Heraeum of Posidonia at Capaccio by P. Zancani Montuoro and U. Zanotti-Bianco<sup>584</sup>; three masons' marks are reported from Policoro<sup>585</sup> and a t.-c. mould stamped HPA from Taras.<sup>586</sup> M. Della Corte publishes<sup>587</sup> 14 Greek texts—abecedaria, amphora-handles, etc.—among recent epigraphical finds at Pompeii, and du Mesnil du Buisson comments<sup>588</sup> on the Felix 'Ιουδαίκοῦ of a Pompeian vase. A portrait of Χείλων Λααεδαίμωνιος is painted<sup>589</sup> on the wall of the 'Philosophers' Room' in the *thermae* at

<sup>566</sup> *SBBerl* 1938, xlviii; cf. *Die Antike*, xiv. 327.

<sup>567</sup> *Comment. Vindob.* iii. 75 ff.

<sup>568</sup> *Ibid.* 109 ff.

<sup>569</sup> *AA* 1937, 183.

<sup>570</sup> *RicFil* lxvi. 50 ff.; cf. lii. 96 f.

<sup>571</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 83.

<sup>572</sup> *RA* x. 115 f.

<sup>573</sup> *REJuives*, ci. 79 f.

<sup>574</sup> *NSe* xlii. 467 ff.

<sup>575</sup> *REG* l. 42 ff.; cf. *REA* xxxix. 435.

<sup>576</sup> *MonAnt* xxxvi. 662 ff.; cf. *JHS* lvi. 216.

<sup>577</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 84.

<sup>578</sup> *NSe* xlii. 77 f.

<sup>579</sup> \**Boll. stor. catanese*, i-ii. 27 ff.

<sup>580</sup> *Rev. Hist. Droit*, xv. 413 f.

<sup>581</sup> *Italia Antichissima*, xii. 33 ff.

<sup>582</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 82.

<sup>583</sup> *RivIGI* xxi. 210.

<sup>584</sup> *NSe* xlii. 219.

<sup>585</sup> *JHS* lvi. 225.

<sup>586</sup> *BMQuarterly*, xii. 108, 150.

<sup>587</sup> *NSe*, xii. 303 ff.

<sup>588</sup> *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 1936, 194 f.

<sup>589</sup> *AJA* xlii. 409, *AA* 1936, 463 f. For *IG* xiv. 933 see *ÖJh* xxx, Beibl. 147 ff.



Ostia. Two epitaphs from the Cemetery of Pretextatus at Rome are edited<sup>590</sup> by E. Josi and a bronze *sigillum* in the Museo Nazionale, bearing a bust of Septimius Severus and the words *ἱερᾶς ἐπιστολῆς συνόδου*, by R. Paribeni.<sup>591</sup> J. B. Frey's essay<sup>592</sup> on the Jewish catacombs at Rome deals especially with the structure, inscriptions and brick-stamps of the catacombs of the Vigna Rondanini and of Monteverde; the Jewish catacombs, he concludes, began at latest in the first century A.D. and are thus at least a century older than the Christian. D. Mallardo's article<sup>593</sup> on the charge of onolatry brought against the Christians deals anew with the graffito of Alexamenus from the *paedagogium* on the Palatine (cf. *JHS* lvii. 203). L. Gallet re-examines<sup>594</sup> from the epigraphical, historical and juristic points of view the bilingual *senatus consultum* of 78 B.C. (*IG* xiv. 951) granting to three Greeks the status of *amicus populi Romani* for services rendered in the Italic War and discusses the origins of the *in integrum restitutio*. C. Blümel deals<sup>595</sup> with the herm of Themistocles ὁ ναυμάχος (*ib.* 1164), now in the Berlin Museum, and P. Boyancé<sup>596</sup> with the poem of the Neoplatonist physician Asclepiades (*ib.* 1424), and L. Robert re-edits<sup>597</sup> among the Froehner inscriptions the signature of a Rhodian sculptor and two epitaphs, one metrical (*ib.* 1229, 1741, 1994) and proves<sup>598</sup> the Roman provenance of the Jewish inscriptions in Pusey House, Oxford. A statue-base signed by Leochares of Athens<sup>599</sup> has been placed in the Park of Trajan's Thermae at Rome. A number of vase-fragments from the Heraeum of Caere, bearing Hera's name, are published<sup>600</sup> by R. Mengarelli, and a mutilated Greek text from Montecanino, near Capena, by M. Pallotino.<sup>601</sup>

A fragmentary poem found at Augusta Treverorum (Trier) in 1865 (*IG* xiv. 2557) and impressions on mortar of two further portions of the same stone discovered in 1917 afford R. Herzog the materials from which, with extreme skill, patience and learning, he reconstructs<sup>602</sup> the last 17 lines of a Greek hexameter composition, assigned by him to the Emperor Julian the Apostate, who, probably in A.D. 361, dedicated to Hermes a costly girdle to mark the completion of his pacification of Gaul and the line of the Rhine. This interpretation is accepted<sup>603</sup> by J. Bidez, who adds further linguistic and historical notes, and is summarised by A. R[ostagni]<sup>604</sup> and by A. Körte.<sup>605</sup> Herzog also edits<sup>606</sup> with equal mastery a Greek dedicatory hymn of 12 lines, almost contemporary with the other, addressed by Eustorgius to St. Agnes. W. Reusch draws up a list<sup>607</sup> of the Greek inscriptions of the Imperial period, four on stone, nine on glass and two on golden rings, found at Colonia (Köln) and discusses the Greek element in the life and population of that town.

#### VIII. ASIA MINOR.

The period under review has witnessed memorable progress in the study of Anatolian inscriptions, but considerations of space preclude a complete or adequate survey of the work achieved. In particular, I cannot attempt to summarise L. Robert's impressive *Études anatoliennes*,<sup>608</sup> in whose 620 pages many new inscriptions are published and very

<sup>590</sup> *Riv. arch. crist.* xiii. 219.

<sup>591</sup> *NSe* xiii. 58 ff.; cf. *AJA* xlii. 294, *AA* 1937, 404.

<sup>592</sup> *Rendic. Pont. Acc.* xii. 185 ff.

<sup>593</sup> *Atti Napoli*, xv. 115 ff.

<sup>594</sup> *Rev. Hist. Droit*, xvi. 242 ff., 387 ff.

<sup>595</sup> *AA* 1938, 269 f.

<sup>596</sup> *Le culte des Muses*, 284 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 481.

<sup>597</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, Nos. 85-7.

<sup>598</sup> *REJuives*, cii. 121.

<sup>599</sup> *AA* 1936, 470.

<sup>600</sup> *NSe* xiii. 399.

<sup>601</sup> *Ibid.* 19.

<sup>602</sup> *Trierer Zeitschrift*, xii. 121 ff.; cf. *RA* xii. 349 f., *Rev. Hist. Rel.* cxviii. 236 ff., *REA* xli. 97 ff.

<sup>603</sup> *Ant. Class.* vii. 91 f., *Annales de l'École des Hautes Études de Gand*, ii. 13 ff.; cf. *REA* xl. 317 f., *Trierer Zeitschrift*, xiii. 120.

<sup>604</sup> *Riv. Fil.* lxvi. 328 f.

<sup>605</sup> *Die Antike*, xiv. 252 ff.

<sup>606</sup> *Trierer Zeitschrift*, xiii. 79 ff.; cf. *Riv. arch. crist.* xvi. 184.

<sup>607</sup> *Germania*, xxii. 172 ff.; cf. *Riv. arch. crist.* xv. 319 ff.

<sup>608</sup> Paris, 1937; cf. *REA* xxxix. 399 ff., *Gnomon*, xiv. 463 ff.



many already known are revised, restored or explained: among the provenances are Teos, Pergamum, Aegae, Temnus, Thyatira, Smyrna, Colophon, Sardis, Ilium, Cyzicus, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Phrygia, Aphrodisias, Tabae, Sebastopolis (Caria), Cibyratis, Cyaneae (Lycia), Tralles, Alabanda, Iasus, Bargylia, Halicarnassus, Ceramus, Idyma, Callipolis, Hyllarima, Stratonicea, Lagina and Mylasa, but this list gives no idea of the wide field, alike of space and of subject, on which the astonishing learning, acumen and industry of the author throws new light. No student of Asia Minor can afford to overlook this rich and varied epigraphical, numismatic, geographical and philological storehouse, the use of which is facilitated by a list (pp. 575 ff.) of the inscriptions corrected or studied and by word- and subject-indexes (pp. 582 ff.), as well as by Robert's concise summaries<sup>609</sup> geographically arranged. Among texts now in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris he republishes<sup>610</sup> two Mysian dedications to Θεός Ἰαβίου, epitaphs from Amisus and Xanthus, an important trio of public documents of Theangela (with especially full and valuable commentaries) and a famous asylum-boundary of Tralles, together with two new dedications<sup>611</sup> from Clazomenae and Smyrna. Among the records discussed<sup>612</sup> in M. Segre's essay on the sale of priesthoods are inscriptions of Priene, Miletus, Chalcedon, Casossus (Caria), Halicarnassus, Mylasa, Hyllarima and Erythrae, and J. Zingerle examines and seeks to solve<sup>613</sup> problems raised by geographical names in inscriptions of various sites in Lydia, Phrygia, Bithynia and Lycia, on principles and with results which L. Robert deprecates.<sup>614</sup> I do not know R. Hartmann's *Kleine Beiträge zur Epigraphik Anatoliens*, nor F. Sokolowski's article,<sup>615</sup> in Polish, on *leges sacrae* from Greek cities of Asia Minor.

A. Laumonier's account of the archaeology of CARIA deals<sup>616</sup> with inscriptions of the village of Gerga and contains epigraphical notes relative to Labraunda and to Panamara. L. Robert traces<sup>617</sup> to Myndus certain inscriptions found at Cos, and G. Patriarca supplements and corrects<sup>618</sup> W. Ruge's article on Myndus in Pauly-Wissowa (xvi. 1075 ff.). In addition to the notes mentioned above, Laumonier devotes attention to the inscriptions of Panamara in his elaborate study<sup>619</sup> of the chronology and family connexions of the 172 known priests of that sanctuary, while Robert gives an account<sup>620</sup> of a dedication from the same site, now at Brussels, and identifies<sup>621</sup> Julius Antoninus, named on a coin of Nysa, with a man richly attested epigraphically (*SEG* iv. 402-8, etc.). S. Ferri claims<sup>622</sup> a building recently unearthed<sup>623</sup> by G. Jacopi at Aphrodisias as the Διογενειανὸν γυμνάσιον of a building-record of Trajan's reign (*CIG* 2782), and E. Bikerman uses<sup>624</sup> a decree of Alabanda to throw light on the political situation in Asia Minor after the Treaty of Apamea.

G. Klaffenbach publishes<sup>625</sup> an opisthographic stele from Miletus, dating from 250-200 B.C., bearing a treaty of εὐφιλία between Miletus and Aetolia, restorable by the aid of similar documents, and a fragment relative to disputes between Milesians and Aetolians, while A. Rehm discusses<sup>626</sup> the pre-history of the Diocletianic persecution of the Christians in the light of a group of documents from Didyma, due to the proconsul of Asia Festus—a triad of epigrams (*SEG* iv. 467) and two new basis-inscriptions of statues of Zeus and Leto, dedicated by Diocletian and Maximian to Apollo Didymeus between A.D. 286 and

<sup>609</sup> *REG* li. 454 ff.

<sup>610</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, Nos. 47-9, 51-4, 96.

<sup>611</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 50 (cf. *RA* x. 405), 55.

<sup>612</sup> *Rendic. Ist. Lomb.* lxix. 816 ff., 822 ff., lxx. 83 ff., 96 ff.

<sup>613</sup> *ÖJh* xxx. Beibl. 129 ff.

<sup>614</sup> *Études épigr. et philol.* 248 ff.

<sup>615</sup> \**Sprawozdania Tow. nauk we Lwowie*, xviii.

143 ff.

<sup>616</sup> *BCH* lx. 287 ff., 319 f., 326 ff.

<sup>617</sup> *Ibid.* 199 f.

<sup>618</sup> *RendLinceri*, xii. 257 ff.

<sup>619</sup> *BCH* lxi. 236 ff., lxii. 167 ff.

<sup>620</sup> *BCH* lx. 197 ff.

<sup>621</sup> *RevNum* 1936, 273 f.

<sup>622</sup> *RivFil* lxvi. 59 f.

<sup>623</sup> *Ill. London News*, 1937, 1095 ff.

<sup>624</sup> *REG* l. 221 f., 239.

<sup>625</sup> *SBBerl* 1937, 155 ff.; cf. *Gnomon*, xiv. 479 f.

<sup>626</sup> *Philologus*, xciii. 74 ff.



293. J. Keil's nineteenth provisional report on EPHEsus contains<sup>627</sup> a preliminary publication of an epitaph of 500-450 B.C., a fragment of the earliest extant Ephesian enfranchisement-decree, part of an official record of a demarcation of property, a decree of about A.D. 50 relative to a restoration of the Artemision, two honorary inscriptions for successful athletes and six other Greek documents; he also publishes,<sup>628</sup> in the course of a discussion of M. Aurelius and the succession, a text honouring M. Peducaeus Plautius Quintillus, the Emperor's son-in-law. In the final account of the Cemetery of the Seven Sleepers we find<sup>629</sup> some lamp-inscriptions, 37 epitaphs, mostly late, and 20 Greek graffiti of visitors. T. Statilius Crito, author and Trajan's doctor, honoured by an Ephesian medical guild (*SEG* iv. 521) is recognised<sup>630</sup> in a mutilated text of Heraclea Salbace<sup>631</sup> by W. H. Buckler, who, with Keil, traces his career and his relations with Ephesus. L. Robert shows<sup>632</sup> the value of epigraphical evidence for the dating of Erythraean coins. C. J. Cadoux has compiled<sup>633</sup> a history of Smyrna down to A.D. 324, in which the fullest use is made of the inscriptional sources, and A. Passerini discusses<sup>634</sup> in detail the copy found at Smyrna of the 'senatus consultum of Adramyttium' relative to a dispute between publicans and Pergamenes, adding several new fragments, while M. Segre further elucidates<sup>635</sup> the documents in question and attempts to restore the opening passage of a letter of Julius Caesar.

The epitaph, found at Thyatira, of a Roman citizen of the second century A.D. engaged in the supply-service of four legions leads its editor, J. Guey, to examine<sup>636</sup> the problem of the *annona militaris*, and L. Robert comments,<sup>637</sup> in the light of the coins of Ilium, on an inscription recently discovered there (*AJA* xxxix. 590). Volumes IX and X of the *Altertümer von Pergamon* were issued in 1937. In the first of these<sup>638</sup> E. Boehringer and F. Krauss deal with 'the precinct for the ruler-cult' and include a number of quarry-marks, stamps on bricks and amphora-handles (pp. 78 ff., 132 ff.) and a few inscriptions and graffiti (pp. 125 ff.) with a list of other references in the work to Pergamene inscriptions (pp. 162 f.); in the second, devoted to the Hellenistic arsenals, A. von Szalay and E. Boehringer edit a dedication of a guild of λαμπάδισται (p. 29) and a large number of stamps on vases, amphora-handles and bricks (pp. 29 ff.; cf. 61). E. V. Hansen examines<sup>639</sup> the victory-monument of Attalus I, erected in 226-3 B.C., seeking to determine the sequence and arrangement of the pertinent inscriptions (*OGI* 273-9). The genitive form πόλεως, found in a fourth-century decree of Zelea (*DGE* 733), is discussed<sup>640</sup> by E. Schwyzler. G. Jacopi's report<sup>641</sup> on a journey of the Italian Archaeological Mission contains preliminary publications of 22 inscriptions of E. Asia Minor—Castamon, Pompeiopolis and Abonuteichos (Ineboli) in Paphlagonia (pp. 4 ff.), Tavium in Galatia (pp. 14 ff.) and Comana in Cappadocia (pp. 17 ff.)—among them a votive to Ζεὺς Βρονταῖος (p. 4) and honorary inscriptions for the Empress Salonina, Cn. Claudius Severus, son-in-law of Marcus Aurelius, Trajanus Decius and Herennia Etruscilla (pp. 6 f., 11 f., 17 f.); another work<sup>642</sup> of Jacopi, also containing epigraphical materials, I know only indirectly. A. Wilhelm re-examines and restores<sup>643</sup> an inscription of a sun-dial from Amastris (*ÖJh* xxviii, Beibl.

<sup>627</sup> *ÖJh* xxx, Beibl. 194 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 458.

<sup>628</sup> *Klio*, xxxi. 296 ff.

<sup>629</sup> *Forschungen in Ephesos*, IV. 2 (Baden, 1937), 201 ff., 226; cf. *RA* x. 398 f.

<sup>630</sup> *ÖJh* xxx, Beibl. 5 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 357, *REG* li. 461 f.

<sup>631</sup> J. R. S. Sterrett, *Epigr. Journey*, 13; cf. Le Bas-Wadd. 1694.

<sup>632</sup> *RevNum* 1936, 271 f.

<sup>633</sup> *Ancient Smyrna*, Oxford, 1938.

<sup>634</sup> *Athenaeum*, xv. 252 ff.

<sup>635</sup> *Athenaeum*, xvi. 119 ff.

<sup>636</sup> *MéRome*, lv. 56 ff.

<sup>637</sup> *RevNum* 1936, 272.

<sup>638</sup> Cf. *REG* li. 454.

<sup>639</sup> *AJA* xli. 52 ff.

<sup>640</sup> *Zeits. vergl. Sprachf.* lxxv. 247 f.

<sup>641</sup> *Dalla Paphlagonia alla Commagene* (*Boll. Ist. Arch.* vii), Rome, 1937; cf. *Syria*, xviii. 218 f.

<sup>642</sup> \**Esplorazioni e studi in Paphlagonia e Cappadocia* (*Boll. Ist. Arch.* viii), Rome, 1937; cf. *Riv. arch. crist.* xvi. 184.

<sup>643</sup> *ÖJh* xxx. 135 ff.



74), J. Zingerle offers <sup>644</sup> restorations of two thankofferings (*Stud. Pont.* iii. Nos. 24 f.) from the sanctuary of Asclepius and the Nymphs at Phazimon, and H. Grégoire deals <sup>645</sup> with an honorary inscription of Sebastopolis (Sulu Serai) for Caesennia Maxima ἡ καὶ Ἀμαζονίς, the original of the 'Amazon Maximo' of the Byzantine epopee.

J. G. C. Anderson proves <sup>646</sup> by inscriptions copied by O. Schönewolf at Igde-agatch, notably the building-inscription of a temple and statues by an Imperial οἰκονόμος, the existence of an Imperial estate near the Tembris valley in N.W. GALATIA, and W. H. Buckler gives <sup>647</sup> fuller texts, based on copies by Ramsay and Sterrett, of four letters of Trajan (*IGRom* iii. 228) to Claudianus, perhaps priest of Pessinus. The recent bimillenary celebration of Augustus' birth has stimulated interest in his *Res gestae*, represented by the Monumenta of Ancyra (bilingual), Apollonia (Greek) and Antioch (Latin). R. Barwick interprets <sup>648</sup> a famous phrase in ch. 34 (Latin), F. Hellwig argues <sup>649</sup> that the Roman original was engraved in eight columns (apart from prescript and appendix) and A. Solari examines <sup>650</sup> the achievement of Augustus in the light of this record. J. D. Newby's *\*Numismatic Commentary on the 'Res gestae' of Augustus* <sup>651</sup> and H. Malcovati's *\*Sul capitolo X del 'Monumentum Ancyranum'* <sup>652</sup> I do not know, nor yet the editions or translations by C. Barini, <sup>653</sup> A. Oxilia and A. F. Giachetti, <sup>654</sup> E. C. d'Oliveira <sup>655</sup> and the relevant works of G. Coppola <sup>656</sup> and G. Chimienti. <sup>657</sup> The work on the Augustus-Temple at Ancyra by M. Schede and D. Krencker <sup>658</sup> contains an account (pp. 51 ff.) of the inscriptions of the temple by Schede and on the Byzantine texts by H. Grégoire and G. de Jerphanion, while that of Schede and H. S. Schultz on *Ankara und Augustus* <sup>659</sup> includes a text and version of the *Res gestae* and a discussion of the lesser inscriptions (pp. 29, 42 ff.). Of outstanding importance is the article <sup>660</sup> in which H. and F. Miltner edit 23 new Greek inscriptions from Ancyra and correct or annotate 18 already known; of the former group I call special attention to a series of tribe-inscriptions honouring distinguished citizens (Nos. 2, 8, 9, 12, 23), two interesting votives (Nos. 37, 40) and three epitaphs (Nos. 22, 38, 52), one engraved by a σνήγορος τοῦ τομεῖου and another offering two alternative epigrams. They add (pp. 48 ff.) eight new epitaphs and descriptions of seven published monuments of Cotiaëum (Kutahya) now preserved at Ankara. To C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron we owe a rich and admirably edited collection <sup>661</sup> of 324 ancient monuments seen by the editors in Dorylaëum, Nacolea and the vicinity; of the 251 Greek texts, 35 were previously known and 216 are here first published. An appendix contains 43 further inscriptions copied by Ramsay, A. Körte and others, and another presents a table of eighty published Zeus-Bronton inscriptions other than those included in the present volume and the texts of nine unpublished dedications to that god, and the work ends with a full epigraphical bibliography, concordance and index. The record of a deed of gift and a decree regulating a charitable endowment of A.D. 237 at Orcistus is published <sup>662</sup> by W. H. Buckler and annotated <sup>663</sup> by W. M. Ramsay, and W. K. C. Guthrie re-edits <sup>664</sup> a text (*Wolfe Exp.* 624) from the N. end of Lake Caralis which throws light on inheritance

<sup>644</sup> *Comment. Vindob.* iii. 93 ff.

<sup>645</sup> *Ann. Inst. Phil. Hist. Or.* iv. 723 ff.

<sup>646</sup> *JRS* xxvii. 18 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 363 f., *REG* li. 471.

<sup>647</sup> *RevPhil* xi. 105 ff.

<sup>648</sup> *Philologus*, xci. 350 ff.

<sup>649</sup> *Klio*, xxx. 123 ff.

<sup>650</sup> *Philologus*, xcii. 429 ff.

<sup>651</sup> Edmond, Oklahoma, 1938; cf. *RioFil* lxvi. 324 f., *Athenaeum*, xvi. 325 f.

<sup>652</sup> Rome, 1938.

<sup>653</sup> *\*Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, Rome, 1937.

<sup>654</sup> *Il testamento politico di Augusto*, Florence, 1938.

<sup>655</sup> *L'Imperatore Augusto*, Milan.

<sup>656</sup> *Nuova Antologia*, cccxi. 429 ff.

<sup>657</sup> *\*Cesare Augusto e il monumento ancirano*, Trieste, 1938.

<sup>658</sup> *Der Tempel in Ankara* (Berlin, 1936); cf. *RA* xi. 128 f.

<sup>659</sup> Berlin, 1937; cf. *AJA* xlii. 320 f.

<sup>660</sup> *ÖJh* xxx, Beibl. 9 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 358 ff., *BZ* xxxvii. 270.

<sup>661</sup> *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, v, Manchester, 1937; cf. *REG* li. 467 ff., *JHS* lviii. 111 f., *Gnomon*, xv. 234 ff., *PhW* lix. 690 ff., *Riv. arch. crist.* xv. 211.

<sup>662</sup> *JHS* lvii. 1 ff.; cf. *AJA* xli. 616 f., *RA* x. 363, *REG* li. 467.

<sup>663</sup> *JHS* lvii. 247.

<sup>664</sup> *Ibid.* 79 f.; cf. *PhW* lvii. 1398.



by adoption in Phrygia. Buckler also discovers <sup>665</sup> epigraphical evidence for the cult of Aphrodite Οὐρανία at Hieropolis, L. Robert assigns <sup>666</sup> to Kapakli Kuyu an inscription wrongly attributed to the same city (*Altertümer von Hierapolis*, 324), and F. W. Deichmann publishes <sup>667</sup> an epitaph from Philomelium (Ak Shehir). E. Groag shows <sup>668</sup> that a Senatorial *eursus* from Laodicea Combusta (*IGRom* iii. 249) must relate to Ti. Julius Frugi, and E. C. Hudson devotes an article <sup>669</sup> to Pisidian Antioch and the ξῆνοι τεκνιόραιοι.

The latest instalment <sup>670</sup> of H. Kasten's survey of Greek epigraphical studies since 1895 concludes his section on LYCIA and deals also with Cilicia (pp. 117 ff.) and Cyprus (pp. 135 ff.). E. Kalinka examines <sup>671</sup> the economic life of Lycia in the third century B.C. in connexion with a problem presented by a decree of Telmessus (*TAM* ii. 1) dated 240 B.C., and M. Segre's renewed discussion <sup>672</sup> of the identity of the 'Ptolemy son of Lysimachus' of a Telmessian text (*OGI* 55) includes the publication of two further documents of the same provenance relating to that enigmatic personage—an honorary decree of 265–56 B.C. in the Rhodes Museum and a letter of Eumenes II of Pergamum dated 181–0 B.C., of which half, now in the Smyrna Museum, had been previously noted by L. Robert (*Études anat.* 375). To P. Meriggi's interpretation of the Xanthus stele I refer above (p. 246). R. Philippson supports, <sup>673</sup> against Bignone, his view that Diogenes of Oenoanda viewed Aristotle and his school in the light of Favorinus, and H. Janne proposes <sup>674</sup> a new restoration in the petition of Arycanda (*CIL* iii. 12132) to Maximin for the suppression of the Christians. A thankoffering by a cured patient to Asclepius and to a doctor, assigned by its first editor (*JHS* xv. 121) to Limyra but really belonging to Cibyra in Caria, is independently discussed by L. Robert <sup>675</sup> and J. Zingerle. <sup>676</sup> T. R. S. Broughton edits <sup>677</sup> an inscription recently unearthed at Tarsus, in which a porters' guild, τὸ συνέργιον τῶν ἐν τῇ σερτικῇ ἀποφορῶν, honours Caracalla in A.D. 205.

From CYPRUS we note inscriptions in the syllabic script found by P. Dikaïos <sup>678</sup> on a carnelian ring-stone and a t.-c. figure and by L. Philippou <sup>679</sup> dedicating to Apollo Hylatas a cave at New Paphos, and Cypro-Minoan texts excavated by J. F. Daniel <sup>680</sup> at Curium. H. Kasten surveys <sup>681</sup> the work done on Greek inscriptions of the island since 1895. K. Spyridakis' history of Idaliu <sup>682</sup> in the fifth century B.C. draws largely on the famous bilingual record found there (Solmsen-Fraenkel, 6), J. du P. Taylor publishes <sup>683</sup> a group of early Byzantine invocations from the Phyleri Cave, and G. M. A. Richter adds <sup>684</sup> a fragment of an inscribed storage-jar to a piece already in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Among the inscriptions of the Froehner Collection edited by Robert are <sup>685</sup> two Cyprian epitaphs and a *defixio* from Curium together with two documents previously known, a dedication from Citium to Artemis Paralia and an epitaph (*SGDI* 76) from Marium. But the chief contributor to the epigraphy of the island is T. B. Mitford, who has made a number of striking discoveries which he publishes with the utmost promptitude and care. One article <sup>686</sup> contains a tomb-inscription in syllabic script from Marium-Arsinoe and ten Ptolemaic texts, including records set up at Salamis by the troops stationed in Cyprus in honour of Ptolemy Soter (No. 3) and of Myrsine wife

<sup>665</sup> *JHS* lvi. 237 f.; cf. *AJA* xli. 324.

<sup>666</sup> *BCH* lx. 202 ff.

<sup>667</sup> *AA* 1938, 212 f.

<sup>668</sup> *WienStud* liv. 195 ff.

<sup>669</sup> *Theology*, xxxvii. 229 ff.

<sup>670</sup> *Burs* cclxi. 95 ff.

<sup>671</sup> *WienStud* liv. 148 ff.

<sup>672</sup> *Clara Rhodos*, ix. 181 ff.

<sup>673</sup> *RivFil* lxvi. 235 ff.

<sup>674</sup> *Ann. Inst. Phil. Hist. Or.* iv. 289 f.; cf. *RA* x. 396.

<sup>675</sup> *Études anat.* 384 ff.

<sup>676</sup> *Comment. Vindob.* iii. 89 ff.

<sup>677</sup> *AJA* xlii. 55 ff.

<sup>678</sup> *Cyprus: Report Dep. Ant.* ii. 8, iii. 32.

<sup>679</sup> *Paphos* (Nicosia, 1936), 21.

<sup>680</sup> *AJA* xlii. 272 ff.

<sup>681</sup> *Burs* cclxi. 135 ff.

<sup>682</sup> *Kyprischeal Σπουδαί*, i. 61 ff.

<sup>683</sup> *Cyprus: Report Dep. Ant.* iii. 18 f.

<sup>684</sup> *BullMetMus* xxxiii. 81 f.

<sup>685</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, Nos. 56–60.

<sup>686</sup> *JHS* lvii. 28 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 477, *PhW* lvii. 1396 f., *AJA* xli. 616.



of Pelops στρατηγού της νήσου (No. 6), accompanied by revisions (Nos. 6, 10) of the similar inscriptions *OGI* 84 and *JHS* xii. 195, Nos. 52-4, a new fragment of *OGI* 149 from Palaepaphos (No. 7), a dedication of a λαμπαδάρχης of Chytri to Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra, Hermes and Heracles with a re-edition of *CIG* 2627 (No. 8), and two inscriptions (Nos. 9, 11) erected by detachments of troops at Nea Paphos honouring an Epirote lady and Crocus, [συγγενῇ τοῦ] βασιλέως (Euergetes II) καὶ ναύαρχον [καὶ ἐπιστάτην καὶ στρατηγὸν] αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀρχιερέα [τῆς νήσου]. A second<sup>687</sup> deals with some pre-Roman inscriptions of Palaepaphos (Kouklia), publishing four new texts on statue-bases, two of which bear dedications to Aphrodite, and restoring, correcting or annotating twelve known texts, including nine published in *JHS* ix. 225 ff. A third<sup>688</sup> comprises 18 new inscriptions—epitaphs, votives, honorary inscriptions, etc.—from various sites, most of them collected in the Nicosia Museum, with a new reading and restoration of *SEG* vi. 815 (p. 18, note 1): the most interesting items are from Citium (Larnaca), viz. (a) a dedication to Zeus Soter and Athena Nikephoros for Ptolemy Soter and his children, made in 106-88 B.C. by οἱ ἐν Κιτίῳ [τα]σσόμενοι πρῶτοι φίλοι καὶ ἀρχισωματο[φύ]λακες (No. 16), (b) an honorary inscription for Irene, daughter of the general and high-priest Ptolemaeus, set up by her son (No. 12) and later erased when the bottom of the stone was used for (c) an amnesty-act of 145-4 B.C. with a covering royal letter addressed to the land and naval forces in Cyprus (No. 14), which forms the subject of a separate study<sup>689</sup> by Mitford.

## IX. SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

J. H. Iliffe supplements<sup>690</sup> his previous discussion of Hellenistic and *sigillata* wares in the Near East. F. Cumont reports<sup>691</sup> the discovery at Susa of portions of a second-century manumission, a Rhodian amphora-handle and a fragment, perhaps relating to the Syrian ruler-cult, bearing the title ἀρχιερεύς, and E. Schönbauer supports<sup>692</sup> Robert's contention that the Susan emancipation *SEG* vii. 15 is Greek and not Oriental in character.

L. Robert re-edits<sup>693</sup> the dedication to Atargatis of an alms-box from SYRIA now in Paris (*ib.* 801), and the sumptuous work of D. Krencker and W. Zschietzschmann on Roman temples in Syria, though primarily architectural, publishes<sup>694</sup> many texts, chiefly votive, inscribed on temple ruins, notably at Baetocaece. G. Jacopi has found<sup>695</sup> fragments of the inscription of Antiochus I of Commagene at Samosata and portions of a kindred text at Palas on the Euphrates, F. Krüger examines<sup>696</sup> the Oriental and Hellenic elements in the inscriptions of Antiochus I, and R. Mouterde and A. Beaulieu report<sup>697</sup> on a journey in Chalcidice and Antiochene taken in preparation of volume II of the *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*. The famous dossier from Rhosus (cf. *JHS* lv. 216 f., lvii. 212) is discussed by M. A. Levi<sup>698</sup> in its historical and chronological aspects, and by F. de Visscher,<sup>699</sup> who re-edits ll. 53-72 of the edict of 41 B.C. and argues that new citizens of Rome remained normally subject to their own national laws. W. A. Campbell reports<sup>700</sup> on the first campaign at Seleucia Pieria and on the mosaics<sup>701</sup> found at ANTIOCH

<sup>687</sup> *Mnem* vi. 103 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 477 f.

<sup>688</sup> *APF* xlii. 13 ff.

<sup>689</sup> *Actes V Congrès Pap.* 291 ff.

<sup>690</sup> *JHS* lvi. 234 f.

<sup>691</sup> *CRAIInscr* 1937, 313 ff., 1938, 305 ff.

<sup>692</sup> *APF* xii. 214 ff.

<sup>693</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 61.

<sup>694</sup> *Römische Tempel in Syrien* (Berlin, 1938), 24, 31, 42, 53 ff., 89 ff., 120 f., 170 f., 180 f., 196 f., 218, 230, 246, 264.

<sup>695</sup> *Dalla Paphlagonia alla Commagene*, 21 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 473.

<sup>696</sup> *Orient u. Hellas in d. Denkmälern u. Inschriften des Königs Antiochos I von Kommagene*, Greifswald, 1937.

<sup>697</sup> *MitBeyr* xxi. 215 ff.

<sup>698</sup> *RivFil* lxvi. 113 ff.

<sup>699</sup> *CRAIInscr* 1938, 24 ff.

<sup>700</sup> *AJA* xlii. 126.

<sup>701</sup> *Ibid.* 209 ff.; cf. *SBBerl* 1936, 323 f.



and Daphne, of which the 'Hermes-mosaic' is fully described <sup>702</sup> by E. C. Schenck. Volume II of the definitive account <sup>703</sup> of the excavations of 1933-6, edited by R. Stillwell, contains a catalogue of the mosaics (pp. 180 ff.) and a publication by J. Lassus of the inscriptions of the church of Kaoussié (pp. 13 ff., 33, 38 ff.), by D. N. Wilber of the fragmentary texts from the Theatre at Daphne (pp. 93 f.) and by G. Downey of 95 Greek and 6 Latin inscriptions (pp. 148 ff.) together with a note on the mosaic of Γῆ and Κάρτος (pp. 205 ff.). Two of the inscriptions are discussed by H. Grégoire <sup>704</sup> and several are annotated <sup>705</sup> by L. Robert, who also assigns <sup>706</sup> to Laodicea an interesting text, now in Toulon, relating to buildings financed by a woman out of the *summa honoraria* due from her husband on admission to the βουλῆ. L. De Bruyne reports <sup>707</sup> the discovery of three inscribed reliquaries at Apamea. Volume II of J. Lassus' archaeological inventory (cf. *JHS* lvii. 212) contains <sup>708</sup> notes by E. Littmann, H. Seyrig, L. Robert and R. Mouterde on inscriptions in volume I, and Mouterde gives <sup>709</sup> an ἱχθύς-text from a leaden sarcophagus from the district of Emesa (Homs) and corrects the reading of another.

Good progress has been made with the study of the inscriptions of PALMYRA, <sup>710</sup> thanks chiefly to the labours of J. Cantineau and H. Seyrig. The most recent instalment of the former's *Inventaire des Inscriptions de Palmyre* (cf. *JHS* lvii. 213) contains 164 texts, mostly epitaphs, of which 25 are wholly or partly in Greek, including 20 *inedita*; he also publishes a votive altar <sup>711</sup> with a bilingual dedication of A.D. 115, three bilingual honorary inscriptions <sup>712</sup> of the first and second centuries A.D. (one of which records the thanks of a caravan arrived from Spasinou Charax for aid received from its leader's father), the words Ποσειδῶνι θεῷ below a Palmyrene dedication and a bilingual epitaph, <sup>713</sup> and republishes <sup>714</sup> the Greek text of a *cessio sepulchri* of A.D. 241, besides contributing notes on various earlier publications of Palmyrene texts. Seyrig discusses <sup>715</sup> the identity of the [β]ασιλεὺς βασιλέων Σεπ[τίμιος Ἡρώδι]ανός of a third-century dedication, examines <sup>716</sup> a fragment (*SEG* vii. 156) relating to Palmyra's oversea trade and publishes <sup>717</sup> fragments of two interesting texts, one of A.D. 138 mentioning Bruttius Praesens, governor of Syria, and the other for a generous benefactor, in which a god Borroanonos makes his début. H. Ingholt publishes <sup>718</sup> six new texts, of which three are dedications, one honours a lady who in A.D. 182 gave 2500 denarii for building a bath of the gods Aglibol and Malachibel, and one is a list of six month-names on a sundial, and D. Schlumberger re-interprets <sup>719</sup> the fiscal law of Palmyra (*OGI* 629) of A.D. 137, examines the relations of Palmyra to the Roman Empire and suggests some textual restorations.

S. Ronzevalle's study of Zeus Heliopolitanus contains <sup>720</sup> several new inscriptions relative to his cult from Chahba (Haurân) and Harbata, N. of Baalbek, and H. Seyrig publishes <sup>721</sup> ten Latin and two Greek inscriptions from the Theodosian basilica of Heliopolis, a puzzling graffito of A.D. 60 apparently recording the action of κάτοχοι of Aphrodite who ἐν σπείρῃ ἐ[θη]καν τοὺς πώγον[ας], and a dedication on an altar from Bted'el, near Baalbek. L. Robert edits <sup>722</sup> six epitaphs and two dedications of Sidon, now in the Frochner Collection, and shows <sup>723</sup> the Sidonian origin of some of the texts

<sup>702</sup> *AJA* xli. 388 ff.

<sup>703</sup> *Antioch on-the-Orontes*, II, Princeton, 1938.

<sup>704</sup> *Byz* xiii. 177 ff.; cf. *AnalBoll* lvi. 391 f.

<sup>705</sup> *REG* li. 473 f.

<sup>706</sup> *BCH* lx. 192 ff., *REG* li. 474.

<sup>707</sup> *Riv. arch. crist.* xiii. 331 ff.

<sup>708</sup> *Inventaire archéologique*, II (Damascus, 1936), ix ff.

<sup>709</sup> *MéBeyr* xxi. 204 ff.

<sup>710</sup> Cf. *REG* li. 474 f.

<sup>711</sup> *Syria*, xvii. 346 f.

<sup>712</sup> *Syria*, xix. 73 ff.

<sup>713</sup> *Ibid.* 160.

<sup>714</sup> *Ibid.* 155 f.

<sup>715</sup> *Syria*, xviii. 1 ff.

<sup>716</sup> *Ann. Inst. Phil. Hist. Or.* iv. 397 ff.

<sup>717</sup> *Syria*, xviii. 369 ff.

<sup>718</sup> *Berytus*, iii. 98 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 331 f.

<sup>719</sup> *Syria*, xviii. 271 ff.

<sup>720</sup> *MéBeyr* xxi. 25, 75, 79, 84; cf. *Gnomon*, xv. 329 ff.

<sup>721</sup> *BullMusBeyr* i. 79, 83, 91 ff.; cf. *REG* li. 474.

<sup>722</sup> *Coll. Frochner*, Nos. 62-9; cf. *REG* li. 474.

<sup>723</sup> *BCH* lx. 190 ff.



in the Toulon Museum. The contribution of DURA-EUROPOS<sup>724</sup> is smaller than usual. M. Rostovtzeff<sup>725</sup> and F. E. Brown<sup>726</sup> report on the 1936-7 campaign, which has brought to light three inscriptions from the temple of Atargatis—a list of an ἀρχέταιρος and 14 σωτέταιροι who in A.D. 36 erected a building for the goddess, an Aramaic-Greek bilingual recording a gift to Helios, also published<sup>727</sup> by R. du Mesnil du Buisson (who assigns it to a date soon after A.D. 31, whereas R. D[ussaud] attributes<sup>728</sup> it to A.D. 200-250), and a text accompanying the erection of φάλλοι in A.D. 34. M. Rostovtzeff maintains<sup>729</sup> on epigraphical grounds his view that Trajan restored Dura to the Parthians in 116 or early in 117, in opposition to E. Groag<sup>730</sup> and A. Degraasi,<sup>731</sup> who hold that the evacuation of Dura was the act of Hadrian. The definitive work on GERASA, edited by C. H. Kraeling, contains an admirable chapter<sup>732</sup> by C. B. Welles dealing with the 362 inscriptions of that site, of which one (No. 1) is Greek and Nabatean, two (Nos. 199, 200) are Greek and Latin and 299 Greek only; the Greek-Nabatean bilingual and 97 of the Greek texts are here first published. C. C. McCown deals<sup>733</sup> with three inscriptions of minor importance from Marwa, Beit Râs and 'Ammân in Transjordan, R. de Vaux with a group of Byzantine mosaics<sup>734</sup> from Ma'in and an acclamation from Bedrân<sup>735</sup> to Julian the Apostate added to a Latin milestone of Commodus from the Philadelphia-Gerasa road, and J. Zingerle discusses<sup>736</sup> a thanksgiving to the θεοὶ σωτῆρες from Canatha (LeBas-Wadd. 2343).

In J. J. E. Hondius' *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, VIII, PALESTINE claims 357 items,<sup>737</sup> among which Nos. 13 (the Nazareth rescript), 170 (dedication of Theodotus) and 269 (epitaph of Charmadas) are of outstanding interest. P. Thomsen's monumental Palestinian Bibliography for 1925-34 contains sections<sup>738</sup> on the alphabet and origins of writing, the Sinaitic and cognate scripts, and Greek and Latin inscriptions. B. Bagatti illustrates<sup>739</sup> a commemorative inscription from 'Ain et-Tābgha (*SEG* viii. 5), two fragments have been unearthed<sup>740</sup> at Acre, M. Schwabe studies<sup>741</sup> the names found in Greek inscriptions from the cemetery of Beth She'arim (Sheikh Abreiq), and N. Makhoul publishes<sup>742</sup> three inscribed amulets and a bronze ring from a tomb at el-Jish. The famous Nazareth inscription (*ib.* 13) is re-edited<sup>743</sup> by L. Robert among the texts of the Froehner Collection, and is discussed by P. Boylan,<sup>744</sup> who views favourably Lösch's attribution to Caligula, by O. Eger<sup>745</sup> and most fully by H. Markowski,<sup>746</sup> who sees in the document an edict of Augustus issued in 30 B.C. and cancelled in 28 and examines in detail its linguistic and juristic character, and criticises W. Seston's rejection<sup>747</sup> of his view. Inscriptions from a tomb-cave at Sepphoris (Saffūrya) still await publication.<sup>748</sup> J. Starr re-edits<sup>749</sup> a series of Byzantine building and sepulchral texts from Scythopolis

<sup>724</sup> Cf. *REG* li. 475 f., *MitBejr* xxi. 221 ff.

<sup>725</sup> *CRAI* 1937, 195 ff.; cf. *RA* x. 353 f.

<sup>726</sup> *AJA* xlii. 127, 175 f.

<sup>727</sup> *Bull. Soc. Nat. Ant.* 1937, 114 ff., *Syria*, xix. 147 ff.

<sup>728</sup> *Syria*, xix. 152.

<sup>729</sup> *Klio*, xxxi. 285 ff.

<sup>730</sup> *Klio*, xxix. 232 ff.; cf. J. Guey, *Essai sur la guerre Parthique de Trajan*, 138.

<sup>731</sup> *RivFil* lxxiv. 410 f.

<sup>732</sup> *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis* (New Haven, 1938), 353 ff.; cf. *RA* viii. 103 f.

<sup>733</sup> *BullASOR* lxxvi. 19 ff.

<sup>734</sup> *RevBibl* xlvii. 227 ff.

<sup>735</sup> *Ibid.* 423.

<sup>736</sup> *Comment. Vindob.* iii. 106 ff.

<sup>737</sup> *Leiden*, 1938; cf. *Zeits. D. Pal.-Ver.* lxii. 161 ff.

<sup>738</sup> *Palästina-Literatur*, v. 397 ff.

<sup>739</sup> *Riv. arch. crist.* xiv. 79.

<sup>740</sup> *Qu. Dep. Ant. Pal.* viii. 176.

<sup>741</sup> *BullJewPES* v. 77 ff.; cf. *Qu. Dep. Ant. Pal.* vii. 51 f., *AJA* xlii. 168 f.

<sup>742</sup> *Qu. Dep. Ant. Pal.* viii. 48 f.

<sup>743</sup> *Coll. Froehner*, No. 70.

<sup>744</sup> *Irish Eccl. Record*, l. 281 ff.

<sup>745</sup> *\*Nachr. d. Giessener Hochschulgesellschaft*, xii. 79 ff.

<sup>746</sup> *Monera philol. L. Cwiklinski oblata*, 125 ff., *Eos*, xxxviii. 429 ff., *Diatagma Kaisaros* (Poznan, 1937); cf. *ZSav* lviii. 273 ff., *PhW* lviii. 1417 f., *Boll. fil. class.* xlii. 148 ff., *AJPh* lx. 118 ff., *RevBelge*, xvii. 965 ff., *REG* li. 476.

<sup>747</sup> *RevPhil* xi. 125 ff., *REA* xl. 219.

<sup>748</sup> *Qu. Dep. Ant. Pal.* vii. 57.

<sup>749</sup> *AJPh* lviii. 83 ff.; cf. *BZ* xxxvii. 270.



(*ib.* 34, 37-40), while M. Avi-Yonah publishes <sup>750</sup> a metrical epitaph and H. C. Youtie and C. Bonner <sup>751</sup> two leaden *tabellae defixionum* from the same place. Two graffiti on ossuaries in the Kedron Valley are edited <sup>752</sup> by E. L. Sukenik and late epitaphs from St. Stephen's Gate and St. Mary's Abbey, JERUSALEM, by R. W. Hamilton <sup>753</sup> and C. N. Johns <sup>754</sup> respectively. In the re-issue <sup>755</sup> of C. L. Woolley and T. E. Lawrence's *Wilderness of Zin* M. N. Tod's chapter on the Greek inscriptions of that region is reprinted as first published in 1915. G. E. Kirk's discussion <sup>756</sup> of the era-problems presented by the inscriptions of the Southern Desert includes three new texts of Sbaita and shows that the Gazan era was sometimes used there, while elsewhere he edits <sup>757</sup> three more inscriptions of the same region, one of them a *jeu d'esprit* consisting of a phrase containing no vowel except α.

#### X. AFRICA.

Of the Greek inscriptions of Egypt and Nubia I give some account in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, and I therefore omit them from the present survey.

Vol. IX of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* is devoted mainly to the provinces of Cyrene, Africa and Mauretania, and though it did not appear until 1939, it may be useful if I refer to it here. The decree of CYRENE relative to the enfranchisement of the Theraeans and the 'Founders' Oath' (*SEG* ix. 3) are examined by P. Roussel in a paper of which only a précis <sup>758</sup> has yet appeared, stressing their significance for the character of early Greek colonisation. Another decree with an appended letter and rescript of 'King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra' (*ib.* 5) is discussed, <sup>759</sup> chiefly from the juristic standpoint, by V. Arangio-Ruiz, who dates it in 109-8 B.C. P. Lambrechts deals <sup>760</sup> with the historical value of the record (*ib.* 9) of the refounding of Cyrene by the Emperor Claudius II after the Marmaric War, and A. Stein identifies <sup>761</sup> the Probus, prefect of Egypt, there mentioned with the Tenagino Probus of a Latin inscription of Timgad. The Cyrenean *lex sacra* (*ib.* 72), usually called the Decretals, is treated in detail <sup>762</sup> by G. I. Luzzatto and annotated <sup>763</sup> by S. Ferri, and H. J. Stukey proposes <sup>764</sup> a new explanation of the *ἰκσίοι* as avengers or evil divinities rather than suppliants. G. D[c] S[anctis] gives a revised transcription and interpretation <sup>765</sup> of a metrical epitaph (*ib.* 362) from Ptolemais (Tolmèta) in the Cyrenaica.

Of especial importance is G. Oliverio's publication of a fourth excellently illustrated fascicule <sup>766</sup> of the great collection of Cyrenaic inscriptions. It contains 410 texts, the great majority in their *editio princeps*. From Cyrene come a fourth-century dedication by five generals of a 'tithe' after a war with the Macae and Nasamones (*ib.* 77), the decree and rescripts above mentioned (*ib.* 5), records of the repair of temples of Isis and Apollo Νυμφαῖτας under Marcus Aurelius (*ib.* 174-5), five vase-dedications to Apollo (*ib.* 313-17), and revised editions of a bilingual epitaph (*ib.* 247), the important decree honouring Barcaeus (*ib.* 4) and the inventory of sacred cups (*ib.* 73). Ptolemais (Tolmèta) supplies two Latin and 54 Greek inscriptions (*ib.* 361 ff.), of which twenty were previously known, including a milestone (*ib.* 413) and two metrical epitaphs (*ib.* 362-3), and Oliverio also edits anew the valuable constitution, found at Ptolemais and now in the Louvre (*ib.* 356),

<sup>750</sup> *Qu. Dep. Ant. Pal.* viii. 59 ff.

<sup>751</sup> *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.* lxxviii. 43 ff., 128.

<sup>752</sup> *Pal. Expl. Qu.* 1937, 128 ff.

<sup>753</sup> *Qu. Dep. Ant. Pal.* vi. 155 f.

<sup>754</sup> *Qu. Dep. Ant. Pal.* viii. 129.

<sup>755</sup> Pp. 148 ff. (London, 1936).

<sup>756</sup> *JPalOrSoc* xvii. 209 ff.; cf. *AJA* xl. 452 ff.

<sup>757</sup> *Pal. Expl. Qu.* 1938, 234 ff.

<sup>758</sup> *REG* xlix, p. xlii.

<sup>759</sup> *RivFil* lxx. 266 ff.

<sup>760</sup> *AntClass* vi. 129 ff.

<sup>761</sup> *Klio*, xxix. 237 ff.

<sup>762</sup> \**La 'lex cathartica' di Cirene* (Milan, 1936); cf. *Gnomon*, xiii. 635 ff., *PhW* lix. 13 ff., *Athenaeum*, xv. 223.

<sup>763</sup> \**Atti II Congr. Stud. Col.* ii. 68 f.

<sup>764</sup> *ClPh* xxxii. 32 ff.

<sup>765</sup> *RivFil* lxx. 53 ff.

<sup>766</sup> *Documenti antichi dell' Africa Ital.* II. 2 (Bergamo 1936); cf. *BZ* xxxvii. 271, *REG* li. 480 f.



issued in A.D. 501 by the Emperor Anastasius I for the political and military reorganisation of Cyrenaica. Part of a second copy of this document (*ib.* 414) has come to light at Teuchira-Arsinoe (Tòcra) and is published by Oliverio with three Latin and 335 Greek inscriptions from the same site (*ib.* 417 ff.), mostly epitaphs or names of no special interest; 61 of them were already included, though often in inferior copies, in the *CIG*. Chef el Chamis, between Ptolemais and Teuchira, has produced two grave-inscriptions (*ib.* 725-6).

Of North Africa west of Cyrenaica little need be said. In his account of the Greek inscriptions in the Bardo Museum, Tunis, A. Dain edits,<sup>767</sup> in addition to the Attic stelae mentioned above (p. 254) and the signature of Boethus of Chalcedon on a bronze herm recovered from the sea at Mahdia, 19 texts from Gigthis, Hadrumetum, Carthage, Thugga, Thuburnica and other sites, all of them save one previously known and none of outstanding value (*ib.* 810 ff.). A. Merlin contributes<sup>768</sup> a puzzling fragment from Carthage (*ib.* 825) and F. J. Dölger calls attention<sup>769</sup> to the occurrence of the IXΘYC-formula on a tomb at Tipasa (*ib.* 880).

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<sup>767</sup> *Inscr. grecques du Musée du Bardo*, 33 ff.

<sup>768</sup> *Antike u. Christentum*, v. 283.

<sup>769</sup> *BullArch* 1932-3, 451.



## NOTES

**The Epigram of Bupalos and Athenis.**—*Conplura enim in finitimis insulis simulacra postea fecere, sicut in Delo, quibus subiecerunt carmen, non vitibus tantum censeri Chion, sed et operibus Archermi filiorum.* So Pliny of Bupalus and Athenis (*HN* 36, 12). It may be worth trying to reconstruct the Greek epigram read by Pliny or rather his authority.

οὐ μόνον — υυ — υυ — υυ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργοις  
 \*Ἀρχέρμου παίδων — υυ — υ Χίος.

We could do with an epithet for Χίος in the pentameter, an unessential word that would be

Now we need a verb. I cannot think of a word that is an exact equivalent of the *censeri*, and at the same time has the right scansion and construction. *Censeri* in the sense of 'to be famed for,' 'noted for,' is a favourite verb in Silver Latin, as may be seen from the *Thesaurus*, and I take it here to be a matter-of-fact translation of some poetic expression, such as κλέος ἄρνηται, suggested to me by Mr. A. S. F. Gow.

So we have:—

οὐκ οἶνησι μόνον κλέος ἄρνηται ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργοις  
 \*Ἀρχέρμου παίδων παιπαλόεσσα Χίος.

This will not have been the whole poem: it



FIG. 1.—DETAIL OF A CUP IN THE NICHOLSON MUSEUM, UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY.

omitted by Pliny in his prose version. The regular epithet for Chios is παιπαλόεσσα:—

ἢ καθύπερθε Χίοιο νεοίμεθα παιπαλόεσσης (*Od.* 3, 170.)  
 τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ· οἷα δὲ Χίωι ἐνι παιπαλόεσσηι (*H. Hymn.*  
*Ap.* 172).

That gives the pentameter.

In the hexameter we need an equivalent for *vitibus*. ἀμπέλαις will not scan, and the diminutive ἀμπελίαις is not in tone; σταφυλῆις would be *wis* or *racemis*, not *vitibus*. οἰνάνθαις or οἰνάνθης might do, but Prof. D. S. Robertson suggests οἶνησι, and I am sure this is right. So οὐκ οἶνησι μόνον. Μοῦναν, however, is the Ionic form, not μόνον. But we do not know that the epigram was composed by an Ionian. Simonides, an Ionian of Ceos, uses μόνος in his skolion for Skopas (*Diehl* 4, 7, protected by the metre), but I do not press this, and if anyone objects to μόνον, let him read οὐκ οἶνησ' οἶον.

will have been preceded by another distich, which may have contained the names of Βούπαλος and \*Ἀθηνῆς.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

**A Sakonides in Sydney.**—Of the four cups signed by the painter Sakonides (*ABS* pp. 16–17 note 3; *JHS* 52 p. 201; Rumpf, *Sakonides*) two—those in Munich and Berlin—are lip-cups decorated on each half of the exterior with a female head in outline—'head-cups' (*JHS* 52 pp. 174–5) or 'little mistress cups' (*AJA* 1927 p. 346). Other head-cups, unsigned, are in the same style and must be by the same hand (*ABS* loc. cit. and *JHS* 52 p. 201). A cup in Sydney is also by Sakonides. It is described by Louisa Macdonald in the *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the Nicholson Museum, University of Sydney* (Sydney, 1898: no. 39), and I owe a photograph, and permission to publish it, to



the kindness of Prof. J. Enoch Powell (Fig. 1). It is specially close to the unsigned side of the Munich cup (Rumpf *Sakonides* pl. 28, d) and to cups in London (B 402: *CV* He pl. 12, 10) and Orvieto (291: phot. Armoni, whence Rumpf pl. 28, b). One of the particulars it shares with them is the small reserved space right in the middle of the lower termination of the peplos: it represents the bare arm, as may be seen from the London cup B 401 (*CV* He pl. 14, 9), but seems strangely misplaced. The inscription on the Sydney cup, +AIPEKAIPITEΔI, recurs on the signed cup in Munich, as well as on contemporary cups in Cambridge and the Vatican (see *Raccolta Guglielmi* p. 54).

Also by Sakonides, fragments of a head-cup formerly in the van Branteghem collection (sale cat. no. 2; *JHS* 52 p. 175), bought by Froehner and bequeathed by him to the Cabinet des Médailles. The inscription is +AIPEKAIPITE . . ., the last letters being lost.

The list of head-cups by Sakonides will now run as follows: Berlin inv. 3152. Munich 2165. Berlin 1756. London B 401. London B 402, 1. Bryn Mawr. London B 402. Orvieto 291. Berlin inv. 1757. Florence. Florence 71009. Sydney 39. Cab. Méd. Bibliography to all but the last four is given by Rumpf, *Sakonides* p. 23, nos. 1-9. The Bryn Mawr fragment was assigned to Sakonides by Miss Swindler, and London B 402 associated with it. Berlin inv. 1757 was added by Rumpf. Munich 2166 (*Jb* 22 p. 104) is very like Sakonides, but weaker, and may be an imitation.

J. D. BEAZLEY.

**Three Black-figured Vases in the Winchester College Museum.**—Exact records of the purchasing of the Greek vases in the Winchester College Museum are not available, but the bulk of the collection was bought in Athens with a part of the sum subscribed for the Memorial Building in 1897. That the quincentenary memorial, failing a new chapel, should take the form of a museum, was in large measure the idea and wish of the late Dr. Fearon, then headmaster, and the purchase of antiquities was further facilitated by his private generosity. Since then there have been a few additional presentations, but the vases originally acquired form the main part of the collection.

Among the black-figured pieces are three of particular merit: a skyphos and an eye-cup by the Theseus painter, and a second eye-cup of similar style. I thought this cup to be also by the Theseus painter. While differing in some respects from the other cup, it is very similar

in shape and in scheme and detail of decoration to the only other cup attributed to this painter's hand, the one in Copenhagen with Hephaestus riding a horse. Prof. Beazley has, however, been kind enough to examine my photographs, and does not endorse my attribution.

The two pieces by the Theseus painter are included in Miss Haspels' list, p. 251 no. 36, p. 252 no. 76. The skyphos had been previously recognised by Alan Blakeway as belonging to Mingazzini's white Heron Group, and the one sound painter that Prof. Beazley has differentiated from his hack colleagues in this workshop is now established by Miss Haspels as the Theseus Painter. The cup was accidentally discovered a few years ago in fragments, in a box of rubbish, wrapped in a newspaper of 1904. I took the pieces to Prof. Beazley, who at once assigned them to the Theseus painter, and they were put together by Mr. Young at the Ashmolean Museum. The two missing fragments which he replaced are also decorated by him.

The cup is not quite correctly described by Miss Haspels. In the interior is Herakles, and on either side, between eyes, a diner and a flautist.

To describe the vases in more detail:

*The skyphos* (Pl. XVI).—Height 15.3 cm. Diameter 21.7. Handles projecting 4 mm. above rim. The picture is almost, but not quite, the same on both sides, and this in itself is typical of the painter, who constantly decorates both sides of his vase with the same scene, but thinks out a number of little divergences in detail for variety; for if not a great painter, he is a sound one, interested in his work.

In the middle of the scene is a spreading tree, and on each side of it a maenad riding a goat. In front of the tree is a white heron with a purple eye, only, as Miss Haspels points out, the heron is not really white. It is a pale buff, representing what was once a much brighter colour. On some of his vases minute traces of the original colour are still visible, but not actually on this one. This same buff, once golden-yellow, is used for the maenad's hair, and in one case for the border of her chiton. One goat has a long golden-yellow tip to its horn. The painter, as may be seen from the illustrations, has painted each goat's horn differently.

But there are also some genuinely white herons. These are under the handles, and are painted directly on to the clay, like the berries on the tree. The rest of the white paint—flesh



of the maenads, horns, belly, nose and lips of the goats—is put on over the black.

These pictures are typical of a great deal of his work, but he shows considerable variety of style, and some pieces are decorated much less formally. A tree suits him well, for its branches can be used to decorate the field and encircle the figures, a constantly recurrent feature of his style. On the careless pieces, not certainly by his own hand, the decorative branches may appear from nowhere. A nice skyphos in Baltimore has Dionysus in a donkey-cart, holding a giant vine whose branches extend all over the field. The tree is stylised and usually consists of a double stump with all the branches springing from the summit.<sup>1</sup> White berries grow in pairs on the branches, mostly small

adds, as well as the colour, to the general decorative effect. Skyphoi by this painter to compare with the one in Winchester are:

Bologna 129 *CV* pl. 42.

Lecce 560 *CV* pl. 3, 1-2.

Naples Heyd. 2458.

Baltimore *CV* pl. 22, 2 and pl. 23.

and an unpublished piece in the British Museum, B.19, which must once have been exceptionally gay. On either side, in front of the usual tree, a lion encounters three oxen. Of these, one only, the foremost, painted black, remains entire. The other two are now dismembered ghosts, but enough remains to show that the second was once all yellow and the third all white. The hind quarters of the white one



FIG. 1.—CUP IN THE WINCHESTER COLLEGE MUSEUM.

and neatly painted, though on a longer, coarser skyphos, B.M. 1902, 12.18.3, they are correspondingly large and clumsy.

Miss Haspels has already described the style of the Theseus painter, noting his fondness for outdoor scenes with plants, birds and animals. There are lots of goats, sometimes forming part of the main picture, sometimes, as an alternative to the herons, filling the space under the handles. The Winchester skyphos is an excellent example of his careful work. Decoration, not narrative, is the aim, and the vase is so well preserved that it is not difficult to replace the lost yellow imaginatively, and so see it with the variety of colouring it originally possessed. The clay is of very good colour, the white still chalky, and the hard precision of the incising

reach into the handle-space, so that herons or goats are not necessary. Prof. Ashmole pointed out to me that a tiny spot of the original yellow ochre colour is still visible on the buff ox's head. It appears that the painter first painted the black ox in entirety, and then superimposed the yellow one. Even the inner markings of the black one in places where the yellow one overlapped, are put in, though it looks as if these may have been intensified by a restorer after the disappearance of the second beast. A similar technique may be seen on another skyphos with oxen, Boston, no. 99.523. Prof. Caskey has been kind enough to examine the vase minutely, and I am indebted to him for very interesting information. Of the four bulls here confronting a lion, the first and third are black, and were painted first, and all their inner markings incised. The second bull is white,

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* Lecce 560, *CV* pl. 3, 1-2. Haspels 34.



though showing a difference in tone, where the paint is put on over the black or applied directly on to the clay. In the latter case it now appears

me to the belief that this bull was originally yellow.<sup>2</sup> In other places where the white paint has a dull buff appearance this is presumably



FIG. 2.—CUP IN THE WINCHESTER COLLEGE MUSEUM.



FIG. 3.—THE CUP IN FIG. 2 SEEN FROM BELOW.

a pale buffish brown, hardly distinguishable from the colour of the fourth bull. But the fact that this one is of a uniform buff, whether painted over No. 3 or straight into the clay, inclines

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due to it having been applied directly into the clay, and therefore more thinly. I had hoped

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Caskey had had tiny samples of the clear white and the buff paints examined under a high-



for corresponding evidence from a skyphos in Taranto, also picturing bulls, but Signor Drago, who has been good enough to examine it, tells me that all four are black, though he detects clear traces of the yellow paint in other parts of the vase.

*Cup I* (Fig. 1).—Height 12.5 cm. Diameter 27.5 cm. Red-figure shape. Interior: Herakles. Exterior: A and B, a diner on a couch and a standing flautist. Modern: A small triangular piece in the centre of the interior, one handle, and the whole of the upper part of the picture on B.

This piece is worth inspection, but the clay is less bright than on the skyphos, and the added red not so well preserved. There is no golden yellow, but plenty of added white, though faded to a rather dingy shade. Herakles, a whirligig figure, with branches in the field, is well done; the exterior figures, though adequate, are a trifle sketchy like many of his drawings on lekythoi. Similar diners appear on Bologna 129 and Athens 595. This cup differs considerably from the only other at present attributed to this painter, Copenhagen, CV pls. 115 and 116. Here we have the black-figure shape, with a different rendering of the eyes, and heavy vine-branches at the handles. But the picture on the outside, Hephaistos on his horse, is altogether typical of the Theseus painter's style, and comparable in many points of detail with the Winchester skyphos.

*Cup II* (Figs. 2 and 3).—This one is excellently preserved, beautiful bright smooth clay, glossy black glaze and much more colour left in the added red.

The shape is similar to the Theseus painter's Copenhagen cup, and the points mentioned above in regard to the decoration of that cup can be illustrated from this one. The rendering of the eyes is similar, and the same ray pattern springs from the foot. One small difference is that on the Copenhagen vase three black lines come between the rays and the picture; on the Winchester cup a black band.

The trim, business-like maenad is effective and well drawn; this cup must be contemporary with some of the Theseus painter's work, though not by his hand.

My thanks are due to Mr. Spencer Humby, Curator of the Winchester College Museum, for repeated opportunities to study these vases.

NOËL OAKESHOTT.

power microscope, and reports that the crystals in the second sample differed somewhat from those in the first, suggesting, but not conclusively proving, that the buff sample may have been a pigment combining white with yellow ochre.

**The Same Methods.**—There is nothing to answer in Rizzo's amusing pamphlet,<sup>1</sup> whatever its value as a document of taste. I will therefore limit myself to correcting the errors of fact which it contains, or at least those of them that have any bearing on the matters at issue, and to remarking that the points of my original argument in the last number of this *Journal*, in so far as they are mentioned at all, remain unshaken after the thirty-five-page torrent of sound and fury has passed.

I did not, of course, object to the use of plaster casts in *Prassitele*, but of plaster restorations; and not irrelevantly, since the improvements on Greek art in *Saggi Preliminari* are of a piece with them, as is the specimen of Latin verse in the latest pamphlet.<sup>2</sup> Evidently false quantities matter no more than false noses.

The statement attributed to me in *Saggi Preliminari* that a certain class of Syracusan coin first appeared in 485 B.C. is repeated here. But where is this statement? What I said was that the earliest of the class was about 500, the latest about 485. Comment is unnecessary on the method, already familiar, that will now take one of the earliest coins (die-linked with one which I actually described as the earliest), place it beside a coin of 478 B.C., and ask if it is conceivable that only seven years separate the two. It is the same method that silently omits one of the two coins which I said were falsely described in *Saggi Preliminari*, and instead illustrates the other (about which I said there might exist a slight doubt) twice. Silence is also preserved on the following points:—

1. Features indicating lateness in the Bull/Nike series of Catana.
2. Corrosion and recutting of dies in some of the same series.
3. Many important differences between two tetradrachms of Naxos and Aetna.
4. Occurrence of X for  $\Xi$  at Naxos after 461 B.C.

Silence, from one not wont to be sparing of words, is conclusive.

Rizzo complains that he has been attacked personally. For this he has only himself to blame. His original attack was not only grossly personal, but quite unprovoked. His second claims to be a revelation. And so it is.

BERNARD ASHMOLE.

<sup>1</sup> *Maniere "corrette" e metodi corrotti di Bernardo Ashmole, svelati da G. E. Rizzo*. Rome, privately printed, 1939.

<sup>2</sup> "*Tantae molis erat Athenam edere nostram*."



**Professor Gjerstad on Cyprus.**—At a time when a shortage of paper is likely to hinder scholarship, the last thing I should wish to do would be to waste space indulging in controversy with Prof. Gjerstad. Nor, owing to more pressing duties, have I much time to spend on his evasions and inaccuracies. But some comments seem desirable on his review of my book *Ancient Cyprus* in *JHS* vol. LIX p. 142.

He charges me with ignorance in failing to detect the fact that the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, under his leadership, identified fully the Neolithic Period of Cypriot archaeology. I regret that I must adhere to my original view that the Expedition made no such discovery. They hinted at the existence of such a period and found certain potsherds of a new type, but the discovery was made by M. Dikaïos of the Cyprus Museum, and not by the Swedish Expedition. The sites of Erimi and Khirokhitia were found and excavated by M. Dikaïos, and not by Prof. Gjerstad—or I have been seriously misinformed. The former site showed the more developed Neolithic and the Chalkolithic material, the latter the earlier stages when pottery was unknown. In all, some thirty sites of the Chalkolithic and Neolithic periods are now known in Cyprus. But Prof. Gjerstad, despite his exhaustive researches, found only three. Of these one, *Petra tou Limniti*, he labels as 'Pre-Neolithic' (as I pointed out in my book, p. 21). And yet he attempts to claim the discovery of Neolithic Cyprus as his own. I regret that this claim cannot be agreed to by any student. Prof. Gjerstad should resign himself to realities. One swallow may occasionally indicate the approach of fine weather; but one unhatched swallow's egg cannot be expected to herald a blazing summer. More briefly, the Swedish Expedition failed to isolate the periods now known as Neolithic and Chalkolithic.

Prof. Gjerstad accuses me of making no mention of Kalopsida as a settlement site. He will find my reference to that place in note 1 p. 27 of my book. Incidentally his own note 7 in his review is a completely false statement of the facts.

Elsewhere he accuses me of stating that White Slip ware does not precede Mycenaean ware. That, too, is a false statement. I said nothing of the sort. Later he states that I believe that there is no excavated site where the transition from Bronze to Iron Age can be studied. But I mention one. With singular disingenuousness he refutes my identification of Soli with the ancient Aipeia by stating that Aipeia existed in the time of Solon, and Vouni was uninhabited

before 500 B.C. This would indeed be final as an argument if Prof. Gjerstad were being frank. But the facts are more inspiring. The Swedish excavators of Soli uncovered the Palace and the temple. The earliest date of the Palace is probably 500 B.C. But Prof. Gjerstad omits to explain that on the slopes of the hill on the summit of which the Palace stands are extensive remains of the City of Soli, which the Swedish Expedition *did not even begin to excavate*. All Prof. Gjerstad has succeeded in dating is the Palace and temple which may have been built late in the history of the city. Until the main part of the settlement site is excavated no one is justified in maintaining that Soli does not antedate 500. It may even prove to be a Bronze-Age site in origin or—dare I suggest it?—even pre-Neolithic!

Excavators should not jump to conclusions. Subsequent discoveries are apt to be embarrassing. I maintain obstinately that Soli may well be Aipeia. And Soli will probably prove an ancient site.

As to Prof. Gjerstad's remarks on the dates of Cypriot sculpture and his comments on what he considers the absurdity or inaccuracy of my view, I can only say this. No student of Greek sculpture as a whole could maintain for a moment that such a fully-fledged sculpture as that which I identify as Cambyses could conceivably have been made as early as 570 B.C. Were that so, then Cyprus would prove to be the home and inspiration of all Archaic Greek sculpture—which it patently is not. But, then, Prof. Gjerstad is not a student of Greek sculpture as a whole, nor, I imagine, does he pretend to be. The truth is that all the early dates for Cypriot sculpture must be radically scaled down. The sooner this is done the better, and then Cypriot sculpture will fit into the whole picture of Greek sculpture.

Finally Prof. Gjerstad pontifically remarks that my 'theories on the Mycenaean colonisation of Cyprus are not supported by the archaeological and anthropological evidence.' To that I can only reply that the archaeological evidence has increasingly proved their truth. Indeed, my 'theories' are deductions. Dr. Claude Schaeffer and myself were working simultaneously on the interesting discovery of potter's marks, written in the Cypriot syllabary on the bases of Mycenaean ware. We both came to the same conclusions. These marks form one quite indestructible proof of Mycenaean colonisation of the island. But Prof. Gjerstad, oddly enough, has in none of his earlier works made any mention of them. I fear he must have overlooked



them altogether. There are also many other facts which prove Mycenaean colonisation, and almost all students of Cypriot archaeology are agreed as to the truth of this theory.

The anthropological evidence is at present inadequate. In any case, most of it is unpublished.

I have composed this reply to Prof. Gjerstad more in the hope of warning others as to his controversial methods than with the intention of convincing him of his errors. That, I feel sure, will be difficult. I trust, therefore,

that this particular controversy will not continue.

STANLEY CASSON.

*Camberley.*

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**Correction.**—Owing to an oversight the following misprints were allowed to remain in H. W. Law's article on 'The Mausoleum', which was published in *JHS* lix. (1939), pp. 92-102:—*absolute* for *absoluto* in the passage quoted from Pliny on p. 92; and p. 94 for p. 93 in notes 36, 43, 55 and 59.



## NOTICES OF BOOKS

**Prehistoric Macedonia.** By W. A. HEURTLEY.  
Pp. xxvi + 275; 23 pl. and 112 figs. Cambridge University Press. £3 3s.

This book, which contains the results of Mr. Heurtley's long study and unequalled knowledge of the prehistory of Macedonia, constitutes a great achievement, and one of which English archaeological scholarship may well be proud.

The book is divided into three parts. The first, concerned with 'Excavations and Soundings,' is a very clear description of the excavation work undertaken by Mr. Heurtley and his assistants. Plans and drawings are excellent, and are conveniently placed on the relevant pages of text, an arrangement sometimes omitted in archaeological reports. The majority of the photographs are good. They are employed to show details of the objects discovered, as found, and also to illustrate the appearance of the ancient sites, and of the countryside. The excavations, owing to lack of funds, were usually performed by digging pits or trenches. This, in the case of three of the highest *tells*, was arranged by digging a series of small pits (five square metres or so in area) at intervals diagonally down the slope of the *tell*, the pits being placed so that a complete record of all the strata was obtained. It is conclusively established in these pages that this method of work is productive of a perfectly well stratified sequence of material. And, although Mr. Heurtley omits any reference to expenditure, all excavators know that his work, in proportion to the quantity and value of material discovered, is by far the least expensive yet performed.

The second part of the book is devoted to a description of 'The Finds,' which are divided into groups according to periods from the 'Early Neolithic Age' to the 'Iron Age,' and also contains a series of short discussions on such subjects as interrelationship of sites, external relations and chronology. In the first part of this chapter an important point is made as regards the identity of the Macedonian Late Neolithic Black Polished Ware with Thessalian *Γ.Α.Α.* wares (pp. 67), a fact which illustrates the need for caution in any discussion of Thessalian

*Γ.* wares, which are not all of the same period. In the second part Mr. Heurtley gives his reasons for a reconstruction of Macedonian Prehistory. He believes that in the Early Neolithic Period a colony of Thessalians pushed up from the south, to fall before invaders from the Middle Danube, who created the Late Neolithic civilisation, and spread south to Thessaly. Next, the Early Bronze Age period civilisation appeared, being due to an invasion from North-west Anatolia. The Middle Bronze Age was a time characterised by the use of wish-bone handled pottery and Minyan ware, except in Western Macedonia, which was 'completely cut off from the rest.' In the Late Bronze Age there appeared 'painted pottery of Macedonian character,' which was scarcely, if at all, affected by Mycenaean ware, which reached Macedonia a little later. At the end of this period Lausitz pottery appeared, heralding the Iron Age, which was characterised by an effect of isolation, broken only in the sixth or seventh centuries, when Corinthian exports came to Chalcidice.

The third part of the book contains a 'Catalogue' of pottery and other objects from Macedonia that are available for publication, excellently illustrated by photographs and drawings. This catalogue (which is not confined to the material found by Mr. Heurtley) is by far the best example of the kind that has ever been offered to the student of prehistory, and will make a very valuable object lesson for future generations of excavators. It will also remain an extremely useful source of information to the historian. It is greatly to be hoped that future excavators will try to add such a catalogue as this to their reports.

There is included in this book a note on mining in Macedonia, by Mr. Davies, which contains some astonishing, and very questionable remarks—as, for example, that 'arsenic was occasionally used to harden copper in Egypt and to colour it in early Cycladic times' (p. 254). There is also a note on a skeleton by Professor Koumareas.

It would be impertinent to criticise so learned and experienced an archaeologist as Mr. Heurtley. The reviewer does not himself agree with every-



thing written here, but that may well be more against him than against the author. The book will remain as a great example of magnificent work, whereby, with almost every obstacle to surmount, Mr. Heurtley has defined, practically single-handed, the outlines and many of the details of the ancient history of a big and most interesting country.

T. BURTON BROWN.

**The Archaeology of Crete: an Introduction.**

By J. D. S. PENDLEBURY. Pp. xxxii + 400; 24 maps, 43 pls. and 53 figs. London: Methuen, 1939. £1 10s.

The student approaching Minoan archaeology has too long been overwhelmed by the number of books on the subject and by their size. Hundreds of sites, investigated by the Greeks and by the four foreign schools which have worked in Crete, have been the subject of notices scattered in many journals, while the excavation of a single site has occasionally been published at enormous length. Evans' *Palace of Minos at Knossos* ran to over three thousand pages, while *Gournia* appeared in so monstrous a format that no library shelf could accommodate it.

In the face of this mass of material, Pendlebury has now had the courage, the time and the opportunity to cull the essential facts from all that had been published, to investigate for himself sites known but ill-published or not published at all, to undertake extensive explorations on foot throughout the island and numerous excavations of his own and, finally, to produce within the covers of one manageable volume a well-illustrated compendium on the archaeology of Crete.

In an introductory chapter he describes the island itself, its physical features, the routes by which it may be traversed and the authorities who have travelled in it and written of their travels. Among these Pendlebury must now take a high place. Rarely indeed has anyone travelled in Crete equipped with so intimate a knowledge of its topography, with such sensitiveness to its beauty or such appreciation of its charm. Anyone who, armed with this book, approaches Crete for the first time will find Pendlebury's opening chapter and its appendix an invaluable guide.

The archaeological remains of the island are then treated in their chronological order. To each period, from the Neolithic to the Roman, a section is devoted. The historical setting of the period and the sites occupied at the time are given; the architecture, burial customs, frescoes, pottery, metalwork, stone vases, faience,

figurines, seals and script typical of the period are described. Finally the foreign relations which help us to date its limits are set forth, an attempt is made to determine its position in a chronological system, and at the end of each chapter a most valuable list is appended of sites where remains of the period have been found, with full details and bibliography in concise form. Here for the first time we have clear pictures, fully illustrated by maps and diagrams, of conditions at each period. For the first time, too, the differences between one part of Crete and another are admitted, and no suggestion is made that conditions prevailing at any one site, however important, necessarily prevail elsewhere. South, East and Central Crete are treated separately, their local peculiarities and their relations one with another are defined. In particular Pendlebury's co-ordination of the evidence at all three palaces (Knossos, Phaestos and Mallia) at each period is very welcome.

Fact and theory are kept apart and, in general, only the facts are given. One finds, too, a commendable disinclination to include any mention of Minoan forgeries, although their number is now so great that a brief cautionary tale might well have been justified.

Foreign relations are, as anyone who knows Pendlebury's earlier works would expect, fully and accurately treated, and the chronology founded on them is, therefore, mainly sound. It is to be regretted, however, that the book must have gone to press before the new evidence from Mari caused a revision in the previously accepted date of Hammurabi. We regret, too, a certain amount of confusion about the chronological relations of LM Ia, LM Ib and LM II. In view of the facts that nowhere has a pure stratum of LM II been found clearly stratified above one of LM Ib and that LM II patterns are so often mere stylisations of an LM Ia lily or an LM Ib octopus (a stylisation which is much more probably a sign of increased influence of the mainland upon Knossos than of later date), we welcome Pendlebury's admission that there is much to be said for 'describing LM Ib as LM II, since the present LM II is a style of vase-painting found only at Knossos.' This, however, solves only half of the problem. At Slavokampos vases with the 'LM Ia,' floral style of decoration and others with that of LM Ib, marine style were found together. The same was the case at Tylissos, Nirou Chani and Gournia. Neighbouring *ateliers* were decorating pots with marine and plant motives at one and the same moment. The differences between the two styles are clear, but purely stylistic, and are no indication of a difference in



date. Yet Pendlebury can still speak of 'the later phase of LM I pottery, LM Ib.'

The plates are excellent. Pottery, metal-work, figurines and seals are shown grouped according to period and the groups arranged chronologically, interspersed at appropriate places with pictures of the architecture of the period. At least as far as the end of Minoan times they of themselves provide an excellent history-book in pictures. The text figures, however, vary in value. The maps and simplified plans of sites supply a long-felt need and are very welcome. The drawings of the patterns in use on the vases of each period are, however, occasionally misleading. We regret, for instance, the portrayal of light-on-dark patterns in use in EM III and MM I by means of dark-on-light. In one figure, moreover (p. 112), dark-on-light and light-on-dark patterns are portrayed side by side by the dark-on-light process without discrimination in the legend. We regret, too, a certain tidying up of many of the patterns, particularly those of the earlier periods. There is perhaps something to be said in favour of straightening uneven lines in the interests of a nice trim line-cut, but it seems a little unfair to suggest to the student who may approach this book without previous knowledge of Minoan art that, for example, circles in EM times were compass-drawn. Of gems, although nothing but photographs could have conveyed any impression of the delicacy and subtlety of the relief, only drawings appear, and those not always accurate.

The book remains, nevertheless, welcome in the extreme. In the main it is, of course, a summary and collation of what had already been published in extended form and, even had it been no more, its value would have been very great. It is, however, still further enhanced by the new material of which it makes use. Much of this comes from Evans' unpublished diaries of his early travels and from Bosanquet's notes. Much, too, comes from Pendlebury's own excavations in the Lasithi plain. We could wish that, in view of the light which these excavations have thrown on post-Minoan Crete, the years between the end of LM III and the Hellenic period had been treated at greater length. Not one piece of sub-Minoan or of Geometric pottery is illustrated, and Protogeometric pottery from no site other than Cnossos is mentioned.

But it is ungrateful, when we have been given so much, to complain that we fail to find this or that. The book is a most worthy member of the Methuen series, and will be indispensable to anyone who would know the history of Crete at

any time between the Neolithic period and the Roman era.

EDITH ECCLES.

**Die Metallindustrie Anatoliens in der Zeit von 1500-700 vor Chr.** By STEFAN PRZEWSKI. Pp. xii + 206; pl. 22. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1939. 16 guilders.

This book, one of the most important that has appeared for a long time, could only be reviewed adequately by one of those rare scholars who have a comprehensive knowledge both of typology and technique, and who are well acquainted with the part of the world situated between Central Europe and Central Asia. A reviewer whose qualifications are limited, even if his special study is prehistoric Anatolia, can do little more than give a general account of the scope and contents of the work, confining detailed observations and criticisms, if any, to his own department, and conscious that they exaggerate their object out of its due proportion.

From the full title, one might infer that Dr. Przeworski is concerned only with the centuries between 1500 and 700 B.C. That is not the case, for all periods from the late fourth millennium to the middle of the first are examined with almost equal care. Among the metals, copper, bronze and iron are those on which attention is focused, though something is said about tin, lead, nickel and the other constituents of bronze: also about gold and silver. The objects discussed only include works of art if they serve to illustrate technical processes.

A survey of all excavations and most explorations conducted in Asia Minor serves as introduction: here too are notices of relevant literature, supplemented by an excellent bibliography. Excavators, as the author points out, have hitherto concentrated on the interior rather than the coastal areas, a circumstance which may to some extent distort our outlook: moreover, they have, on the whole, preferred settlements to tombs. That is as it should be, but tombs are more likely to produce fine bronzes—witness the amazing wealth of the graves at Alaca Hüyük. The comparative scarcity of tombs has, however, been in some measure compensated by the discovery of certain interesting hoards, on which considerable stress is laid. To the bronzes from settlements, hoards and tombs, some museum pieces with sound pedigrees may be added, so that a good body of evidence is available.

From this, Dr. Przeworski selects the most outstanding classes of weapons, tools, horse-trappings and the like. His aim is to trace their first appearance in Anatolia, their development,



their distribution and their origin, which is, in most cases, foreign. Many types come, of course, from the east: from Mesopotamia, Syria or Persia. Aegean influence, though less pervasive, was always strong in the west, and several articles hitherto regarded as imports are here attributed to native smiths. In the thirteenth century, there were intimate connections between north-eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus; while Europe, a debtor in the third millennium, became a creditor in the late and post-Hittite periods. It would seem that the Anatolian metal-workers assimilated from the repertory of their neighbours whatever was useful to them, their own particular talent being for the adaptation and combination of features found on models invented abroad. Looking back at the list of types chosen by the author as sufficiently instructive to merit a section to themselves, I am surprised that pins should be absent. They are not neglected, but, by being mentioned in various contexts instead of together like the fibulae, lose their significance. Some, indeed, escape notice, such as the nice toggle-pin decorated with a pair of conventionalised birds from Alişar and paralleled at Chagar Bazar.

The great periods of metal production for Anatolia—shared more or less by adjacent countries—are: (1) the middle of the third millennium; (2) 1500–1200 B.C.; (3) the eighth century and after. Each period, as I have already indicated, receives due consideration, but the main theme of the book is, perhaps, the transition from bronze to iron. Dr. Przeworski emphasises what is already known but not fully realised: that the transition in question, his *chalkolithische Zeit*, was not confined to a few hundred years, and that Anatolia, where the true iron age did not occur till 700 B.C., was by no means backward in this respect. With great insight, he investigates the effect of political and economic conditions on the new and the old metal: there was, apparently, a time, about the thirteenth century, when copper was becoming difficult to obtain, while the change in the relative values of iron, bronze and silver between the twentieth and sixth centuries is astonishing.

Technical processes—mining, smelting, casting, etc.—are described in so far as they concern Asia Minor, and all analyses of metals found on sites therein are collected, a task which merits our gratitude. Quotations from ancient texts in classical authors are cited if relevant to the history of metal: though such extracts raise hopes of riches which are not fulfilled by the

actual remains, archaeologists are accustomed to this form of disillusionment.

In order to follow the letterpress intelligently, readers must have before them clear pictures of the objects under consideration. Access to a good library is therefore essential, for the illustrations, ample though they are, cannot include all one needs to see. They give, however, the things that matter most, and one is impressed not only by the number of unpublished or inaccessibly published specimens reproduced, but by the industry which has located them.

As a final tribute to a remarkable achievement, I should add that, unlike most volumes of its size, *die Metallindustrie Anatoliens* is remarkably up-to-date. All major discoveries in Anatolia prior to 1938 are recorded, and references to books published as late as that year find a place in the numerous footnotes with which each chapter is provided.

W. LAMB.

**Early Greek Elegists: The Martin Classical Lectures.** By C. M. BOWRA. Pp. 208. Oxford University Press, 1938. 10s. 6d.

The scope of this very attractive and useful book is best described in the author's own words: 'In these lectures I have attempted to give brief sketches of the works and personalities of the early Greek elegists, and to discuss some of the problems connected with them.' The work includes many quotations from the originals, with verse translations culled from several sources. The general reader with some knowledge of Greek will gain a clear idea of an important though somewhat neglected branch of Greek literature, and those who have made a special study of the subject can derive much profit from the discussion of the main problems. It is sad to think that so much early Elegy has been lost; but we have indeed reason to be grateful for the variety of the little that has survived. Mr. Bowra helps us to see how these poets represent various stages in the development of thought, as well as the idiosyncrasies of the states to which they belonged. In the first lecture, 'Origins and Beginnings,' the author accepts the connection of *ἄγνος*, 'which first occurs in a fragment of Critias . . . written at the end of the fifth century,' with *ἄγνος*, 'which is freely used by Euripides and later writers to mean "lament"'; but he rightly insists on the fact 'that the oldest types of elegiac verse have little or nothing to do with lamentation.' 'The earliest known elegiac pieces are either military like those of Callinus and Tyrtæus or convivial like those of Mimnermus.' 'There seems, then, little reason to doubt the simple theory that the



elegiac was originally a flute-song. The word may be of Asiatic origin, and some have recognised a collateral descendant in the Armenian root *elegn-*. See Boisacq, *Dict. étym.* p. 240, 'ελεγος, origine asiatique (phrygienne?)', cf. arm. *elegn-*, "roseau, flûte." The same lecture contains a discussion of Archilochus, Callinus and Mimnermus. The second chapter is devoted to Tyrtaeus; sound reasons are adduced for regarding him as a genuine Spartan, proved by his poems to be 'a man of authority in Sparta, an administrator and a general.' Tyrtaeus 'shows how the ideals of the city-state had superseded those of the heroic individual as Homer displayed them.' Note the discussion of ἀνὴρ, ἀγαθός and ἀρετή on p. 60, and the analysis of Tyr. g on p. 62.

In Ch. III Solon is presented to us as the typical Athenian; 'in the differences between these two men [S. and T.] we can see figured on a small scale the differences which were later to turn Sparta and Athens into implacable enemies.' 'He [Solon] is the only early law-giver of Greece who is a human being for us.' 'Hesiod's Right is a creature of theology, but Solon's belongs to political philosophy. His conception of her was based on an understanding of the logic of events.' Ch. IV deals with Xenophanes, 'a man who combined ruthless intelligence with a gift for poetry. . . . He tried to see the universe as a whole, and he succeeded.' Mr. Bowra, in discussing Xenophanes' violent attack on the extravagant honours awarded to athletes, has some telling remarks on the civic dangers inherent in this cult. 'A good illustration of this danger may be seen in the large number of victories won by tyrants and would-be tyrants.'

About Theognis 'the first poet of persecution mania' (Ch. V) we are told that 'it is painfully clear that the *Theognidea*, if we may so call the collection, is not the work of a single poet, but an anthology based on such work . . . a song-book . . . probably made at Athens fairly early in the fifth century . . . and used in aristocratic circles.' With regard to the much-discussed 'seal' set by the poet on his own work, Mr. Bowra thinks 'it easier to believe that the seal is the name of Cyrrus.' But even if 'the poet set it on each piece as he wrote it,' an imitator could easily introduce it into a poem of his own, just as it was easy to invent a maxim and begin it with καὶ τόδε Δημοδόκον.

The book ends with an account of Simonides and the Sepulchral Epigram with its concise simplicity which suggests so much, like that one haunting line preserved on a stone found at

Corinth: Δῦναι τόδε [σῶμα], τὸν ἔλαος πόντος ἀναι[δής], early sixth century, a simplicity never perhaps attained in any other language. Note the very useful remarks (p. 176) on the difference between elegiac and hexametric epitaphs and on the transition from the convivial flute-song to the elegiac epitaph in commemoration of the dead (p. 179). 'The ceremony of pouring the wine' at a banquet in honour of those who died in a good cause 'is almost a libation. . . . It was but a small step from this to inscribing elegiac verses as an epitaph on a tomb.'

There is a handy index at the end of the book.

T. HUDSON-WILLIAMS.

**Solon und die Schöpfung der attischen Grabrede.** By LEO WEBER. Pp. vii + 118. Frankfurt-a-M.: G. Schulte-Bulmke, 1935. RM. 10.

This work is an attempt to trace the rise and development of the classical funeral oration, and to determine the period of its introduction. Weber seeks its ultimate origin in the ἐπιτάφιος αἶνος of the Heroic period, and after showing that this element of the funeral ritual of that age became overlaid by the more formal and less 'heartfelt' element, the ὁρήνιος, he expresses the view that the ἐπιτάφιος αἶνος was reinstituted by Solon, in the form of the ἐπιτάφιος λόγος, to honour those who perished in battle in defence of the State. Thus this element of the funeral ceremony, in origin aristocratic and appropriated to individuals, acquired a public and democratic character, and was of considerable importance in the development of Greek prose. He is led to ascribe this innovation to Solon after tracing the appearance of the ἐπιτάφιος λόγος back into the sixth century, and associates it with Solon's legislation to limit funeral ceremonies. He attempts also to establish a connexion between the Greek ὁρήνιος and the Roman *nenia*, and between the ἐπιτάφιος λόγος and the *laudatio funebris*.

It cannot be said that the author has proved his point, but his thesis might well be correct. On the other hand, the elaborate efforts to extract evidence for such funeral orations from passages of Herodotus, and to ascribe the origin of the story of Tellos and of the Atlantis myth to ἐπιτάφιοι λόγοι, seem highly fanciful. His attempt to explain the common elements in Athenian and Roman burial ceremonies on the theory that the migration of the Etruscans from Asia Minor to Italy by way of Attica affords the connecting link, might be criticised even more strongly. The whole work displays an extreme



of detail and erudition, and unlimited use of conjecture and imagination. What there is of value is obscured by lengthy and involved digressions. Much of the detail which overloads the text might have been relegated to the eighteen 'Exkurse' which complete the book.

R. J. HOPPER.

**Solon the Liberator. A Study of the Agrarian Problem in Attika in the Seventh Century.** By W. J. WOODHOUSE. Pp. xvi + 218. Oxford University Press, 1938. 12s. 6d.

The present work, which was published after the death of the author in 1937, is preceded by a Biographical Note.

Professor Woodhouse at the outset emphasises the slightness of the evidence afforded by Solon's own poems in their present fragmentary state, and considers that the complete poems, written for contemporaries who were perfectly familiar with the prevailing economic conditions, would have given no fuller information. Likewise he describes the evidence of Aristotle in the *'Αθηναίων πολιτεία* as 'slovenly and incautious generalisation,' and holds much the same opinion of Plutarch's account. Both authorities suffered from being so far removed from the events they professed to record.

Of cardinal importance for a study of the reforms of Solon are the origin and nature of the *Hektemors*. Woodhouse concludes that they were in a position of limited slavery, in bond to a private master, while still remaining citizens. He postulates the inalienability of landed property in the pre-Solonian period (*i.e.*, land was entailed in the family), with the consequence that loans were on personal security. Therefore the *Horoi* were not boundary stones converting the holding of the indebted farmer into the private property of the creditor, but enduring memorials ('ward-stones') of a form of purchase (in which the loan formed the purchase price) with perpetual right of redemption—in short, a prototype of the fourth-century *πρῶσις ἐπὶ λύσει*. Thus the debtor became a tenant paying a fixed proportion as interest or rent (Woodhouse assumes one-sixth). If he failed to pay this proportion of his produce (Woodhouse emphasises the natural economy prevailing, though he grants that the position was much further complicated towards the end of the period by the appearance of metal currency), he and his family were liable to seizure, thus passing into the class of *Hektemors*, who paid five-sixths (the amount is assumed not proved) to the creditor and kept one-sixth for their own sustenance.

Solon's work was to abolish the *Horoi*, freeing the land from the lien of the creditor and restoring it to its hereditary owners, out of whose possession theoretically it had never passed. Thereafter liability for debt was to be on property only, and to make this principle of practical value, Solon freed landed property from the practice of entail. Thus in future a peasant, borrowing on his land, might lose the land, but even if he wished he could not pledge his person. Here Woodhouse associates the work of *Peisistratus* on behalf of peasant agriculture, through the institution of agrarian loans to afford succour to peasants in financial difficulties. Finally he offers a new explanation of the nature of the '*Kreokopidai*.'

In its broad outlines the theory put forward is very attractive, but it depends largely on the assumption that land was inalienable in the period before Solon's reforms. Details are not always logically and fully worked out. The question whether tenant farmers paid one-sixth, and whether the *Hektemors* were 'sixth-parters' in the sense that they retained one-sixth of the produce of their labour, still remains to be proved. The arrangement is a little confused, and there is certainly an excessive use of legal terminology. A fuller discussion of relations with *Megara*, of the possible significance of the conspiracy of *Kylon* (surely no attempt at tyranny could 'possess little or no significance from the standpoint of the Attic peasant?'), and of the import and export trade of Athens, would have been welcome. As far as the thorny subject of the coinage is concerned, Professor Woodhouse was no doubt wise in saying no more than he has done.

There is an excellent bibliography, and a list of Professor Woodhouse's publications; the references to the ancient authorities are full and accurate.

R. J. H.

**Zur älteren Athenischen Kolonisation** (*Offprint from Eunomia, vol. i, fasc. i*). By V. EHRENBURG. Pp. 21. Prague. 1939.

In this excellent paper Prof. Ehrenberg discusses the nature of Athenian colonisation (*ἀποικίαι* and *κληρουσίαι*) and, in connexion with it, the political standing of *Peisistratus* and *Miltiades*, both in answer to *Berve's* recent book on *Miltiades*. He argues, against *Kahrstedt* as well as against *Berve*, that we do wrong to use strict standards of constitutional law in defining the terms, that there were many grades of colonies, from the pure *ἀποικία* which became a completely independent state to the pure *κληρουσία* in which the settlers not only remained Athenian



citizens, but formed no community of their own (as in Salamis); between these two there were ἀποικίαι politically dependent on Athens, as Brea was intended to be (note especially ll. 20-26 of the inscription), and κληρουχίαι which formed communities of their own, though the cleruchs were still citizens of Athens (because of the distance, they could not exercise their political rights in Athens, and obtained a sort of municipal autonomy). Lemnos (later divided between Hephaistia and Myrina) and Imbros are the chief examples of this last kind. Though I agree with Berve that the existence of the ten Kleisthenic phylai on Lemnos is not, as such, a proof of Attic citizenship (the new settlement must have some organisation, and what more natural than one taken direct from the μητρόπολις, especially if the settlers, as is possible, were taken equally from all the phylai? <sup>1</sup>), yet Ehrenberg is convincing that the Lemnians did in fact retain their citizenship. He points out that in *IG* ii<sup>2</sup> 672, c. 280 B.C., when, if at any time, political terms should have been stabilised, the Athenian citizens on the island, though having a hipparchos sent yearly to govern them, are described as inhabiting the two *poleis*, each of which has a *demos*. Nothing could show more clearly the looseness of terminology. The casualty lists of Lemnians of the fifth century, set up in Athens, are evidence of their citizenship; the ξίνοι who occasionally appear on Athenian lists are not arranged by communities and are clearly individuals who have served in Athenian regiments, or in close contact with them, not contingents of allied States; the Argives and Kleonaiioi who fell at Tanagra are not listed by their own phylai. Thucydides vii 57.2 is not in any way decisive, as Berve supposes: Ehrenberg might have made this even clearer—Thucydides lists the Lemnians, Imbrians, and Aiginetans then in Aigina, and as well the Hestiaieis in Euboea, who were ἀποικοί, in a separate group from the Athenians themselves and from all others who took part in the expedition. Yet we know that their position was not in all respects the same: Lemnos and Imbros paid tribute, Aigina and Hestiaia did not. Does that prove that the latter pair were κληρουχίαι, the former ἀποικοί? In that case Thucydides' single group disappears, and he expressly calls the Hestiaieis ἀποικοί. Ehrenberg could have added too that Amphipolis,

which was certainly an ἀποικία in the old sense except in so far as its autonomy was restricted by the Athenian empire, paid no tribute.<sup>2</sup> Cleruchies, which formed communities, founded before 478, might be treated as separate communities and pay tribute; ἀποικίαι, founded during the Empire, might not. The standard to be adopted is a political, not a legal one. Ehrenberg is quite convincing.

In this light he considers the earlier settlement of Sigeion and the Chersonese; he agrees with Berve about the former (that it was a true ἀποικία), not about the latter; he thinks, certainly rightly, that the prosecution of Miltiades for tyranny implies the presence of Athenian citizens there. He shows equally clearly that Berve's view both of Peisistratos and of Miltiades, that they were individuals outside the State, and their careers (except for Marathon) broke the continuity of Athenian history, is quite untenable; in particular he gives a sensible view of Herodotos' narrative of the Parian expedition, which does not imply an unconstitutional position for Miltiades (I would go a little further, and reject the view that Miltiades did not reveal to the ecclesia the object of the expedition: the story may have no more truth than the similar one about Themistokles and the silver from the mines). Altogether an admirable essay.

A. W. GOMME.

University of Glasgow.

**Storia dei Greci dalle Origini alla Fine del Secolo V.** By G. DE SANCTIS. 2 vols. Pp. xvii + 595, xiii + 580. Florence: 'La Nuova Italia,' 1939. 90 lire.

A book on Greek History by De Sanctis naturally invites comparison with his great *Storia dei Romani*; and indeed the present work has many features in common with the earlier one. It shows the same unobtrusive but comprehensive knowledge, the same independence and sincerity of judgment, the same unadorned but lucid style. On the other hand it dispenses with explanatory and controversial footnotes—as a substitute for these, bibliographies containing the recent literature on special topics are appended to each chapter; and it gives relatively far more space to matters

<sup>1</sup> When Ehrenberg says the new phylai were purely local, not kinship groups, he forgets that descendants of the original members all belonged to the same phylai, irrespective of residence.

<sup>2</sup> He points out that Brea, though within the empire organisation, did not pay tribute, and thinks this may have been because it was too small and too poor. This is highly improbable; there were many minute communities which paid some tribute. If Brea ever survived as an ἀποικία, its position was the same as that of Amphipolis.



outside the field of war and politics. The special emphasis which the author has laid on the cultural history of Greece is all the more welcome, in that his chapters on Greek literature and art, on philosophy and religion, are not in the nature of mere appendices, but make a serious endeavour to show in a clear light the inter-action between Greek culture and the general history of Greece. (Some readers may wish that the space devoted to power politics had been cut down even further. More than 10 per cent. of the whole book is devoted to the Peloponnesian War, and no less than fourteen pages to the siege of Syracuse.)

In the political field De Sanctis has given an unusually clear account of the structure of early Greek society; and he appraises the fully developed Athenian democracy with a nicely balanced judgment. He makes a doubtful point in suggesting that the 'democratic idea' would have provided the best bond of union for Greece in the fifth century; but he does well to emphasise that the Greeks neglected to reap the full fruits of their victories over the Persians and Carthaginians. In condemning the imperialism of Pericles he hardly gives due weight to the benefits of the 'pax Atheniensis'; but he is wholesomely outspoken in affixing the main responsibility for the Peloponnesian War upon Pericles, and not upon Sparta.

In his appreciation of Greek men of letters De Sanctis is perhaps at his best when he discusses the lyric and choric poets and the Sophists; and it is pleasing to find him giving full recognition to the intellectual intrepidity of the early Ionian thinkers.

Some passages in this book may cause readers to shake their heads. The author may be right in explaining away the legislators Zaleucus and Diocles as mere deities, but when he describes Cadmus and Neleus, Achilles and Odysseus, as faded gods, he seems to go too far in his inverted Euhemerism. Though he has a keen eye for the distinctive merits of the Homeric poems, he will not allow that one outstanding personality cast them (approximately) into their present shape. He rejects the comparatively ancient and harmonious Greek tradition of a 'Dorian Invasion,' though this is receiving more and more support from archaeology, and boldly equates Dorians with Achaeans. His chief reason for this heresy is that in historical times the people who called themselves 'Achaeans' spoke a Doric type of Greek. But to reconstruct the language map of Greece in the second millennium from that of the fifth or fourth century is a hazardous proceeding, in view of

the many changes which might have occurred within the group of Greek dialects in the interval. An even greater paradox is the statement that in 417-15 B.C. Nicias was the director of Athenian policy (with Alcibiades as his understrapper), and that he was the real author of the Melian and Sicilian expeditions. The basis of this argument is the fact that Nicias wanted to distract the Athenians from further adventures in Peloponnesus. But this hardly suffices to prove, in plain contradiction to Thucydides, that Nicias therefore led them into other and wilder adventures. Lastly, Critias' cowardly massacre of the men of Eleusis was surely not a 'simple police operation'! This is hardly in keeping with the many courageous stands which De Sanctis has made for political decencies.

But it would be ungracious to end this review on a querulous note. The 'Grand Old Man of Ancient History' (as De Sanctis may well be called) has produced a worthy counterpart to his Roman History; and this is very high praise.

M. CARY.

**Hellenic History.** By GEORGE WILLIS BOTS-FORD: revised and rewritten by CHARLES ALEXANDER ROBINSON, JR. Pp. xiv + 398. New York: Macmillan, 1939.

This new edition of a book first published in 1922 is an almost new book. Not only, as the preface declares, are several chapters or some passages entirely new, but the whole character is changed. It has lost some of the peculiarity of the original book, e.g. in the arrangement of the subject matter (twenty-six instead of thirty chapters, many of them with new titles); the notes at the bottom of each page, containing the main source-material, have vanished (this is rather regrettable), and the "Additional Reading"-references at the end of each chapter are replaced by a Select Bibliography belonging to the whole book. There are no illustrations in the text, but very fine plates. By omitting the headlines of each short paragraph, the text has become much more readable. The first edition was a rather original text-book for teachers and students, the new one is less so, but it gives a concise and interesting account for a good average standard of educated people.

Of course, the new edition (although in a less degree than the old one) endeavours not only to treat history in its political and military aspects, but to lay down the main features of general civilisation, of art and literature, of social and economic conditions. It is always a difficult task to do such work in a few hundred



pages, and every reader will miss one thing, and believe another one to be over-emphasised. Prof. Robinson, on the whole, has done very well. The main lines of history are clearly pointed out, while a great mass of details is dispersed over the whole account.

No reader, however, will get the slightest idea of the complexity of some facts, and the difficulties of some problems. Everything looks simple and clear, much more so than can usually be justified, even in a book of this type. The worst seems to me that rather often matters are stated as ascertained facts which actually are quite uncertain or even wrong. Not many people would agree, I suppose, to the idea of a militaristic and extremely autocratic régime in Minoan Crete (28), or that Egypt was in part responsible for the great intellectual awakening of Greece (57). Even the strongest 'unitarian' would not agree to a sentence such as this: 'Homer wrote at Chios, about 850 B.C.' And if you read: 'perhaps his greatest social interest was in woman' (135), you would not think this phrase concerns—Aeschylus! After all that has been written on the subject, it is surprising to read (247) that Alexander made his trip to the Ammonion to convince the Egyptians that he was the true heir of the Pharaohs.

But it is easy to pick out details like these, and I do not wish to over-criticise a book which has many outstanding merits. I very much like some of its well-formulated sentences and some of its character-sketches. Also I ought to acknowledge the up-to-date nature of the writer's information. He hints at some of the most recent discoveries, some of which, however, are not yet quite assured, e.g. that it was Troy VIIa, not Troy VI, that was destroyed by war; that Cleisthenes was archon in 525 B.C., etc. One chapter (332 ff.) the author owes entirely to Tarn's wonderful book about Bactria and India.

I think that the new edition will make its way as the first did. In some respects, it is an improvement, and, at any rate, a sound and readable book.

V. EHRENBURG.

**Couroi et Courètes : essai sur l'éducation spartiate et sur les rites d'adolescence dans l'antiquité hellénique.** (Travaux et Mémoires de l'Université de Lille, Nouvelle Série, Section Droit-Lettres, No. 21.) By H. JEANMAIRE. Pp. 638. Lille: Bibliothèque universitaire, 1939. Fr. 100.

The importance of this work is hardly commensurate with its bulk. The fundamental

thesis is not very novel and is probably true—namely, that classical and pre-classical Greece retained at least vestiges of a system of age-classes such as is still operative in Africa, for example, and in particular of a warrior class, members of which were called *κοῦροι* or *κουρήτες* and may be presumed pretty safely to have had their procedures of initiation, instruction and tests of courage, intelligence and so forth. It is in itself perfectly legitimate to look for such traces, to consider whether there may not have been rather more than vestigial survivals and to examine various obscure customs and rites, not least those of Athens, Crete and Sparta, to see if they are best explained by supposing such survivals in historical times. This the author does in Chapters IV–VII ('*Les origines rituelles de la geste de Thésée*'; '*Le jeu du Steptérion*'; '*Danses et initiations crétoises*'; '*Sous la masque de Lycurgue*'). These are preceded by considerations of Homeric society (Chap. I), of the origins of the *πόλις* (Chap. II) and a sketch, from standard authorities such as Frobenius, Hollis, Junod and others, of African conditions (Chap. III), and are followed by a long appendix analysing and commenting on Strabo's excursus on the Kuretes in Bk. X. It cannot be denied that in some cases Jeanmaire has the probably right explanation of the Greek phenomena, and that he shows throughout considerable ingenuity and no small amount of learning and diligence.

But the book is in many ways faulty. In the first place, the methodology is poor. The African material is amassed at rather unnecessary length, for nearly all the sources are very well known, and a polite gesture or two are made in the direction of the theory of *Kulturkreise*. But no attempt is made to show that any African *Kulturkreis* extended to historical or prehistoric Greece, and yet quite small details of African usage are many times cited to explain strange features, or what appear to the author to be such, in Greek custom. But where there is no proved historical connexion between two sets of phenomena, it is very bad method to adduce more than general similarities. In this case, we may suppose that young Greeks in early times were set aside and in some sense even consecrated as warriors, because that is done in Africa and elsewhere, and human nature is much the same everywhere in its general lines; but we are not justified, e.g., in citing the occurrence, incidentally to the African ritual, of certain beast-like monsters which terrify the initiands in support of a very hazardous theory that Lykurgos was originally a monster of that kind, a sort of wolf-demon.



Another defect is that the literature is often somewhat behind the times. The Homeric criticism is still in the obsolete bondage of separatism, the author actually quoting Bérard more than once as if his views were of importance. Much is naturally said of Sparta, but hardly anything of Nilsson's probably correct theory that the peculiarities of the Lykurgian system arise from the organisation of an army or horde on the move, and not that of any settled community. The Hymn of the Kuretes from Palaioakastro is, quite legitimately, dealt with, but the commentary is mostly from Miss Harrison, though much has been done to elucidate the text since she wrote. Euripides is incidentally cited (p. 299), yet the aged fallacy that he was a woman-hater has not been got rid of. Among many highly doubtful etymologies (perhaps the weakest single feature of the book) is one of the name Lykurgos based upon the Alexandrian *Zerdelnung*, *Λυκόπορος*, which appears in our conventional texts of Homer; surely van Leeuwen's edition ought to have taught scholars to pay no attention whatever to such malformations. But worse than inadequacies of this kind or than trivial inaccuracies of detail here and there (not very many for nearly 650 pages) is a tendency to treat mythological material as if it were all alike venerable and cultural data, that is, as if the Greeks, particularly in the Hellenistic period, had never consciously archaised. That the work was written to uphold a theory may excuse some arguments and attempts at explanation which the author would hardly have employed *εἰ μὴ θέσιν διαφυλάττων*.

The work, then, although useful, if only as showing the extreme limits to which this explanation of certain facts can with any show of justification be pushed, is not so good as it ought to be. Some day, perhaps, there will appear a revised and amended edition; if so, it would benefit by being a great deal shorter.

H. J. ROSE.

#### Science and Politics in the Ancient World.

By BENJAMIN FARRINGTON. Pp. 243.  
London: George Allen and Unwin, 1939.

Professor Farrington's subject is the stagnation that so early overtook Greek scientific thought, and the long decline in scientific intelligence during the Roman period. He contrasts the logic of two such important figures as Empedocles at the beginning of the period and Prudentius at the end, and shows that in the case of the latter there was no loss in literary skill and imagination. How was it, then, that men submitted to the fettering of

their critical faculties and were willing to revert to deposited traditions about the universe and not press forward to a logical development of free ideas? The author adduces the modern analogy of Haeckel, who, from the position of a disinterested disciple of Darwin, was led, as a result of official religious and secular opposition to the implications of Evolution, to write for the scientific education of the masses. Popular opposition to advanced scientific thought is not so effective as has often been supposed, for it is generally indolent and unorganised. Much more serious is the opposition of a ruling class that fears the impact of scientific thought upon the carefully guarded complex of beliefs and traditions by which acquiescence in their rule is maintained. This opposition is often only latent, and even the instinctive violence of a Theognis is not in the long run dangerous. But should an exceptionally brilliant thinker appear among the conservatives, he is capable of devising an anti-science (from the scientist's point of view a pseudo-science; but we are considering the phenomenon objectively), which with its clever appeals to instinct and tradition may convince the people more easily than the austere reasoning of science. This, according to our author, was the rôle of Plato, who lent his developing logic and beautifully clear prose to the unconcealed propagation of admitted falsehoods in the *Republic* and the *Laws*. Epicurus and Lucretius were the last defenders of science against the conservative reaction of the ethical-political philosophies. Even Stoicism, which began as a movement to make the under-man conscious of his worth, became infected by the all-pervading political bias.

While intellectuals of the Left have often failed by trying prematurely to impose novel and difficult ideas upon untaught people, history shows that the finest brains on the Right are not in the least convinced by the anti-science they teach, and cynically defend their admitted equivocations on the grounds of their own superiority to the masses. As long as education was privileged, this perversion of science by politics was naturally not easily detected. Class-consciousness from Right or Left inevitably sets up what we may call a distortion in the thought-continuum. The spread of education has made it possible for some to get a detached standpoint, but they are few; in fact, the danger of warped pseudo-scientific thinking threatens soon to become greater from the Left than from the Right, since the Right is increasingly finding it necessary to withdraw from its entrenched philosophical position and choose



between non-violent compromise and uncompromising violence.

It is not clear whether Professor Farrington considers the class-antagonism to be the sole factor, or only the principal factor, in the stagnation of ancient thought. A rigidly Marxian view would no doubt allot the entire responsibility in this direction. Since September 1939, however, it seems to have become fashionable to disavow Marxism, and certainly the case for the exclusively economic interpretation of history can be overstated. On the other hand, it is hard to find a reason for the decay of ancient science that does not inevitably lead us back to the social structure of ancient society. Slavery, which made it less necessary to invent labour-saving devices, and the contempt for craftsmanship, which put a social bar in the way of practical experiment, have often been cited as factors. We may add that the neglect of experiment not only brought ancient science to a premature stalemate, but also made it impossible to refute an erroneous hypothesis by appeal to demonstrable facts; it is in this way that conservative opposition to modern scientific discoveries has been silenced. The tendency of Greek intellectuals to abstract thinking, which so distinguished them from their contemporary neighbours, was not corrected by the wholesome discipline of trial and error, and ran fatally to excess. 'Kepler,' we are told, 'one of the most luxuriant and wildly theoretical of *a priorists*, nevertheless constantly appealed to the facts of observation and unhesitatingly abode by their verdict. . . . Only observation could decide which of all possible mathematical harmonies were those actually embodied in Nature.' There were few Greek scientists who were equally discriminating.

Professor Farrington has some interesting remarks on the Delphic oracle's selection of Socrates as the wisest man in Greece. The oracle, he points out, was the religious prop of Dorian oligarchy, and probably chose Socrates not merely for his intellectual attainments but for his political sympathies. Professor Farrington's scorn for the oracle is expressed in language flavoured by demagogic rhetoric rather than sober scholarship (pp. 120, 209); but he has certainly made a just assessment of its political significance, and his criticism of Socrates may be uncomfortably near the mark. One might ask why that energetic deflator of intellectual self-importance never practised his art on the arrogant young oligarchs whose dictatorship proved so offensive that the people of Athens lost no time in replacing them by the

'demoplutocracy' that Socrates and his disciples so despised. Plato and Aristotle, for all their brilliant contributions to ordered thought, both died convinced of the inherent superiority of one class over another and its consequent prior claim on the good things of life. Professor Farrington has done well to remind us of the falseness and superficiality of such a social doctrine and the danger of accepting these philosophers as teachers and guides to social conduct for all time.

G. E. KIRK.

**The Stoichedon Style in Greek Inscriptions.**

By R. P. AUSTIN. Pp. xii + 130; pl. 14. Oxford: University Press, 1938. 10s. 6d.

A notable addition to the series of Oxford Classical and Philosophical Monographs: a balanced and sober inquiry into the scope and significance of this style of Greek engraving. The author, against those who claimed for it Ionic origin, demonstrates that the *stoichedon* style is native to Attica (p. 15); that its beginnings in the second half of the sixth century coincide with the disuse of *boustrophedon* in favour of right-ward writing, and that its adoption was promoted by this change (pp. 17 ff.); that it remained popular because it was found aesthetically satisfying (p. 5); that, epigraphically, it was the hall-mark of Athenian democracy in its prime (pp. 122 ff.). To the layman, the most interesting part of A.'s work will doubtless be found where, after a careful analysis of the technique (chapter 4) and limitations (p. 43 ff.) of the style, its fortunes are traced: the setback under the stresses of the Peloponnesian War (p. 53), the revival during the fourth century, and the final decay in the miseries of the third (chapter 8). The skill and space required for *stoichedon* writing were expensive (p. 105). This, with the inherent weakness of the style in word-division, caused it in an age of poverty to be abandoned. Outside Attica, and in particular at Delphi (p. 76 ff.), in the islands, and in particular in Delos (p. 83 ff.), *stoichedon* is symptomatic of Athenian influence or dominion. It survived sporadically into the full Hellenistic period, both in the Greek homelands and in the Greek East (chapter 9). It last occurs in Lycia in the third century A.D. (p. 117). The author is to be congratulated for his sensible and scholarly handling of a subject which, though specialised, is of interest to every student of Greek epigraphy.

T. BRUCE MITFORD.



**The Athenian Tribute Lists, Vol. I.** By B. D. MERITT, H. T. WADE-GERY and M. F. MCGREGOR. Pp. xxxii + 605; 1 map, 25 pl. and 192 figs. Published for the American School of Classical Studies at Athens by the Harvard University Press, 1939. \$15.00.

This weighty volume marks the culmination of more than a century of study, inaugurated by the publication of K. S. Pittakis' *L'ancienne Athènes* in 1835 and the first volume of A. R. Rangabé's *Antiquités Helléniques* in 1842, placed upon a firm foundation seventy years ago by U. Köhler's masterly *Urkunden und Untersuchungen*, consolidated by the edition of the relevant texts by A. Kirchhoff in *IG* i and again by F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *IG* i<sup>2</sup>, issued in 1924, and carried on intensively since then by various scholars, among whom B. D. Meritt and A. B. West take the foremost place. No group of epigraphical texts has deserved or received a study so meticulous as the Attic quota-lists, and none has yielded results of equal historical importance.

On its title-page the work bears the names of three authors, all of whom have become intimate, in long residence at Athens as well as in close study elsewhere, with the relevant documents and had already made contributions of high value to their reading and interpretation. It is dedicated to the memory of Allen Brown West, whose tragic death in 1936 precluded his participation in the actual writing of this volume, to which, nevertheless, he has contributed materials of the utmost importance alike in his many published works and in unpublished notes (see p. 462). Chapters I-III contain, in 106 pages, a detailed list and bibliography of the 285 fragments of the quota-lists discovered in modern times, with excellent photographs of all save the 38 which can no longer be traced, and brief notes on difficult or disputed readings. Chapter IV provides a similar list of the 52 extant fragments of three assessment-records, including the famous decrees and schedule relating to the re-assessment of 425 B.C. (to which *IG* i<sup>2</sup>.151 is here added), and 14 of two decrees (*IG* i<sup>2</sup>.65, 66) dealing with tribute-levy, recently restored in Meritt's *Documents on Athenian Tribute*. Chapters V and VI present the completed texts of all the foregoing documents, together with the relevant fragments of Craterus, the decrees of Callias (*IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 91, 92), the decrees for Methone (*IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 57) and a mutilated decree (*IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 109) of 410-9 B.C. regarding the repayment of debts due to Athena, as well as bibliographies and comments on restorations and dating. Chapter VII, 227 pages in length, is entitled 'The Register' and

comprises the complete records for 454-409 B.C. of 343 communities, based on the data, positive or negative, of the documents under review, with brief notes, drawn from literary sources, of revolts, conquests, treaties, etc., while in Chapter VIII we have supplements to this Register—variant forms, partially preserved names, dynasts, group-payments, special rubrics, and an alphabetical list of names arranged under districts. Chapter IX, 'The Gazetteer,' contains 106 pages of notes and discussions, mostly geographical, on the local and ethnic names found in the Register, the results of which are summarised in the appended map of the Athenian Empire. Chapter X consists of a roster of the known Hellenotamiae and their secretaries and paredroi, and Chapter XI contains 161 'testimonia,' excerpts from authors (with new restorations of the 'Anonymus Argentinensis' in Tg) and inscriptions (T68-78; only the Athenian monetary decree is quoted in full) bearing upon the subject of the book, which closes with indexes of significant Greek words, proper names (other than those in the Register and Gazetteer) and emendations of literary texts.

Finality cannot, of course, be claimed even for a work like the present. It includes eight fragments discovered, and one rediscovered, in the course of the recent American excavations in the Agora and on the north slope of the Acropolis, and further similar finds may well come to light in future, supplementing or modifying the texts here given and the views here expressed. Nor is the book as it stands wholly flawless, though the very triviality of the points I have noted for criticism<sup>1</sup> and the fewness of the authors' conclusions about which I am sceptical bring home to me the extraordinarily high standard maintained. The work—clear in arrangement, lucid in statement, combining width of outlook with the utmost accuracy in matters of detail—is a stupendous achievement, which must still further enhance its authors' reputations, while the perfect typography and

<sup>1</sup> E.g., for H. N. Pryce (p. viii) read F. N. Pryce, for 40 (p. 34, No. 64) 42, for 'Ἐπιτροπὴς (p. 529) 'Ἐπιτροπῆς, for the second 'Ἀθηνάϊος of T70 (p. 579) 'Ἀθηνάϊος, and for tributus (p. 599) tributum. The spelling Mytilenaeon (thrice on pp. 587-8) is preferable to Mitylenaeon used (with Mitylene) on p. 548. There are a few mistakes in Greek accentuation, e.g., σφραγίδι on pp. 164, 597-8, θέτταλος and Σαροθράκων on p. 483 and Λυσισαχία (side by side with Λυσισάχια) on p. 564, nor do I wholly grasp the principle of admission and exclusion applied in the first index, why, e.g., *s.v.* νόμισμα we find a reference to D1 but not to T6 or T69.



illustration reflect the highest credit on printers and publishers alike. We can but hope that the second volume, in which the historical questions raised, and to some extent answered, by the evidence here set forth will be discussed and an account will be presented of the rise, character and fall of the Athenian Empire, may attain an equally high level of scholarship and may appear without unnecessary delay. M. N. TOD.

**Collection Froehner, I. Inscriptions grecques.** By LOUIS ROBERT (Bibliothèque Nationale; Département des Médailles et des Antiques). Pp. ix + 160; pl. 51. Paris: Éditions des Bibliothèques Nationales, 1936.

Wilhelm Froehner, who was born at Karlsruhe but became a naturalised French citizen, was a philologist and archaeologist of great learning and considerable influence and an ardent collector of antiquities, especially those which were inscribed. With a somewhat grim humour, he prided himself upon keeping secret the contents of such inscriptions as had not already been published before they came into his possession. After his death, which occurred on 22nd May, 1925, in his ninetieth year, his collection passed, under the terms of his will, to the Cabinet des Médailles of the National Library in Paris. Its publication was entrusted to Professor Louis Robert, who in the volume before us, admirably produced by the Bontemps Press at Limoges, deals with all those Greek inscriptions which are 'documents more or less independent of the objects on which they are engraved, excluding coins, vases and the whole *instrumentum domesticum*.' These number 108 in all, apart from the three heliasts' tickets which are here included (No. 10 *g, r, s*), though they form part of a private collection. In an appendix six further inscriptions are added (Nos. 92-97), which belong to the Cabinet des Médailles but were derived from other sources.

The Froehner Collection is representative of all the principal classes of epigraphical documents and of all parts of the Hellenic world. Each inscription is carefully described and the text is printed, with few exceptions, in minuscules, while the forms of the monuments and the character of the script are clearly shown in the series of excellent plates added to the volume. That the editor has carried out his exacting task with the highest competence and the utmost thoroughness goes without saying. By common consent he ranks among the foremost Greek epigraphists of this, or indeed of any, age, displaying an industry, a perspicacity and a mastery of

all the relevant materials which are nothing short of phenomenal. It is hard to believe that any scholar could have made more of the very heterogeneous collection here catalogued and discussed than Professor Robert has succeeded in doing, and the book amply confirms, though confirmation is superfluous, his reputation for learning and brilliance. While in some cases—*e.g.*, that of the most famous of the texts acquired by Froehner, the *διδασκαλίας* Κασσάρου from Palestine relating to tomb-violation (No. 70)—the commentary is surprisingly short, in others—*e.g.*, the Tegean decree in honour of Cassander of Alexandria Troas (No. 25), the document relative to the Acarnanian League (No. 35), a frontier-demarcation, perhaps from Lusi (No. 41), and above all the three inscriptions from Theangela (Nos. 52-54) recently published by Professor Rostovtzeff—it is of characteristic fullness and permanent value. In the course of his comments the author introduces a number of corrected readings, restorations and interpretations of various texts already known, nor has he omitted to enhance the utility of the book by ample indexes.

Not that the work is absolutely flawless; but of the six-score errors I have noted two-thirds are mere slips in Greek accentuation, and of the remainder few are likely to mislead any careful reader. I add brief notes on a few of the points which struck me as I read this varied and fascinating volume.

On p. 16 Robert casts doubt on the correctness of the reading χαρτοπώλιν in an Attic *defixio* (Wünsch, No. 68a, ll. 6, 7), rightly remarking that 'le rédacteur n'eût pas été embarrassé pour désigner une *meretrix* par des termes plus clairs et moins recherchés que χαρτοπώλης.' He therefore suggests as the true reading ἀλφειτοπώλιν. Would not χαρτοπώλιν, 'paper-seller,' supply a simpler solution of the problem? True, the word is new; but the formation is normal, χαρτοπώλης is found in a gloss, and the use of χάρτης as early as the fifth century B.C. is attested by a line of Plato Comicus quoted by Pollux (vii. 210) and by *IG* i<sup>2</sup>. 374. 279.—In No. 13, ll. 4-7, Robert reads κά||τεχε αὐτ|ῇ παρὰ σα|(υ)τόν, adding that the last word is written σαντον. I cannot but wonder whether ν at the beginning of l. 7 is not the missing ν of αὐτήν placed below instead of beside the η (in No. 79 the final ζ of l. 6 is written at the close of l. 5), and whether the last word is not σατόν (cf. Ἀτοκλίας = Αὐτοκλίας in l. 2).—In No. 35, l. 3, Ἀκαρνίας is apparently a typographical error for Ἀκαρνανίας, as is also in the commentary (p. 41) Akarnienne for Akarnanienne.—



On p. 48, note 6, *IG VI* should be *IG V2*.—No. 69 runs thus: Θεοδώρου πρ(ε)σ(βυτιου).| Δύστη(ου) κη' | χηη'. Robert comments 'A la fin de la ligne 2, l'indiction.' But the highest possible indiction-number is 15, and κη' (28) must here refer to the day of the month.—In No. 77, l. 18, the word παρρίζους which puzzled Robert (cf. pp. 123, 156) is but another form of παρρίζους, 'root and branch,' a word which occurs in a metrical epitaph from Thebes (*IG vii. 2545. 8*). In l. 22 \*Αδους should, as the photograph shows, be \*Αδου (cf. l. 19).—In No. 79, l. 3, I should prefer ούκιστα to ούκ ιτα.—In No. 81, l. 1, π(στ)ρ(δ)ς should be read for π(στ)ρ(δ)ς, in l. 20 δδδαν for δδδαν.—No. 96. The reference to Michel's *Recueil* should be 804, not 1004.

M. N. T.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum : Great Britain**

**11 = Cambridge 2.** By WINIFRED LAMB. Pp. 72; pl. 48. Oxford University Press, 1936.

With the second part of the Cambridge Corpus nearly all the Greek and Etruscan vases in the Fitzwilliam have been published. The pictures are even better than in the first part, and the catalogue, which covers a wide field, is a fine piece of work.

For some reason not stated, the plates in the two volumes are not numbered through, but start again, and even a third time, for the Ricketts and Shannon collection, included in the second volume, is numbered separately. Thus there are three plate 1's, three plate 2's, and so on. To avoid confusion, Miss Haspels' practice (in her *Attic black-figured Lekythoi*) might be followed: 'CV Cambridge pl. 1' to mean pl. 1 in the first Cambridge volume; 'CV Cambridge ii pl. 1' to mean pl. 1 in the second Cambridge volume; 'CV Cambridge RS. pl. 1' to mean pl. 1 in the Ricketts-Shannon section of the second volume.

With N. 186 (ii pl. 20, 26) cf. the Syracuse fr. *Mon. Ant.* 17, p. 255. 32. 10 (ii pl. 22, 2) was in the Hamilton Gray collection. Cf. Vatican 358 (Albizzati pl. 47). For xlv in the text, four lines from the end, read liv. 28. 2 (ii pl. 26, 3) is not the vase mentioned by Buschor in *FR.* iii p. 297: it is by the same hand as Athens 12138 (N. 1016: *CV Jd* pl. 8, 1-2) and another white lekythos in Lord Elgin's collection at Broomhall (youth in chlamys, and woman with basket, at tomb): manner of the Sabouroff painter, continuation of his lekythoi in the time of the Bird painter.

The Ricketts and Shannon vases, formerly on

loan, have now become the property of the Museum. RS. pl. 1, 1 is in the same style as the Leningrad amphora *Jb.* 42 Beil. 26-7 at p. 166: cf. also Munich 1400 (*CV* pl. 32, 1 and pl. 33, 1) and an oinochoe of shape 3 in the collection of Capt. Spencer-Churchill (rider and three youths). With RS. pl. 2, 1 compare the Würzburg hydria 305 (Langlotz pl. 96), which is a rather eccentric work by the Swinger. RS. pl. 3, 1 and pl. 3, 2, with Cambridge 8. 27 (*CV* Cambridge pl. 21, 2), belong to a large group of kyathoi treated in *Raccolta Guglielmi* pp. 52-3. The Euergides cup RS. pl. 5, 2 and pl. 8, 4 was formerly in the possession of Geladakis in Paris (*Coll. M.E.* 2-4 juin 1904 pl. 11, no. 248): the missing sherd with the forearm of the right-hand athlete, part of the palmette, and the final sigma of the inscription, is in the Villa Giulia: this suggested that the cup may have come from the Canino collection, and Mr. Plaoutine tells me that it did: the provenience is therefore Vulci. RS. pl. 6, 2 (the lower pictures, misprinted 1a and 1b on the plate) and pl. 8, 5 is a cup with a jolly subject. On one half, a satyr driving a pair of satyrs is coming down the straight, leading from a satyr driving a pair of maenads. On the other half it is a horse-race, the mounts being wine-skins: this picture explains another, on the Munich cup 2622, where a satyr is riding a wine-skin and whipping it up with a sandal. After the race the wine in the skins will be emptied into the kraters. Another appearance of the trumpeter on the race-course is in the Florence cup 81600 (*Atene e Roma* 1923 p. 3), where he is playing the jockeys up to the post. For the style of the Ricketts and Shannon vase, coarse but lively, cf. a cup in Tarquinia (I, male at krater; A, satyrs and maenads; B, satyrs and donkey), a cup partly in Heidelberg (33, Kraiker pl. 6), partly in Villa Giulia (see *JHS* 51 p. 45 no. 15), and a fragment in Heidelberg (14, Kraiker pl. 3). RS. pl. 15, 1, nearly all modern, was hardly worth publishing. With RS. pl. 16, 4 cf. Copenhagen inv. 6442 (*CV* pl. 167, 6).

J. D. BEAZLEY.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum : Italia 13 =**

**Florence 2.** By DORO LEVI. Pp. 68; pl. 48. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1938.

The second fascicule of the Florence Corpus is specially welcome because most of the vases in that fine collection are unpublished. Here we have nearly all the Attic rf. vases exhibited in the upper rooms, except the cups. The photographs are not very well reproduced. Some of them are printed double (though without extra



charge). Many of the negatives seem to have been painted up in order to abolish the highlights, which is unnecessary. There is a tendency, as in many quarters, to distort the figures by taking the photograph from too low so as to show the heads better. In spite of these defects, for which the author is not responsible, the volume is a boon.

4017 (pl. 25, 4) and 4018 (pl. 25, 5) are by the painter of Dresden 312; 4010 (pl. 25, 6) by the Epimedes painter, see *JHS* 59 p. 150 on Brussels CV III Id pl. 7, 3. With 4020 (pl. 25, 7) cf. the Nolans Munich 2332 and 2337. 4021 (pl. 31, 5) is in the manner of the Tarquinia painter (painter of Tarquinia RC 1121). 4012 (pl. 31, 6) is by the Ariana painter, so called from a column-krater in Geneva, once in the Villa Ariana (phot. Giraudon 4027, Amazonomachy); for other works of his see *JHS* 54 p. 92 on Würzburg 528. 'End of the fifth century' seems late for 4052 (pl. 31, 7). The calyx-krater 4226 (pl. 36, 1-2) is published in Overbeck *KM* pl. 12, 26: such small parts of it as are genuine recall the Berlin painter. The column-krater by the Eucharides painter, 3990 (pl. 38, 1 and pl. 40, 1-2) can be augmented: first, by the fragment CV pl. 8 B2 (attributed to the artist in *Campana Fragments* p. 15), which gives the missing part of the left-hand satyr; and secondly by a good big fragment in Goettingen (attributed to him by Martin Robertson), which gives part of the warrior and women to the right on the obverse. 4009 (pl. 45, 1) is by the painter of London E489; 4023 (pl. 46, 4) is a late work of the painter of the Florence Centauromachy. The fragments CV pl. 14 B5, assigned to Hermonax in *Campana Fragments*, prove to belong to the signed Hermonax stamnos 3995 (pl. 52, 1-5), and one of them has now been inserted, together with a third fragment, recognised by Neri, which gives part of Tithonos' lyre. The hydria 3984 (pl. 57, 1) is closely connected with two others of the same type, one in the Scala at Milan (*Coll. B. et C.* pl. 21, 155), the other Berlin 2176 (Johansen II. fig. 29), and may be by the same hand. The fragment CV pl. 13 B9 was seen by Neri to belong to the hydria 3983 (pl. 57, 2) and has now been added. The well-known pyrrhic hydria 4014 (pl. 57, 4 and pl. 59) belongs to the group of Polygnotos. The dancer to the right on pl. 59, 3 wears a brassière like the pyrrhichists on the Copenhagen hydria CV pl. 156, which resembles the Florence one, for subject, in some respects. 3996 (pl. 66, 1) is in the manner of the Aegisthus painter. 3933 (pl. 71, 1) is to be completed by the fragments CV pl. 20 B31. In *JHS* 59 p. 150 the pyxis

4217 (pl. 71, 14) was intended to be compared with the Bonn pyxis 769 and *Moses Vases from the Collection of Sir Henry Englefield* pl. 31, 2, but the printer made nonsense by omitting the reference to the Bonn *Corpus* pl. 27, 4-5.

For the facts about the ascription of 3982 (pl. 1, 1 and pl. 2) to Myson, which are not stated quite clearly, see *Pan-Maler* p. 22.

J. D. B.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum: Italia 14 = Museo Nazionale di Palermo 1.** By J. MARCONI BOVIO. Pp. 23; pl. 49. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1938.

The first Palermo instalment gives most of the earlier cf. vases. The descriptions are careful and accurate. The pictures are on the whole good, but it is evident that the reproduction has fallen short of the photography. An excellent point is that the vases have all been cleaned before photographing.

Pl. 3 (misprinted 4), no. V 657, is in the manner of the Epeleios painter, cf. *Cab. Méd.* 511 (De Ridder pl. 21 and pp. 384-5) and Florence 3951. Pl. 4 (misprinted 3), 4: I was wrong in attributing the Eros riding a dolphin to Oltos. Pl. 6, no. V 652; the interior recalls Oltos, but the exterior does not. Pl. 7, 1-4, is ascribed to Epiktetos himself in *BSR* 11 p. 16 note 3. Pl. 7, 5 (misprinted 4 in the text) is the fragment attributed to Oltos in *Att. V.* p. 17 no. 75. Pl. 9: Chelis group, see *Campana Fragments* p. 7 on pl. 1 B17. Pl. 10 is not attributed to the Triptolemos painter in *Att. V.* p. 155, but said to be related to him: it now seems to me to be a very early Makron, like Munich 2617 and Tarquinia 698. Pl. 12, in the manner of the Brygos painter, is by the Castelgiorgio painter (see *Campana Fragments* p. 33 no. 12). Pl. 15: the cleaning revealed the signature. Pl. 16, 2, is not the fragment attributed to the Lewis painter in *Att. V.* p. 150 no. 24, which is from a skyphos not a cup: the cup-fragment pl. 16, 2 is in the manner of the Telephos painter, cf. the Czartoryski cup 80 (*Vases in Poland* pl. 8, 3 and pl. 17, 2; CV pl. 37, 1). The two cups pls. 17-18 have now been published by Mrs. Marconi Bovio herself in *Le arti* pls. 149-150, and rightly placed in the neighbourhood of the Pistoxenos painter. Pl. 20, 2-3 (V 668) is assigned to the Brygos painter, as a late work, in Caskey *Attic Vase Paintings in Boston* p. 21 note 1. Pl. 21, 1: the name is written Τ-ΜΙΝΙΔΕΝ. The description of pl. 21, 3 appears to be omitted. Pl. 22, 6 is near pl. 22, 7-8 and the painter of Athens 12778, recalls also the Kaineus painter (see on



pl. 45, 1-2). Pl. 22, 9 is by the Bowdoin painter. The two lekythoi pl. 23, 1 and pl. 23, 5-6 are also related to the Bowdoin painter, as the author observes, and may have been made in his workshop, but are not from his hand, and also recall the painter of Dresden 312. Pl. 24, 7 is no. 21 in the list of works by the Bowdoin painter, *Att. V.* p. 137. Pl. 24, 5-6 is by the Flying Angel painter. On the painter of pl. 25, 2 and 5 see *V. Pol.* p. 79, addendum to p. 19. Pl. 25, 3-4 is attributed to the painter of the Paris Gigantomachy in Caskey *AVP in Boston* p. 26. Pl. 26, 1 and 4-5 may be counted as belonging to the Mannerist group. Pl. 27, 1-3 is a coarse late imitation of the Berlin painter (*Berliner Maler* p. 18 no. 80). Pl. 27, 4 is by the Achilles painter. I am now inclined to give pl. 28, 1-2 to the Pan painter himself (*Pan-Maler* p. 23 no. 30). Pls. 29-30 has escaped cleaning. Better pictures of pl. 34 in *Pan-Maler* pls. 31-2 and pl. 27, 2. Pl. 37, 4 is from V 780, not V 779. Pl. 41 is rightly ascribed to the Pan painter by the author. Pl. 44: the Iliupersis painter is the late (early classical) phase of the Tyszkiewicz painter. Pl. 45, 3 is the reverse of V 792 (pl. 46, 1-2); pl. 46, 3 is the reverse of V 786 (pl. 45, 1-2). The artist of V 786 (pl. 45, 1-2 and pl. 46, 3: already published by Raffaello Politi in 1841, *Spiegazione di cinque vasi di premio* pl. 6) may be called the Kaineus painter after this vase: by the same, another column-krater from Agrigento, no. 15 in the museum there, and probably a third in Stockholm with Dionysos, two satyrs, and a maenad. I wonder if we may emend 'dorso' to 'torso' in the description, p. 21 line 3? V 792 (pl. 46, 1-2 and pl. 45, 3), also published in Politi's *vasi di premio*, pl. 1, might be a very late work of the Harrow painter. The author follows Dr. Pace (*Dioniso* 3 p. 162) in supposing the subject to be a shoemaker's shop, which had already occurred to Politi:—'Stanno alla parete . . . appesi duo balsamari, tre scarpe, ed una specie di tintinnabolo; quindi Lettor mio sei in tua piena liberissima facoltà di giudicar quelle figure un Ciabattino colle sue ciabette e caraffe di cerotto, approvato per la Società d'Encouragement de Paris; un Sagrestano colla sua Campana; un' Insalatara venditrice, o tutt'altra, patteggiante innanti la sua bottega.' The objects are sandals, sponge, shoes, alabastron, and doubtless belong to the lady, who is sitting in her house and receiving a visit from an older and a younger admirer. Pl. 48 (Politi *op. cit.* pls. 4-5) is certainly connected with the Boreas painter, as Mrs. Marconi Bovio says, though not from his hand.

J. D. B.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum : France 14 = Paris, Musée du Louvre 9.** By N. PLAOUTINE. Pp. 64; pl. 48. Paris: Champion, 1938.

This is an excellent instalment of the corpus. The contents are varied, and one of the most important parts is the publication of the 'Caeretan' hydriai, which are described carefully and well illustrated, with numerous close-ups. It is always said that all 'Caeretan' hydriai were found at Cervetri, but Mr. Plaoutine, who perhaps knows more about the nineteenth-century history of vases than any one else, shows that this is by no means certain, and that some of them may be from Vulci. To the mentions of III Fa pls. 11-12 add Johansen *Iliaden i tidlig graesk Kunst* pp. 89 and 123. E 696 is stated to be unrestored, but is there not repainting in the patternwork (pl. 2, 6-7)? The face drawn underneath the foot was evidently done by an amateur when the master's back was turned.

Less dazzling, but useful in a quiet way, are plates devoted to the East Greek cups (II d), and to the Etruscan imitations of Corinthian (III Cb), which are accurately distinguished from true Corinthian.

III Ca pl. 32, 1 and 5-10: Payne did not say that the style of this Corinthian vase recalled the Affecter, but only that there was an 'artificial primitiveness in the faces' which recalled him.

A recent addition to the collection is a very pretty Little Master cup of unusual type, CA 2918 (III He pl. 84, 1-5). Mr. Plaoutine says that it recalls Amasis: it is indeed an early work by the Amasis painter, as Mr. Vanderpool has since made clear (*Hesperia* 8 p. 255).

In III He pl. 89, 1-3, Pottier interpreted πριος as πριον not πριω.

III Id, Attic rf. The hydria M6 (pl. 54, 6-7), recalls the Kleophon painter and is by the same hand as the hydria Athens 1480 (CC 1251). M5 (pl. 54, 9 and 12) is in the manner of Polygnotos.

The volume is dedicated to the memory of Edmond Pottier.

J. D. B.

**Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum : Deutschland 3 = Munich 1.** By REINHARD LULLIES. Pp. 38; pl. 52. Munich: Beck, 1939.

Good photographs, well reproduced, and on one side of the paper only, which must add to the cost; careful descriptions, with some apt stylistic comparisons; useful indexes. The vases have been systematically cleaned before photographing, and it is a disgrace that this has not been the rule in the *Corpus*.

Dr. Lullies begins with Attic bf., and publishes



all the 'one-piece' amphorae in Munich. The earliest in the collection are the 'horse-heads' 1360-1362 and 1363. The central class consists of the vases belonging to Group E (1380, 1382, 1394, 1396, 1397); 1381 is related to the group. 1378 seems to be a slight work by a rather older artist, the Princeton painter: and so does a second vase (not the name-piece) in Princeton, an amphora with a god seated between winged goddesses and youths. Brussels R 279, the amphora with the old wives marketing (*CV* pl. 16, 5) is probably also by him. Another large group is by the Swing painter (1385, 1386, 1387, 1395, 1411). A new vase by him in the Rochdale Museum has just been published by Webster and Charlton (*Memoirs of the Manchester Literary Society* 83 pl. 2). 1375, as well as 1401, is by the painter of Berlin 1686. A fine amphora by this artist, Faina 73, is now figured in *RM* 53 pl. 22 and pl. 23, 1: this takes with it, as I noted in *BSA* 32 p. 11, the London amphora B 197: both turn out to be early work by the painter of Berlin 1686. 1379, as Lullies observes, somewhat recalls this painter: it may also be compared with an amphora in Capt. Spencer-Churchill's collection, which has Herakles and the Lion on both sides. 1367, 1368, and 1369 belong to the group of the painter of Louvre F6, who was a companion of Lydos: I perceive that two of them bear a red dipinto LV, and that an amphora by the painter of F6 himself, Vatican 314 (Albizzati pl. 37 and p. 109) has the same mark; but lay no stress on this. Another group (put together by Lullies) consists of 1393 and 1398; 1370; 1373 and 1374. Madrid 10922 (*CV* d pl. 2, 3) is by the same as 1393 and 1398; and Louvre F5 (*CV* pl. 10, 8 and pl. 11, 2) by the same as 1373 and 1374: both comparisons made by Lullies. 1364 and 1365 are old-fashioned vases with animal pictures. With 1371 compare Louvre F3 (*CV* pl. 10, 3 and 6) and Vatican 346 (Albizzati pl. 43). For 1400, a decent little vase, see the review of the Cambridge *Corpus*, on RS pl. 1, 1. It also bears some resemblance to the horseman amphora 1402. Another good vase is 1403: a replica of this, by the same hand, and much better preserved, was in the St. Audries collection (*Cat. Sotheby* 23 Feb. 1920, pl. 1, 1). These two stand apart from the mass of bf. amphorae, and so do those by the Amasis painter (1389) and the Affecter (1405).

Of the late amphorae, contemporary with the rf. work of Euphronios and younger masters, 1406, 1413, 1414, 1416, 1417 are rightly ascribed to the Leagros group by Lullies. 1417 may be compared with the Holford hydria *Cat. Sotheby*

July 11, 1927 pl. 10 (Achilles and Ajax playing), 1406 with an amphora formerly in Dr. Hirsch's possession (A, Apollo seated with Dionysos, woman, and Hermes; B, Dionysos and Ariadne with satyrs). 1412 is not, I feel sure, by the Madrid painter, but by an artist whose works are given in *JHS* 54 p. 91 on Würzburg 182, the Long Nose painter as anyone who goes through the list will wish to call him.

1364: Jahn gives a graffito not mentioned here. In 1414 (pl. 49, 1) one horse is branded on the rump with a caduceus: see Haspels *ABL* p. 62 and add the Berlin skyphos figured by Blümel, *Sport der Hellenen* p. 25. J. D. B.

**Mnemosynon Theodor Wiegand.** Pp. 100; 36 pl. and 17 figs. Munich: Bruckmann, 1938. *RM.* 24: in cloth, *RM.* 27.50.

The manuscript of this *Festschrift* was presented to Wiegand five years ago; some of the illustrations have since been published elsewhere, but the material is otherwise fresh. The contents are: H. Gundert, *Der alte Pindar*, a literary essay. W. Peek, *Metrische Inschriften* (of little intrinsic interest) and a Thessalian sacred cave. O. Uenze, *Ein absolutes Datum innerhalb des Ablaufs der Schnurkeramik*, on sherds from Eutresis of c. 1950 B.C. J. F. Crome, *Löwenbilder des siebenten Jahrhunderts*, illustrates water-spouts and the Corfu statue, which he decides did not belong to the tomb of Menekrates. H. U. von Schoenebeck, *Ein hellenistisches Schalenornament*, finds Pergamene elements in marble fragments of the Museo Mussolini, which he compares with Neo-Attic craters and earlier decorative work in several materials—not proven, I should say. J. Werner, *Italisches und koptisches Bronze-geschirr des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts nordwärts der Alpen*, seeks especially for evidence of German trade with Lombardy. Bruno Meyer, *Das goldene Tor in Konstantinopel*, supplements Part I of the *Landmauer*, giving evidence that the Golden Gate, as added to the town walls shortly after 425, consisted of the three-door passage and its flanking towers, while the wall closing the outer side of the court is mediaeval, with an entrance rebuilt several times. Towards the close of the fourteenth century the Gate was converted into a sort of keep, and finally it was incorporated in the larger Turkish castle.

A. W. LAWRENCE.

**The Greek Aulos.** By KATHLEEN SCHLESINGER. Pp. 1 + 577; pl. 18. London: Methuen, 1939. £2 2s.

Miss Schlesinger has devoted her wide knowledge of musical instruments, ancient and



modern, to the study of the Greek aulos; she has measured and calculated, has made and played facsimiles, testing them with various kinds of mouthpiece. For this is the crux of the problem. The aulos was not a flute, but a reed-blown pipe. Was the reed single or double? The author's conclusion is that it was both: that the primitive double-reed gradually yielded place to the single-reed, which gave greater scope to virtuosity; and the latter she equates with the *εὐρύξ* to which certain mysterious passages refer as to part of the aulos.

All the mechanical and acoustical problems of the instrument are exhaustively discussed, and Miss Schlesinger's conclusions deserve and will receive the closest attention. They are not, however, the most distinctive feature of the book. For her the aulos (and its congeners in all countries and ages) is not one instrument among many, but the instrument which has both originated and recorded a scale system of universal scope and validity. It is a fact that wood-wind instruments have commonly been bored with approximately equidistant holes. The result is a scale the intervals of which become gradually larger as it ascends. If the distance between holes is an aliquot part of the effective length of the pipe (including the mouthpiece), the resulting intervals can be expressed by super-particular ratios: *e.g.*, if the effective length of the pipe is 11 units and the distance between holes is 1 unit, the pipe-lengths producing successive notes will be 11, 10, 9, 8, etc., units, and the interval-ratios will be 11/10, 10/9, 9/8, etc. Miss Schlesinger holds that there are seven fundamental scales of this character, distinguished by different aliquot divisions of the pipe-length, which have arisen more or less independently all over the world, but were reduced to a coherent system by the Greeks.

The Greek modes or Harmoniai were not, then, species of a uniform scale comprising at most four sizes of interval, but highly distinctive systems in which no two intervals were the same, each interval in the upward succession tending to be slightly larger than its predecessor. The most 'perfect' example of the working of the principle is the Mixolydian, the notes (expressed as pipe-lengths) of which are as follows: 14, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7. In other cases an eight-note octave scale can be obtained only by boring some of the holes at half the normal distance. Thus the Dorian is as follows: 22 (11), 20 (10), 18 (9), 16 (8), 14 (7), 13, 12 (6), 11. In these Harmoniai two notes are of special importance: the lowest, which acts as a tonic, and *Mese* (*μεσὴ ὀκτάημις*), which varies in position from

scale to scale, is always expressible as 8 or 16 in the numerical scheme, and the varying relation of which to the tonic (*e.g.*, 8:14=4:7 in the Mixolydian, 8:11 in the Dorian) gives the Harmonia its characteristic flavour.

Clearly, this is a revolutionary theory. What is its general musical probability? It implies a prodigious fineness of ear which can distinguish *e.g.* minor, major and septimal tones in succession within the same scale and can appreciate a variety of small intervals for their own sakes and not as 'differences' of larger intervals. The simpler intervals, found early in the harmonic series, of course occur in Miss Schlesinger's scales, but are on the whole less prominent than intervals derived from its higher octaves; *e.g.*, the first and characteristic tetrachord of the Dorian is bounded by a sharp fourth (8:11) instead of the perfect fourth (9:12=3:4). Is not a scale with no two intervals alike impossibly restless? Can the tonic-Mese relationship provide an adequate point of rest for the ear and mind? Admittedly, wind-instruments with (approximately) equidistant holes tend to produce such scales, but these are alien to the voice and to strings. Is it likely that wind-instruments were able to impose their will on other common forms of musical expression? One reader of this book feels doubtful if, even in wind-instruments, the disposition of the holes was, after all, of exclusive importance, in view of the many possibilities of modifying intonation that the author herself discusses.

On what evidence is the theory based? (1) On the investigation of pipes from many parts of the world. In particular, Miss Schlesinger has made facsimiles of the Elgin auloi, and has tested them with a variety of different mouthpieces. With a mouthpiece of suitable character at a suitable extrusion they will give representatives of her Harmoniai. Were they originally designed to give them? Perhaps—if her theory is tenable on other grounds. The evidence is, of course, cumulative. (2) On scientific records of folk music. Many of these records can be readily accommodated to the Harmoniai (although some accommodation is generally necessary). Their bizarre intervals present a genuine problem to the investigator, and the comparative musicologists must decide if Miss Schlesinger has solved it. (3) On ancient literary evidence. But the bulk of ancient theory obviously deals with quite a different scale-system. Miss Schlesinger admits this, but finds reminiscences of her modal system where she can: in isolated sentences of Aristotle and Aristides, in a corrupt thirteenth-century



MS., in the polemics of Aristoxenus against his predecessors, and in the Greek notations. Too often her interpretations are based on a complete misunderstanding of the context, or else they assume what should be proved. A lucid explanation of the notations would be welcome, but hers will not work out without modifications which destroy confidence.

Miss Schlesinger's theories cannot be dismissed with a sceptical first judgement: they will be studied with the care that her learning and ingenuity deserve. Whatever the ultimate verdict upon her modal theory, her untiring research into the behaviour of wind-instruments will remain of permanent value.

R. P. WINNINGTON-INGRAM.

**Euripides' *Electra*.** By J. D. DENNISTON. Pp. xliv + 225. Oxford University Press, 1939. 7s. 6d.

In editing the *Electra* Mr. Denniston, unlike Mr. Page in his *Medea*, keeps to the plan of this series in printing Murray's Oxford Text, with which, however, he frequently disagrees in the commentary.

In the introduction, which is greatly indebted to Jebb's edition of Sophocles' *Electra* and to Pohlenz's *Griechische Tragödie*, several problems call for treatment.

The legend is traced from its literary beginnings in the *Odyssey*, where Clytaemnestra plays a subordinate rôle and is not even certainly killed by Orestes, through the Epic Cycle, where the *Cypria* adds the sacrifice of Iphigenia at the prompting of Calchas, the *Nostoi* Clytaemnestra as helping in the actual murder, and the *Aethiopis* the idea at any rate of purification from blood-guilt. From this it is a short step to making Apollo enjoin the vengeance. In the lyric *Oresteia* of Stesichorus, popular at Athens in the fifth century, Clytaemnestra's dream about the snake is added, and most important, the Eumenides themselves. Pindar and Aeschylus bring Clytaemnestra into the foreground. In this account Mr. Denniston seems to have sailed resolutely past the sirens of anthropology and comparative law, whose Marxian music adds so much to the interest of Professor Thomson's recent *Oresteia of Aeschylus*. To do so, in an edition on this scale, was perhaps wise, though in treating anything so social as Greek tragedy, even as individualised by Euripides, he might have unstopped one ear in a footnote.

We come then to the *Choephoroe* of Aeschylus and the *Electra* of Sophocles. Euripides' innovation of *Electra*'s forced marriage of reason to the unexceptionable farmer is recognised as an ex-

cuse for greater realism about petty annoyances, though these are exaggerated, but it is also taken as a device to bring Orestes to a meeting without a romantic escapade. Moreover, the farmer is needed, like the nurse in the *Choephoroe*, as an ordinary decent human being in a tense mad-house. Finally the horror of matricide, as Pohlenz observes, is increased by placing it not in heroic surroundings, but in everyday life. It is pointed out that Sophocles and Euripides both include a formal sophistic *Agon* between *Electra* and Clytaemnestra, while Aeschylus has only a short dramatic argument. But Aeschylus and Euripides agree in killing Aegisthus first, and in making Clytaemnestra's death the climax, and they also agree in their view of the matricide, if not of some of its justifications, while Sophocles recurs to an earlier view. For the first two the deed is a hideous crime, which Aeschylus excuses with his elaborate theodicy, while Euripides in this and other plays suggests that Apollo was a fool or a devil to urge it. Both make Orestes mad; Euripides makes him the more seriously distraught before the deed, and needing support and guidance. Sophocles, on the other hand, takes it as a just retribution, with no horrors for Orestes, and Mr. Denniston sees no reason to accept Dr. Sheppard's view that the Eumenides are really waiting at the end of Sophocles' *Electra* also. In Sophocles Apollo does no more than advise on the method of the murder which Orestes has already decided to carry out; in the other two he is the prime mover, though his orders are not Orestes' only spur. But they all agree that Clytaemnestra deserved to die, whatever the usual rights and duties of her slayer and whatever the divine government of the world. On the last topic Pohlenz has some observations, which Mr. Denniston might have developed, on the notion of *τύχη* in Euripides. In Euripides the theodicy of Aeschylus is discarded, and the characters, which had there appeared rather as points in a general structure like the anatomy of the will as revealed in Hardy's *Dynasts*, are conceived, more in the modern manner, as fallible individuals, the sport of *τύχη*, to whose ill-treatment superstition only adds, and against which the Hellenistic philosophers, here foreshadowed, were to try to arm mankind.

The characters, as persons, are well discussed, though if it was necessary to compare Orestes with any figure of later drama, it would have been better to follow Murray in mentioning Hamlet. This would be apposite, not only because the stories treated by Shakespeare and the Greek dramatists have the same origin in religion and ritual, but because the hesitancy of



Euripides' *Orestes* is extraordinarily like that of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Indeed, without good helper and advisers, he too might have been so inefficient as to be killed. And Clytaemnestra in this play is a more sympathetic character—like Gertrude, whose death, however, is not part of *Hamlet*'s revenge. Among the other characters the Chorus are treated with particular care here and in the notes. Finally *Electra* is carefully contrasted with the *Electra* of Sophocles, and it is shown that in human terms she is the moving spirit of the revenge, personally conceived and full of passion, but without the steady courage and resolution of Sophocles' heroine. Euripides called his play after her to show her in ruthless action. Sophocles has to exhibit within the limits of the legend an ideal character. As an aristocrat in reduced circumstances, Euripides' *Electra* is even a little ridiculous in her complaints about rags and dirt, as is pointed out unsparingly in the notes.

Mr. Denniston follows the usual view in dating the play by ll. 1347–8 as contemporary with the relief expedition to Sicily in 413. The considerable literature on its relations to Sophocles' *Electra* is not held to have established any definite conclusion, but after discussion of the views of Wilamowitz, Steiger, Owen and others, the verdict is tentatively given that Euripides' play was the later. In a section on the Text Laurentianus xxxii.2. (L) is agreed to be better than Laurentianus *Conv. Suppr.* 172. (P), but L, the Byzantine corrector of L., is shown to have received too much respect in the commentary. Most readers will agree with Mr. Denniston where he differs from Murray. There are long discussions of certain points, such as the implied criticism of Aeschylus in the ἀναγνώρισις of 520–84, and the ritual of sacrifice in 791 ff. In the former Murray's contention is accepted that the *σημεία* were canonical and could not be dropped, but not his further claim that *Electra* rejects them from nervous terror of disappointment rather than Euripidean scepticism. There is a full metrical appendix, and a few more notes are included in *addenda*.

As a work of literary and linguistic scholarship this edition shows the highest quality. I have only indicated some other points which interest me as needing more treatment; to others these may appear irrelevant. E. D. PHILLIPS.

**Sophocles and Aretê.** By JOHN A. MOORE.

Pp. xii + 78. Harvard University Press, 1938. 6s.

This little book of 78 pages, although some of the ground covered is familiar, is well worth

reading. Its main purpose is to show that the serenity of Sophocles is not, as sometimes suggested, due to moral callousness or to easy acquiescence in shallow solutions. Sophocles, the author suggests, met the challenge of the sophists, which had shaken accepted standards, not by closing his eyes to evil, but by setting up a standard of Aretê more searching than the old, as something which gives life value, though it cannot ensure happiness. And against the sophists he shows in the case of Neoptolemus and elsewhere 'that man's *physis* is not fulfilled, by seeking its *εὐμαίρον*; it is fulfilled by seeking *ἀρετή*'. Besides his main thesis the author has some useful points—e.g., in his penetrating estimate of Euripides and in his protest against the habit of looking for an Aristotelean *δυσπρία* in every play of Sophocles. F. R. EARP.

**Die METABOLAH (Variatio) als Stilprinzip des Thukydides** (*Rhetorische Studien, Ergänzungsband I*). By JAN ROS, S. J. Pp. xxiv + 512. Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1938. RM. 14.

Students of ancient literary criticism in its more technical aspects have had reason to feel gratitude to Prof. Drerup for the series of dissertations that have appeared under his general editorship. The present volume is a worthy successor to the earlier studies. In it Dr. Ros has attempted a thoroughgoing examination of the principle of variation in language as a 'Grundelement' in the architectonic of Thucydides' composition. His investigation falls into two parts.

In the first (pp. 1–85), a brief discussion of the general characteristics of Thucydides' style and of modern criticism precedes a careful and valuable *résumé* of: (1) the views of the Greek and Roman rhetoricians on the nature and function of μεταβολή, (2) the comments of ancient critics, especially Dionysius of Halicarnassus, on Thucydides, (3) the uses of the term μεταβολή as a figure of language, of its subdivisions and of related technical terms. In this section of the work, the method of reference to texts (e.g., the citation of both Walz and Spengel, and of later editions of individual rhetoricians, where these have appeared) is convenient and helpful.

The second part (pp. 86–450) is devoted to a detailed and well-arranged classification, with copious examples, of the forms of variation found in Thucydides. There are seven main types, each with numerous subdivisions. I. Variation secured by distinctions in form or meaning. II. Variation of words of the same



class, i.e., of synonyms in a wide sense. III. Variation of words of different classes. In the chapter dealing with this type, a further subdivision should have been made in the paragraph (p. 160) headed 'Beide Wortarten mit Artikel,' so as to distinguish examples like τὰ . . . ναυτικά . . ., τὰ τε παλαιὰ καὶ τὰ ὀσπερον γινόμενα from such as τὸ βραδύ καὶ μέλλον. IV. Constructio ad sententiam. V. Variation in gender, number, and case. VI. Variation in person, voice, tense, and mood. VII. Variation in construction. Throughout these chapters the author is careful to mention textual variants and editorial conjectures.

In a final chapter (pp. 451-63) he first sums up the results of his detailed inquiry. Then he indicates his own conception of the value of the study of μεταβολή for textual criticism. Here he is at first fairly reasonable. 'Nur ein genaues Studium der verschiedenen Arten der bei Thuk. vorkommenden μεταβολαί wird uns helfen können, den überlieferten Text gegen voreilige Konjekturen zu verteidigen oder aber bei abweichender Lesart der Hss. mit grösserer Wahrscheinlichkeit der ursprünglichen Text festzustellen' (p. 458). But he proceeds to a conclusion which does too little justice to other criteria. Lastly an attempt is made to answer the question 'What was Thucydides' intention in the use of μεταβολή?'

In addition to a very full list of contents, Dr. Ros has given an ample bibliography (but without much sign of a knowledge of British or American work) and indices, of which the first will be invaluable for reference to the passages of Thucydides discussed, the second and third will please all who are interested in the use by ancient authors of the technical terms of literary criticism, and the fourth, consisting of a list of the verbs cited on pp. 299-337 ('Wechsel zwischen Indik. Imperf. und Aor.'), is useful for grammarians.

The book is well-produced and misprints are few. The following should be corrected: p. 97 Andodikes, p. 129 'Auch noch I 12, 2 ἢ τε γὰρ ἀναχώρησις . . . πολλά ἐνέδχρωσε . . . wonon νεοχμεῖν wieder bei Thuk. ἀπαξ εἰρημένον ist' (but νεοχμοῦν p. 321 and in the index), p. 167 προβελιεύσας, p. 199 παρεκτελεσάμενος, p. 258 ἀναλωκίλας, p. 274 ὑπαναλοῦν (but ὑπαναλλοκίαν p. 301 and in the index).

J. F. LOCKWOOD.

**Antiphon's Eerste Rede. Met vertaling en commentaar.** By SIMON WIJNBERG. Pp. 162. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1938.

This edition of Antiphon's speech *Against the*

*Stepmother* was submitted as a doctoral dissertation in the University of Groningen. The text is based mainly on the Teubner edition of Blass, as revised by Thalheim in 1914, with some use of Jernstedt and Gernet. The introduction consists of (i) an analysis, (ii) a discussion of the charge, and (iii) an estimate of the significance of the speech.

In (i) it is pointed out that after the *exordium* in 1-4 we do not find the *narratio* following immediately, but 5-13 is occupied instead by an *argumentatio*, intended to discredit the speaker's opponents before a single fact of the case is stated by either side. Particular emphasis is laid on the unwillingness of the defence to submit slaves for examination under torture. Only then does the *narratio* begin, of the poisoning of the accuser's father and his friend Philoneos by the neglected stepmother, who used Philoneos' concubine, threatened with the brothel, as her agent: and when it does come, the weak points are less obvious to a jury already prejudiced in favour of the prosecution. In the *narratio*, as Wilamowitz saw, there was the widest scope for plausible invention, since all who had been present at the poisoning were dead, the concubine having been tortured on the wheel and executed. But it is not made clear that the household slaves were privy to the final and successful attempt, whatever they may have known of earlier ones; yet they must have been if the *argumentatio* was right in throwing suspicion on the speaker's half-brothers for refusing to produce them. The sophistic style of the *confirmatio* is finally noted.

In (ii), the most interesting section, an attempt is made to pierce the veil which Antiphon casts over the facts. Wilamowitz and Thiel have made it probable that the speaker was a bastard, and not, therefore, the co-heir with his half-brothers, who alone had legal ownership of the slaves which they could not be forced to produce. Though the Byzantine *ὁμόθετος* says that the accuser's mother was the first wife of his father, it is at least odd that he never uses the word *μητρική* of the stepmother (except in 19 for its traditional association with cruelty), but always calls her *μήτηρ ἀδελφῶν*, and he never defines but only implies his relationship to her. To call her stepmother at the beginning would have made a bad impression, and his position as a bastard was extremely delicate, nor could he really produce the slaves as he claimed. When the concubine was tortured she said that she had believed the poison, which she administered to both men at the farewell feast, to be a love-philtre. The father, who did not die



at once as Philoneos did, began to suspect his wife when on his death-bed later, and charged his bastard son with the vengeance, as stated, but there was never any positive proof that the wife was behind the concubine. The latter gave a much stronger dose to Philoneos than to the father, who was probably at the feast by accident and not by arrangement, as Antiphon reports, for the farewell was to be between Philoneos and herself only. The concubine's confession, which would be much more important than the slaves' evidence, is passed over by Antiphon, whose case it cannot have strengthened, and yet she alone could definitely incriminate the stepmother. The slaves, on the other hand, are not mentioned as called to the father's death-bed, with the speaker, and may well have been ignorant of the whole affair, as the defence claimed.

At the beginning of (iii) it is contended that this speech, far from being unworthy of Antiphon because of the extreme weakness of the case, is for that very reason a brilliant piece of work which established its author's reputation as a practical *λογογράφος* as well as a trained sophist. From the literary point of view we may justly call it a small tragedy, and certainly the style and atmosphere suggest Aeschylus. The language and manner show the influence of Gorgias in antithesis and parallelism, but the use of *μὲν* and *καὶ* is hardly that of developed periodic prose.

The translation, so far as may be judged from an imperfect acquaintance with Dutch, is accurate, if a little verbose, though at the end of 4 *πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον* should be 'tot U en tot het recht' and not simply 'tot het recht.' The notes are full, and perhaps overloaded with grammatical and other linguistic matter, though such is the principal aim of the book. There is a useful bibliography and an index of words and phrases. E. D. PHILLIPS.

**Xénophon Helléniques IV-VII.** By J. HATZFELD. Pp. 269. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1939. 40 frs.

**Du Sublime.** By HENRI LEBÈGUE. Pp. xxvii + 71. Paris: Association G. Budé: Les Belles Lettres, 1939. 18 frs.

In the second volume of the Budé *Hellenica* M. Hatzfeld completes in the same style the useful work begun in the first, noticed in *JHS* 1938 Pt II, p. 284. Notes are appended to the translation on points of difficulty or inadequacy in the narrative, with ancient *testimonia* where these are available. There are also supplementary notes on the same scale, added, presumably, after the rest was finished. There is a full

historical and geographical index, and a map of Greece and western Asia Minor showing all important cities and territorial boundaries.

Dropping all mention of 'Longinus' in his title, M. Lebègue has shown a like economy in his introduction to the Budé *πρὸς ὑμᾶς*. He is deeply indebted to the edition of Rhys Roberts (1907), and has also used those of Zambaldi (1915) and Photiades (1927). In section I, on the authorship, the other reasons for denying this to Cassius Longinus, minister of Zenobia, are reinforced by remarks on the very different style of the *Epitome artis rhetoricae Longini*, if he really was the author of the latter, and in section II the usual conclusion is adopted that the *πρὸς ὑμᾶς* was written in the first century A.D. by a critic of the extreme Atticists. The suggestion of Rhys Roberts, that the Anonymus may have been a Greek connected with Alexandria, and so in touch with such men as Philo, who could have informed him about Moses, is not noticed. Section III, on the manuscripts, includes a discussion of the great lacuna in IX 4, and justly rejects the argument of R. Philippson that this contained the full treatment of *πάθος* as an element in sublimity. For detailed accounts of the main heads *νόησις*, *πάθος*, *σχήματα*, *φράσις* and *σύνθεσις*, begins only at VIII, and our text resumes after the lacuna on what is still clearly *νόησις* and not *σχήματα*, which begin at XVI. IX 4-XV 12 cannot be changed, to suit the theory, into a special preliminary subdivision of *σχήματα*, on 'figures of thought,' before which *πάθος* could have fallen out. Moreover, *πάθος* sets in earnest at XLIII 12 with the last extant words. In section IV, on the character of the treatise, it is thought unlikely that the Anonymus wrote as an actual pupil of Theodorus of Gadara against Caccilius as a pupil of the rival professor Apollodorus of Pergamum. Section V, on the sources, lays great stress on the Stoics, and much is fathered on Posidonius, although it is not clear why Tacitus, Quintilian, and others who, with the Anonymus, attribute the decline of literature to loss of freedom, should not have thought of this for themselves. Recent books on Posidonius are mentioned, but reference might more usefully have been made, for Atticism and its rivals, to Wilamowitz's paper *Asianismus and Atticismus* (*Hermes* 1900), and for rhetoric and philosophy generally, to the opening chapter of von Arnim's *Dio von Prusa*. In the translation the elaborate sentences of the original have been broken up into readable French, as one can see from the celebrated opening paragraph. The author died before



seeing the book through the press, and M. Pierre Costil has taken charge of the serviceable footnotes.  
E. D. P.

**Menandri quae supersunt : i. Reliquiae in Papyris et Membranis vetustissimis servatae.** Tertium edidit A. KOERTE. Pp. lxxviii + 150. Leipzig: Teubner, 1938. RM. 5.70.

So much has been done for the text of Menander since Körte's last Teubner edition of 1912, chiefly by Körte himself, Sudhaus and Jensen, that it is proper to compare this with Jensen's edition rather than with Körte's own. The account of the Cairo papyrus is in essentials the same.<sup>1</sup> For the text, Guéraud's valuable but little-known re-examination of the Cairo papyrus, *Bull. de l'Inst. franç. d'Arch. orient.* xxvii, 1928, came into the editor's hands only after his text was set up; but its principal readings are given in the critical notes. Guéraud is far more cautious about the text than Sudhaus or Jensen, and Körte in general accepts his readings. The most important of these for the understanding of the plays is the confirmation of KAP, *Epir.* 446 (405 J.), suggested by Wilamowitz but rejected by Jensen. In general, however, there is not much that is new in the MSS. readings (Körte accepts my correction of a curiously persistent misreading in *Perik.* 225); and this is satisfactory: we have now a more reliable text. The only new fragments since Jensen are those from *Theophroromene* and *Georgos*; and Körte also gives us the prologue found in Pap. Didotiana, as restored by Herzog. He renumbers *Epileptantes* with a continuous series, and this was wise; but I wish, while he was about it, he had done it more radically. We know that l. 35 is the last of Act 1, and we are reasonably sure of the approximate length of all the later lacunae; if we gave to l. 35 the conventional number 200 and numbered all the rest accordingly, we should be safe from further change; as it is, if another fragment, however small, turns up, it will have to be done all over again.<sup>2</sup> *Perikeiromene* could be numbered in the same way, though a conventional maximum would have to be given to the lacuna at l. 397; *Samia* would have to wait till it is decided whether our first line is from Act 2 or Act 3.

In the restoration of fragmentary lines there are many changes from Jensen, not always for

the better. Jensen laid down the principle only to accept restorations of which the sense at least is reasonably certain; but he did not always follow it. Körte does the same; but while he is often more cautious and so wiser, he is at other times more confident. E.g., *Epir.* 394-5 (353-4) he is wiser (though he prints ἀρεῖς); so in 422 (381), 616-9 (552-5), *Perik.* 96-7, *Her.* 55-6. In the *Kolax* he is cautious where Jensen is confident (15-23, 36-40); confident where Jensen is cautious (4-7, 27-34; so *Kon.* 6-15, very ingeniously restored, *Fab. inc.* 6-12, 33-40); it is a mistake especially to restore in those plays of which only small fragments remain: what is the value of printing Pheidias as the speaker of *Heros* 55 ff., and restoring some lines accordingly, as Jensen does? Here Körte is a little more cautious. In other cases, where both restore, but differently, the advantage is not always with Körte: *Epir.* 24 Σι. λέγου' ἄν can hardly be right, in view of l. 29; so *Perik.* 424, *Kol.* 103 (ἐκτεβολμὸς ἄν). On the other hand, improvements (which are some of them returns to older views) are *Epir.* 15, 94 (53), 98 (57), *Perik.* 132 (Schwartz' ἀσφαλὲς γὰρ for Sudhaus' ἐκφθάρηθι, though it is very uncertain), 157 (ὅδν for οὐκ, an excellent suggestion), 207 (ἀπονοήτω K. dubitanter, which is much better than J.'s αὐθιγέστω), 301-2, 383-4, *Georg.* 31. In *Epir.* 536-7 (472-3) Körte prints Jensen's wholly uncertain and not very probable text, in a crucial scene; *Perik.* 114, his οὐν ἄρ' ἄρα, προσκυῖν is no better than οὐν ἄρα προσκυῖν; 375, he prints Jensen's τὸ λάνθανον, a despairing conjecture; 394-6 he calls *versus desperati* and he is more cautious than Jensen, but not cautious enough, and even so what he prints is very obscure (Schwartz' suggestion, not recorded by Körte, is the best yet proposed). It is not of course that all these suggestions should not be made—they may help us ultimately to reasonable certainty; but they should not be included in the text.

Sometimes restorations of very fragmentary texts are printed which involve emendation of what remains, which is wrong in principle: as *Fab. Incert.* 31, *Theoph.* 16-17 (ταρρεῖς is surely not a possible word in Menander anyhow), *Kol.* 39, *Kon.* 6-7. Where some emendation is necessary, Körte's choice is not always the happiest, as *Perik.* 367, *Sam.* 159, *Georg.* 7-8; *Phasm.* 28, τὶ δ' ἐποῖ is an unjustified change. On the other hand, in *Epir.* 302-3 (261-2) I cannot believe that οὐδ' ἐγὼ τότε, οὐπω γάρ, ἀνδρ' ἔβαν τί ἐστι can be right; Capps' συνήπαζεν receives some support from 305-6 (Pamphile was not originally one of the party which

<sup>1</sup> Coppola in his new edition (Turin, 1938) suggests some important modifications of the accepted view.

<sup>2</sup> Coppola has continuous numbering too, but different from Körte's, for he includes in it the fragments that are not in the papyri.



Habrotonon attended), and Wilamowitz' σύν δ' should be read for οὐδ' (so Jensen). *Perik.* 274: Körte's preference for L's reading is surely right.

In interpretation Körte has many fruitful suggestions, most of them improvements. He gives us an understandable scene in *Perik.* 344 ff.; and his interpretation of *Com. Flor.* is a great improvement on Jensen's; that of *Fab. incert.* is ingenious, though it must remain uncertain; so is his note on 'Ἀλκας Ἀθάνας, *Her.* 84. In *Kol.* 27-34, however, Jensen must surely be right in making Gnathon the speaker, not Pheidias; and much in the *leno's* speech remains obscure (incl. 117-8, ἡ μία λαμβάνει [ἴσον οὐχ]! δέκα, τρεῖς μνᾶς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας, which Körte presumably translates as Jensen: 'she brings in more than ten others together, three minae a day'; if ἴσον οὐχ! is right, the meaning must surely be 'practically thirteen minae'). Körte seems to be right in assuming a break at *Kol.* 13, but in that case εἴη δὲ μοι can hardly be rightly restored; for the excerpts in this papyrus begin and end with complete sentences. *Epitr.* 501 (460) ff: there should at least have been a reference to the possibility (to me a probability) that Smikrines is the speaker; 649 (585) ff.: Körte assumes one interpretation, and that an improbable one, when many are obviously possible; the puzzling lines 702-3 (627-8) he now gives to Simmias and makes them refer to Chairestratos, which seems unlikely. *Perik.* 191-3: Jensen's arrangement of the speakers is better; 231: Polemon can hardly be the speaker if (with both Körte and Jensen), we also give 229-30 to him; 276-81 Körte thinks refer not to Pataikos and Polemon (for who will suppose that the former, at least, was armed?), but to Sosias and his band, who will not have left the stage at 235; but if we must be so literal, εἰσι δ' οἱ ξῖνοι οἱ περιβόητοι Σωσίας εἰς οὗτοισι cannot refer to a number of men. In *Phasma* there is obviously a good deal to be said for the view that an *adulescens*, not a god, speaks the prologue; but it should be pointed out that it introduces a complication that is not to be found in Donatus' *argumentum* of the play. Körte still assumes that in *Samia* our l. 1 begins Act III, not II, and that with our last line we are 'clearly near the end of the play'; it seems to me very unlikely.<sup>1</sup>

There are unfortunately a large number of misprints, far larger than we associate with a Teubner edition. Some are serious, as the

omission of ὁπτιον *Perik.* 174, ἔχων for ἔχου *Kol.* 106 (103), omission of (Πα.) *Sam.* 100, of the paragraphus *Perik.* 391, 392 (so Jensen, but they are quite certain<sup>2</sup>), of the dicolon *Epitr.* 609 and *Perik.* 265 crit. nn., defective crit. nn. on *Perik.* 238, 243, λῆγειν for λ[έγειν] *Perik.* 216, Πολύμωον for [Πολύμωον] (so Jensen too) 425 crit. n., and εἰσέρχ. [Π.] should be in the margin of the text, not in the crit. n.; Sudhaus' reading is wrongly reported at *Fab. incert.* 36, Schwartz' at *Perik.* 315; two instances of εἰρηγεν in one line are not distinguished at *Epitr.* 117. Others will not mislead, such as σωφρόνα, *Epitr.* 702, a Latin for a Greek M *Perik.* 133 crit. n., ἀνδρωπ' for ἀνδρωφ' 194, no note on *actio* 397, οὐκ *Sam.* 197, ὁθρῶποι 235, ταμά *Theoph.* 17, Τίβας *Perin.* 3, διοσπότην 14. There are several smaller blunders, many in punctuation, of which one, *Perik.* 152-3, might mislead. Normally, of course, Körte does not print the dicolon in the text, but assumes its presence in the right place and absence in the wrong unless his critical note states the contrary; but in quite a number of places it does appear in the text, unsystematically, as far as I can see. Normally he gives the estimated number of lines missing in the body of the text, but in *Heros* and at *Epitr.* 41 in the critical notes; he generally uses P as the symbol for the Cairo papyrus, but sometimes C. To print now βοῆς, now βοῆς according to the vagaries of the MSS. saves space in the critical notes, and he keeps τάδουιν for τῷ ἀδουιν *Epitr.* 181; yet he changes λιμοί to λιμοί, τείμοι to τίμοι (but ὑπεκρίνατο, *Periochai* III), εἰς to ἐς where necessary. And what is the reason for printing within square brackets, just as though they had been restored, words lost in the papyri but preserved in the fragments known from other writers?

It will not be thought from these critical remarks that this is not a most welcome and valuable edition. No one has done more for Menander than Körte, and the evidence for this is shown abundantly here; but much yet remains to be done. It is good news that a second volume will contain all the remaining fragments and a complete index.

A. W. GOMME

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Goethe in seinem Verhältnis zu Aristoteles.

By KARL SCHLECHTA. Pp. 144. Frankfurt-a-M.: Vittorio Klostermann, 1939. RM. 8.

This work is rather curiously included in the

<sup>1</sup> It is only this assumption that enables him, like Jensen, to say that *Samia* cannot have preceded *Heros* in the Cairo papyrus (p. xi).

<sup>2</sup> There appears to be one under 393 too, which should be recorded in crit. n.; while I doubt that under 396.



series of 'Frankfurter Studien zur Religion und Kultur der Antike,' although it is based on a much better knowledge of Goethe than of Aristotle, and directs its attention chiefly to Goethe, with the aim of showing that he was an Aristotelian rather than a Platonist. As Goethe had little knowledge of either, it is a question of an 'inner affinity between the two sages,' recognised by Goethe when his views were formed. The book is in three parts, of which the first essays a definition of the essence of Goethe's personality and traces his development from Nature to Art and so to a conception of the Ethical ('die Entsagung ist das Sittliche an sich,' a thought which Aristotle would have been surprised to find labelled Aristotelian). Mr. Schlechta somewhat naïvely confesses to the difficulty caused by Aristotle's and Goethe's use of words like Matter, Cause, Form, in senses different from ours, but this diffidence is explained when we find *ἐνέργεια* translated 'Fähigkeit' and 'Antrieb', and *φαντασία* 'Einbildungskraft.' Goethe's lack of interest in history, politics, philosophy and religion (so like Aristotle!) is explained as only apparent, and due to Goethe's dislike of contemporary exaggerations. The second section is fuller and more interesting, since it illustrates in detail Goethe's reading of and reaction to what he knew of Aristotle, notably his theory of colour (and perhaps the problems *ὅσα περὶ χροῶν*) the Poetics, and, indirectly through Galen, his osteology. Goethe turned up the Poetics three times, c. 1765, 1797, and 1824. Mr. Schlechta can only conjecture that in 1797 Goethe was attracted by Aristotle's doctrine of the universal and possible. For 1824 we have precise information of Goethe's impressions. He was mistaken, as Mr. Schlechta shows, in his interpretation of Aristotle. But Mr. Schlechta finds a close analogy in their common conviction of the poet's independence of moral and didactic considerations. That Aristotle's *κάθαρσις* was not moral is asserted and is, in the opinion of the reviewer, mistaken, based as it is on the views of Gudemann (no other edition since 1798 is mentioned). But Goethe contradicted himself, and later spoke of the poet as a 'disguised Revivalist preacher.' Mr. Schlechta sees that Goethe frequently contradicted himself, but praises his barock-mystic, negative-positive expressions ('altjung' of Nature). Mr. Schlechta explains some of Goethe's contradictions as 'reverence for the object' and as signs of the balance and harmony of his nature, but says nothing of the gulf it opens between Goethe and Aristotle.

The third section sums up Goethe's and

Aristotle's alleged similarities in their attitude and method of Naturforschung, the *Scala naturae*, the desire of matter for form and the law of economy. Included in this list is the theory of productive imagination which Mr. Schlechta has to admit Aristotle almost never mentions. But he adds how pleased Goethe would have been to read Aristotle's definition of *φαντασία*.

What Mr. Schlechta quotes from Aristotle is indeed apt: οὗτος μὲν ὁ λόγος καθόλου λίαν καὶ κενός. οἱ γὰρ μὴ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχῶν λόγοι κενοί, ἀλλὰ θεοκοῦσιν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκ ὄντες. Goethe's and Aristotle's universal interests and special 'Neigung zur Natur' are λίαν καθόλου, (like Goethe's 'inner affinity with Chinese being') to constitute an illuminating comparison. But λίαν καθ' ἑκάστα is the solemn question 'is it an accident that both note the tendency of actors to instability?' Here the appropriate ἀρχαί are the historical facts about Aristotle's and Goethe's development and relation to their time. Mr. Schlechta quotes Jaeger, but seems to have derived from him very little sense of Aristotle's character, relation to Plato and development. For Goethe he has blind adoration. Mr. Schlechta seems to shut his eyes to the differences between them, and so only to show how far apart they were, a theme that could have been treated more clearly and briefly and in less dithyrambic language.

C. G. HARDIE.

*Mélanges Émile Boisacq* (*Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves, tomes V et VI, 1937-8*). Brussels.

These two volumes together contain 108 contributions on subjects ranging from Hittite philology to mediaeval and modern literature, and testify to the wide interests and breadth of learning of the scholar in whose honour they were compiled. The majority of papers deal with philology, etymology and lexicography, and there is hardly space to enumerate them here. Among new publications of a wider appeal are that of I. Cazzaniga, *Torbidi giudaici nell'Egitto Romano nel secondo secolo di Cristo*, a Milan papyrus forming a fascinating addition to Alexandrian anti-Semitic literature (in this document the speaker condemns anti-Semitism); M. Hombert and Cl. Préaux, *P. Bruxelles Inv. E. 7162: Extraits homériques relatifs aux lieux célestes*. N. Vulić publishes two altars from Macedonia, M. Renard a *Vase étrusque avec inscription*, L. Delatte some *Bronzes étrusques d'une collection liégeoise* (engraved mirror; mirror-box in appliqué; engraved dish). Sir George Hill, *Amathus*, sketches its primitive culture.



J. Friedrich writes on *Das hethitische Felsrelief vom Karabel bei Smyrna und seine Erwähnung bei Herodot II 106*, and S. Eitrem, 'Arcana imperii' *Horati c. I 18* (Horace is hitting at Antony, and has taken over some of the terms of Octavian's propaganda campaign). A score of contributors deal with literary and textual points.

E. G. TURNER.

**Le Culte des Muses chez les Philosophes Grecs.** By P. BOYANCÉ. Pp. 351. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1937.

While M. Boyancé was a member of the French school at Rome his attention was drawn to the representations of the Muses on certain Roman sarcophagi. Accepting the explanation of M. Franz Cumont that the Muses thus depicted were not merely the symbols of the superficial pleasures of literature and art, but spoke of the neo-Pythagorean conception of an universal 'Music,' which purifies and inspires with the hope of immortality those that receive its benefits, he proceeded to enquire into the history of this conception. The enquiry led him—and he is not unique among students of the ideas of the Roman empire in this experience—not only back to the classical age of Greece, but farther still, into the period when those ideas were formed which moulded the classical culture itself.

M. Boyancé begins his book with an attempt to answer the question: what is Orphism? and his method is to submit the description in *Republic II* 364 b and c. to a searching examination: to this he devotes the first four chapters of the first part. He argues against the commonly held opinion that in Plato's day there were two kinds of Orphism, a higher and a lower, and that Plato in the *Republic* directs his criticism against the latter alone. He asserts that the incantations and 'pleasurable rites' are essential characteristics of the Orphic cult. Thus from the Orphic thiasos he traces a direct line of descent through the Pythagorean society, in which the Muses were specially honoured, to the Academy and Peripatos, which were both, he asserts, in no formal sense societies devoted to the worship of the Muses. M. Boyancé conducts his argument with great learning and thoroughness, and his conclusions seem in general to follow. In passing he is able to throw much light on the relations between Plato and the Orphic and Pythagorean societies, and to offer a completely adequate explanation of how Plato in the *Lysis* can pass from a discussion of the nature and usefulness of wine to the topic of the education of the young and the proper organisation of the State.

J. S. MORRISON.

**Hippokrates und die Begründung der wissenschaftlichen Medizin.** By MAX POHLENZ. Pp. 120. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1938. RM. 6.

Hippocrates was not a man, nor even a god, like Asclepius, but only a library, and not all of that. Such is the impression left by the mass of Hippocratic scholarship, medical and philological, on the simple inquirer, who will turn with interest, and hope, to the short and comparatively untechnical account offered in this latest work of the versatile Professor Pohlenz.

Within limits every man must make his own Hippocrates. The ancients believed that the father of medicine left some writings, and the bulk of our Hippocratic corpus is now dated to the fifth century. Pohlenz therefore postulates that some of it was written by Hippocrates. Undismayed by the negative attitude of much modern research, which would leave us a name without writing, he takes certain works in the *Corpus*, which one or other of the best ancient authorities accepts as Hippocratic, and out of them constructs a common doctrine which seems to him worthy of a great intellect. These were written by someone whom we may call Hippocrates, and if that was not his name, it does not matter, for we are interested in the man, and not in his name. He selects *Epidemics I* and *III*, the specialist works on surgery, *Airs, Waters and Places* and *The Sacred Disease*.

The last two, as dealing with general principles, are made the starting point. Of these, the former, which he prefers to call *Umwelt*, since its title is late and spurious, falls into two sections, A (cc. 1-11) and B (cc. 12-24). There is no reason to suppose that A, which discusses the general effects of environment on the human constitution, was written by a different man from the author of B, which applies the principles of A to the inhabitants of Europe and Asia, still less that the first was an itinerant practitioner, the second a theoretical scientist. The whole is the work of a practical healer who was also fundamentally interested in general science, so that even in A he defends, as part of true medicine, the study of the heavenly bodies, the movements of which indicate changes of season. The two sections would appear in a modern book as two separate chapters, the first general and the second special, while the rougher technique of the fifth century did no more than unite them with a transitional phrase. A, comparatively abstract, and technical in places, was written as a set of rules for a travelling physician; B, intended for a wider circle, and less practical, applies the rules to definite



regions, but only *exempli causa*, for it is not a work of descriptive ethnography. The aim in both is to exhibit the *physis* of man in relation to the *physis* of the surrounding cosmos, but in B the element of *nomos* is recognised, for man is treated also as a social being. Despotism, no less than a mild and equable climate, enervates the Asiatic, while the European is braced not only by the rigours of his habitat, but also by free government. That *nomos* may affect physique too is shown by the skulls of the Macrocephali, lengthened and narrowed by artificial deformation.

Much of *Umwelt* can be paralleled from *The Sacred Disease*. But how is the statement of principles related to the account of epilepsy? In the latter the way is cleared by the famous attack on priestly obscurantism for a rational aetiology. Hereditary, and usually found in phlegmatic subjects, the disease is caused by an excess of cold phlegm in the brain, the most important organ of the body, which flows into the blood-vessels and hinders the circulation of blood and *pneuma*, or vital air. It is favoured by wet and cold weather, either permanent, or temporary, and due to a change of wind. The brain is the governing organ because it first receives the inbreathed *pneuma*, and then, retaining the finest for itself, distributes it to the rest of the body, and because it alone gathers and orders the manifold impressions of sense. In epilepsy the brain must be cured by allopathic methods, and not by ritual purification. Certain main doctrines are common to both treatises, and we may conclude that the same doctor first wrote *The Sacred Disease*, and then developed his principles in the two successive parts of *Umwelt*.

The two essays reveal a well-marked personality, particularly *The Sacred Disease*, written with youthful zest. His view of the brain is derived from Alcmaeon of Croton, to whose doctrines he adds Herodicus' classification of phlegmatic and bilious humours. Alcmaeon, a Pythagorean, believed in a separate and immortal soul; Hippocrates, though once in *Umwelt* B he uses *psyche* in a popular sense as a concession to lay readers, deliberately avoids the word elsewhere and returns to Ionian hylozoism. Life-giving *pneuma* is taken from Diogenes of Apollonia, who held that air was God. For Hippocrates the laws of nature in man and the cosmos were divine, and he travelled and read in order to learn more of them. His external circumstances are obscure. He says little of the sea, and his decisive observations were made inland, perhaps in Thessaly and

Boeotia, though he certainly travelled in Pontic regions. His style places him in the fifth century, a dating supported by such material borrowings as *pneuma* from Diogenes and hornless Scythian cows from Herodotus. A quotation from Euripides' *Hippolytus*<sup>1</sup> fixes *Umwelt* after 428. The influence of Hippocrates is traceable in Plato's *Laws* and Aristotle's *Politics*, where local and racial peculiarities are stressed as needing the lawgiver's attention. On doctors of varying schools it was naturally great, though they did not slavishly follow him. In particular Polybus, his son-in-law, developed the two humours, phlegm and bile, into the canonical four, associated with his name since Galen—cold moist phlegm, hot moist blood, warm dry yellow bile, and cold dry black bile. Polybus also distinguished not two but four main arteries. Of the other works in the *Corpus Prognostic* belongs with *Epidemics I and III*, while *Epidemics II, IV and VI* show the developed humoral doctrine of Polybus, and may be by a later hand, though Hippocrates may easily have altered his own views. Euripides in a fragment (917 Nauck<sup>2</sup>) reproduces his doctrine as he did that of Anaxagoras, and may have been his friend.

Any attempt to come nearer must be guided by Aristotle and Plato. The view of Aristotle is preserved for us in the historical summary of earlier medicine, undertaken for him by his pupil Meno in the *Iatrica*, a work reproduced in part and confusedly in the Domitianic or Trajanic papyrus *Anonymus Londinensis* 137. The author attributes to Hippocrates the view that disease is caused by the stoppage of *φύσας* throughout the body, and he supposed this word to mean gases arising from undigested food, according to a Peripatetic doctrine traceable to Diocles of Carystus. *φύσας* however, in the iatrosophistical essay, *On Breaths*, included in the *Corpus*, is explicitly stated to be *πνεύμα* in the body and *ἀήρ* outside. The genuine doctrine, behind the rhetorical populariser of the fifth century and also behind Meno, was clearly that atmospheric air was the principle of life, and this is borne out by the next paragraph of the papyrus. There man is compared to the free-moving water-plant *Stratiotes*. Comparisons of men and plants were common enough after Empedocles but this one has a particular point, which Diels<sup>3</sup> failed to see when he condemned it as sophistical nonsense. Man is 'rooted' by every organ in the air,

<sup>1</sup> Hipp 7-8. *Umw.* 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Hermes* XXVIII, 407 ff.



through which however he moves freely, just as the plant is in its water. The plant is identified with the *Stratiotes aloides* of Linnaeus, which not only floats about unattached, but stands erect with fleshy sword-like leaves to which the water penetrates. Hippocrates, it is suggested, was thinking of Diogenes, who held that man's intelligence depended on the posture which raised his head into the purer air. *Stratiotes*, standing up like a soldier, lives on and in the life-giving water as man does in the air. Plato's picture is more general. In the *Phaedrus*, Hippocrates is mentioned as insisting that a knowledge of all Nature was required for the *techné* of healing the body. With such authority Socrates could without further ado assume an analogous *techné* of persuading the mind, which should equally involve general philosophy. Isocrates mocked at this as the empirics did at Hippocrates.

Rational medicine was as old as Homer, and owed nothing to iatromancy. Alcmaeon was a Pythagorean, not a devotee of Asclepius. At Cos the Asclepieum was not built till the fourth century; so Hippocrates, in spite of Pliny and others, learnt nothing there. Devoted to *techné* in all its senses, he saw Nature as governed by immanent laws and undisturbed by supernatural irruptions, for which it was impious to pray. He was ultimately more interested in aetiology than in treatment, and as a scientist was determined to spread inside and outside his craft the view of the world which he held with religious fervour. He was to medicine what Plato was to philosophy.

Such is a summary of a short book, but one full of meat, on a subject too little known to classical scholars. The conclusions, intended for a wider public than medical historians or professional scholars, are stated dogmatically on the whole, and for detailed evidence the reader must turn to the works mentioned in the notes and bibliography. Professor Pohlenz has limited himself strictly to Hippocrates and his immediate age, but even within these bounds one could still wish that certain questions had been raised, or at any rate treated more fully. It is, for instance, odd that one so scientific as Hippocrates should show no interest in atomism, which is generally hailed as the triumph of Ionian speculation, and which later became not merely a doctrine but an incubus to the Methodists. Was this simply because atoms were unobservable entities, unlike phlegm, blood and bile? Something again might have been said of the shortcomings of the 'general' pathology of Hippocrates in contrast to the attempts of

the Cnidian school, however unfruitful, at detailed classification of diseases. Of other writings in the *Corpus, Ancient Medicine* surely deserved some mention, for if it is accepted as Hippocratic we shall have to put up with a more positivistic Hippocrates than is presented here. An account of Hippocrates' influence on the general thought of his age might have included some reference to the theory which derives the 'political pathology' of Thucydides from the empirical methods of his great contemporary. The prominence of *pneuma* is brilliantly brought out by the analysis of *Londonensis*, but just here the limitation of treatment seems a pity. The Pneumatists and others of later ages may represent an unfortunate tradition in medicine, unworthy of its first comprehensive genius, but in a sense their search ended in the discovery of oxygen, which has so many of the properties that interested Hippocrates. The work of Priestley and Lavoisier would have delighted the father of medicine, one of the most forward-looking of men, and yet the word 'oxygen' is not to be found in the book. We have been given a convincing picture of a pioneer of empirical science, but in thought, if not in art, the greatest can scarcely be appreciated if one does not look beyond their age.

E. D. PHILLIPS.

**Philonis Alexandrini In Flaccum.** Edited with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary by HERBERT BOX. Pp. lxii + 129; Oxford University Press, 1939. 12s. 6d.

As Dr. H. I. Bell says in the Preface which he contributes, it is strange that Philo's two extant historical works, the *In Flaccum* and the *Legatio ad Gaium*, should have remained comparatively inaccessible to most students. The present reviewer certainly had access to them as an undergraduate, but he well remembers how slowly he ploughed through the plain text, wishing for a commentary to lighten his darkness. For the *In Flaccum* this has at last appeared, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Box will do the same for the *Legatio*.

Since the *In Flaccum* is avowedly a propagandist work, considerable reinterpretation of what is stated, and reconstruction of what is not, are required of an editor if it is to yield its full value for history. These are given in an ample introduction. In a sketch of the previous history of Alexandria under the Romans, the contemptible reputation of its citizens is explained by their humiliating status under their new masters. Rather different was the lot of the Jewish Diaspora there, who, though they



had received some favours from the Ptolemies, were rewarded for their services to Caesar by a special guarantee of religious freedom and political rights. Augustus confirmed these, and allowed the Jews a senate, which the Alexandrines never got until Septimius Severus. But neither under the Ptolemies nor under the Romans did the Jews, it is claimed, enjoy full Alexandrine citizenship as a body. It is surprising that it should not have occurred earlier to many scholars that the *τοῖς πολιταῖς* admitted by Claudius, in the letter quoted by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* xix 280-5), to have been granted by the Ptolemies to the Jews of Alexandria, need not, as Juster, Schürer, De Sanctis and Momigliano insisted, have been identical status with full Alexandrines, even if Josephus would have us believe that it was. Dr. Bell, discussing the other extant letter of Claudius to the Alexandrines,<sup>1</sup> takes the phrase in this one to refer to a community of Jews living in Alexandria, nearly comparable in size and privileges with the *πόλις Ἀλεξανδρίων* itself. Mr. Box, following Schubart and Fuchs in making further distinctions within the Jewish body, prefers to interpret it as 'isopolity' on the model of the Greek leagues, with the 'Macedonians' of Alexandria, that is, potential citizenship (completely realisable only if the group's gods were worshipped) of the *πολιτεῖα* of Macedonian soldiers settled there by Alexander or Ptolemy I. These were not Alexandrines proper, although Josephus probably thought they were. The composite character of the Ptolemaic realm, not essentially altered by the Romans, was reflected within the Jewish community, which contained the following categories: (a) descendants of settlers from Persian times or those admitted to this legal category, (b) descendants of soldiers who came in with Alexander and were granted isopolity with the 'Macedonians,' (c) descendants of other soldiers, together with free Jewish immigrants—who would be the majority of Alexandrian Jews, (d) descendants of captives brought by Ptolemy I from Palestine, liable to Egyptian poll-tax, who made up the main Jewish population of the countryside. Time had obscured these gradings, and many anomalies existed. There were, for instance, individual Jews who had Alexandrine rights and even held magistracies, yet would not worship the city's gods and were a nuisance in the corps of *ephebi*, and others from the country who had assumed Alexandrian Jewish status by use. Many Jews

had also settled outside the quarter originally assigned to them in Alexandria. But in spite of friction there had been no bloodshed until A.D. 38.

Philo in the *In Flaccum* writes as though the representations to Flaccus of the Alexandrine leaders Dionysius, Isidorus, and Lampo, and the pogrom instituted by their unruly followers were acts of gratuitous malevolence. But Mr. Box, arguing with many modern scholars, from the later decision of Claudius and from passages in the *Legatio*, shows that the spark of the whole conflagration was the claim laid by the Jewish aristocracy, Philo among them, to Alexandrine citizenship for themselves as a body, and perhaps for the rest of the Alexandrian Jews so as to end confusion and anomaly. The Alexandrine counterclaim was at first that Jews should be deprived of all rights not proven to have been granted by the proper authority, however ancient their customary enjoyment. This was promised by Flaccus, and was not, as Philo claims, loss of every right of residence in the city, political organisation and protection of person and property; much less was it loss of Alexandrine citizenship. So far the attitude of Flaccus was just, and was, indeed, later endorsed by Claudius. But the later conduct of the Prefect cannot be excused, although it is readily explained, by his hope of placating the new emperor Gaius, whose rivals he had favoured at Rome, with testimonials obtained from the treacherous Alexandrines at any cost. The Alexandrine mob was preparing to put its own interpretation on these promises, when King Agrippa, a personal friend of Gaius, arrived on his way home to Syria. Philo's narrative is here defended against the doubts of Willrich, who sees in it a doublet of the later landing of Bassus to arrest Flaccus. It is claimed that Agrippa did at first wish to escape notice on landing and to leave the next day, but that he yielded to the entreaties of the Jews and paraded his armed retinue on the streets. To do this when he might, with all his influence, have approached Flaccus privately, was an act of folly answered by the mock parade staged by the Alexandrines. Such a deadly insult to Agrippa might have dreadful consequences, and Flaccus, already compromised, promulgated his edict, and further fell in with the Alexandrines' plan of setting up Gaius' portraits in the synagogues, by which it was hoped that the emperor's rage would be diverted from both on to the resisting Jews. Thus the whole affair, including the pogrom which followed, was the cause and not the consequence of Gaius' anti-Jewish policy, as

<sup>1</sup> In *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (1924) pp. 10-21 of the introduction.



Mommsen saw, and Agrippa's visit had merely fanned the flames, and not kindled them, as Willrich supposed. The *In Flaccum* ends with the arrest, exile and death of Flaccus, but Mr. Box continues the story with the help of the anti-Semite and anti-Roman 'Acts of the Pagan Martyrs.' Isidorus failed when he arraigned Agrippa before Claudius, alleging that the Jews disturbed the peace of the world and in Egypt had no better status than Egyptians who paid poll-tax. He himself, with Lampo, was prosecuted and put to death. Claudius, with warnings to both parties, confirmed the Jews' privileges but naturally withheld Alexandrine citizenship from them.

Such is the historical reconstruction, with most of which few will quarrel. The character of Philo's work is recognised to be that of a moral tale of God's power to save His chosen people and punish their oppressors. The disproportionately long and carefully embroidered account of the beastlike loneliness of Flaccus on Andros is justly compared to the punishment of Nebuchadnezzar in *Daniel*. Mr. Box might also have compared Pontius Pilate, for Philo's oversimplified caricature of Flaccus has surely taken the first steps along the path which led from the Procurator of Judea to Punch and Judy.

It is mentioned that Eusebius writes of Philo's five books *πρὸς ἀρετῶν* (not surely the 'virtues,' but the 'miracles'<sup>1</sup> of God for His people) as containing the subject-matter of our two works, and the theory of Cohn and Massebieau is accepted that the *In Flaccum*, in spite of what it shares, was, as a book, separate from the *πρὸς ἀρετῶν*, which centred on Gaius. The title of the present work means 'On Flaccus'—it is not a Verrine against him—and an opening section is lost on the iniquities of Sejanus, after whom Flaccus is *δεδούτος*. There are additional notes on the Alexandrine *Acta*, on the affair of the statues as reported in the *Legatio* and on the Jewish resistance to the desecration of the synagogues. The text is that of Cohn-Wendland-Reiter, with modifications. In the translation surely *παντοκράτωρ* at the end of S. 5 should be taken as referring to 'each soldier' detailed by Flaccus to keep the peace, and not to Flaccus himself. The commentary is a mine of interesting information in very convenient form, and there is a useful *index rerum*. Incidentally, it is good to see previous writers, including even Mr. Balsdon in his *Gaius*, corrected for

using the term 'ghetto' of the Jewish quarter assigned by the Ptolemies. This is as much an anachronism for Alexandria then (except in the intention of the rioters) as the London Transport Board recently found it to be for Whitechapel.

E. D. P.

**Heliodori Ethiopica.** ARISTIDES COLONNA recensuit. Pp. lix + 380; Rome: Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Istituto poligrafico dello Stato (Libreria), 1938. 50 lire.

This sumptuously produced text follows close on the heels of the first two volumes of the Budé *Heliodorus*, of which I is used, while II appeared only when the editor was correcting his proofs. Signor Colonna has not, indeed, himself examined all extant MSS., but he gives elaborate particulars in his Prolegomena. He has relied mainly on diligent comparison of the Vatican (γ) and the Venetian (δ) families, but has also used Vaticanus graecus 1390 (ε) which has an additional, independent, connexion with the archetype, other 'contaminated' MSS. of a third tradition (ς) and an 'interpolated' group comprising Marcianus E. and others. Among editors he is indebted mainly to Koraes and Hirschig, apart from Rattenbury and Lumb in the Budé. The last are, in his view, seriously wrong in taking ε to be a representative of δ, and in placing a low value on Venetus Marcianus gr. 838 (ζ). Complaints are also made on p. lii of misprints in the Budé text.

E. D. P.

**Plutarch's Life of Aratus, with Introduction, Notes and Appendix.** By W. H. PORTER. Pp. cv + 97. Cork University Press; London, Longman's, 1937. 5s.

Plutarch's *Aratus* received comparatively little attention during the nineteenth century and subsequently, but now, following Mr. Walbank's study, *Aratus of Sicyon* (1933), and Dr. Theunis-sen's *Ploutarchos' Leben von Aratos* (1935), Mr. Porter has given us the first critical edition and commentary in English. With the best and fullest authorities the career of Aratus would make a complicated story, and the difficulties in this case are increased by the defects of Plutarch as a source for scientific history. The introduction is, therefore, long, but this seems justified, as the author suggests, by the many problems that arise. Section I, on the biography and its sources, argues that the *Aratus* although not one of the *Parallel Lives*, was composed with the materials for the *Agis* and the *Cleomenes* fresh in Plutarch's mind. It complains of his serious omissions in describing the political

<sup>1</sup> This would link the whole cycle with aretology, though Jehovah did miracles for his people, and not usually, like Sarapis or Asclepius, for individuals.



background, estimates the contributions of Aratus' own *Memoirs*, of Philarchus' *Histories* and of Polybius, as the main sources, and passes strictures, pursued in the notes, on the use made of these. Section II, τὰ πρὸς Ἀπόλλων, describes the previous struggles for independence from Macedon and the enmity of the Antigonids and Ptolemies. On the system of 'tyrants', attributed by Polybius to Antigonos Gonatas, Fellmann's view is accepted, that there was no such system before the Chremonidean War, but that some approach was made to one after the death of the disloyal viceroy, Alexander of Corinth. In the discussion of Egypto-Macedonian relations between 261 and 245 B.C. a scheme is worked for the Delian *Ptolemaieia* and *Antigoneia* festivals as alternating with the control of the island. With section III we come to Aratus himself. The liberation of Sicyon is put, on balance, in 252 rather than in 251, when the city was actually added to the Achaean League. The revolt of Alexander is placed, with De Sanctis, in 250, soon after Aratus returned from Egypt, and his death in 246-5. Section IV narrates the steps by which Aratus expelled the Macedonians from the Peloponnese, and in an *addendum* Walbank's reconstruction of the attack on Cynaetha, and his dating of it in 241-0 (*JHS* 1936 pp. 64-71) are accepted. Section V, on the ambitions of Cleomenes III and the social problem in Sparta and the Peloponnese, is the most interesting. It is pointed out that the Spartan king was more like a fascist than a communist, for his reforms were intended to restore Sparta as the dominant military power in Southern Greece and a counterpoise to Macedon, and were thus 'not for export,' as the masses in other states found. Ferrabino's dating in 229 of Aratus' appeal to Antigonos Doson is rejected in favour of the Polybian date of 225 for definite negotiations, following earlier soundings, for in 229 Antigonos had his hands full in the north, and the Achaeans were only desperate after their defeat at Hecatomboeum in 226. Sellasia is put, with Tarn and Beloch, in 222. Aratus' tenure as *strategos autokrator* of the League is dated, with Tarn, as continuous from 225 to 222. The terms of peace after Sellasia, praised as moderate by Polybius and Plutarch, are criticised as leaving power in hands too weak to hold it, for neither Aratus nor Antigonos had the vision to make the *perioikoi* independent or emancipate the helots. Section VI, on Aratus and the Symmarchy with Macedon, also discusses the behaviour of Philip when he abandoned Ithome in 215 in deference to Aratus. It is contended, as against Holleaux

(*CAH* VIII p. 120), that Philip's aim in seizing Ithome had been simply to hold it for himself as a 'fetter' of the Peloponnese, and not to protect it from the Aetolians, while posing as a democratic sympathiser. A brief estimate of Aratus follows, and Tarn and other 'sentimental' historians are taken to task for admiring Cleomenes. Lastly, in section VII, on the Achaean federal constitution, the usual view is adopted, that the *Synodos* was an elected council of representatives, and the *Syncretos* an assembly of citizens over thirty, voting on business too important for routine, such as alliances, and peace and war.

The text is that of Ziegler (Teubner 1915), altered to admit more conjectural emendations. The notes are adequate, and carefully indicate the source of each section of the *Life*. There is an appendix on the MSS and editions of the *Lives*, with a note on Plutarch's avoidance of hiatus, followed by an index of proper names and Greek and English indexes to the notes. Finally there is a plan of Corinth to illustrate its capture by Aratus in 243.

Where so much is given, criticisms seem ungracious, but it may be urged that the book is conceived too much as a technical aid to specialists in Hellenistic history. Of Plutarch himself, though much work has been done on his biographical technique, little is said except to point out his inadequacy for a purpose which was not his. Lastly, even at the risk of lengthening the introduction, some psychological discussion might have been added to the peculiar failings which so often nullified the brilliance of Aratus. Tarn has surely pointed the way with his reference to the *Report of the War Office Committee of Enquiry into Shell-shock*. (*CAH* VII p. 746). E. D. P.

**Excavations at Olynthus, Part IX: The Chalcidic Mint and the Excavation Coins found in 1928-1934.** By D. M. ROBINSON and P. A. CLEMENT. Pp. xxxi + 413; pl. 36. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1938. £3 7s. 6d.

The ninth volume of the *Excavations at Olynthus* is devoted mainly to the study of the Chalcidic Mint, the first section alone being on a scale that is comparable with E. Boehringer's *Münzen von Syrakus*. It is divided into two sections, of which the first, running to 214 pages, is the more important, for it is a complete corpus of all the known coins in gold and silver of the Chalcidians, including those preserved in the museums and collections of Europe and America, as well as those found during the



excavations on the site. The catalogue describes 6 gold staters, 305 silver tetradrachms, 304 tetrobols, and 29 fractional coins, and all but the little pieces are arranged and catalogued by die-combinations. Fortunately there was in this mint as much interlocking of dies as in those of Metapontum, Terina, Segesta, Selinus, Syracuse, Olympia, and Lampsacus, and so the authors have been able to establish a relative chronology of the coinage (pp. 87 ff.) the clear evidence for which is expounded on purely scientific lines. This sub-section is followed by a more important one on the absolute chronology (pp. 112 ff.) in which the results of the established coin-sequences are correlated with the known history of the Chalcidian League, its neighbours and its enemies. The result is an accuracy of dating which has so far been achieved in no other Greek mint before the days of Alexander the Great. This accurate dating is excellently tabulated on a folder at the end of the text.

That the League coinage came to an end in 348 B.C. has long been an accepted fact. That it began as early as c. 432 B.C. has not been suspected by many, but the proofs advanced for this thesis are convincing. Between these dates the coins fall into 24 groups, labelled A to X, which are established by the die-sequences of tetrobols and tetradrachms. Three issues of gold staters occur associated with groups L (c. 392-383 B.C.), S (c. 364-361 B.C.), and W (c. 352-350 B.C.). The last of these issues is bound up with the preparations for the final war against Philip II; the first might be connected with the war against Sparta. The authors on p. 156 propose the year 383 B.C. for the first gold issue, and think it is to be dissociated from the campaign against Sparta. But, exact as their absolute chronology undoubtedly is, there may be an error of a year, so that if this gold issue appeared in 382 B.C., when the Spartans were already harrying Olynthian territory, it may have been occasioned by the war, as I suggested in *Greek Coins*, p. 199, rather than by Chalcidian prosperity immediately before the war. Greek gold coinage issued west of the Hellespont and before the reign of Philip is almost always a war coinage or an emergency coinage.

The first section concludes (pp. 210 ff.) with an important discussion of ancient counterfeits and modern forgeries, in the course of which Prof. H. Gaebler's arbitrary and fantastic attempt to condemn as false coins found in the official excavations is quietly and successfully rebutted.

The second section of the book begins with a catalogue of the coins found during the excavations conducted by Prof. Robinson at Olynthus and its port of Micyberna in 1934, and includes a *résumé* of specimens found in the previous excavations of 1928 and 1931, so that a total of nearly 3850 legible excavated coins come under review. The authors have, indeed, had the quite exceptional opportunity of using the evidence of hoards set out in Section II to check the results of their chronology arrived at in Section I by means of the study of die-sequences. The result could not be more satisfactory.

The list of the mints (pp. 364 ff.) represented by finds at Olynthus is remarkable. After Macedonia the regions best represented are Thrace and Thessaly with the west Anatolian coast as third; of Athens and Peloponnese there are but few. One of the most interesting pieces recorded is a new type of tetradrachm of Amphipolis with a head in profile (Pl. XXVIII, 2a), probably not Apollo, because of the conspicuous earrings, though he was perhaps the one god who might be allowed them.

The tables and concordances at the end of the volume are useful and well arranged. Such a work deserves to have had a full index as well, but this may come in time if, when the final volume of *Excavations at Olynthus* shall have appeared, the editor decides to give us a separate index volume to the whole series. In conclusion I would remark that the first part of this book presents a method which must form the model for any future works which aim at constructing complete corpora of the coins of Greek mints.

C. T. SELTMAN.

**The Coinage of Damastion and the lesser Coinages of the Illyro-Paeonian Region.** (Oxford Classical and Philosophical Monographs.) By J. M. F. MAY. Pp. xiv + 207; pl. 12. London: Humphrey Milford, 1939. 10s. 6d.

A glance at the plates of this book must of itself stimulate interest in those enigmatic *mixobarbaroi*, the Damastini, whose country is referred to in a sole surviving passage from Strabo. Their coins are certainly attractive in the mass, and Mr. May has chosen an admirable topic and produced an excellent Corpus of the coinage of Damastion, Pelagia and the related issues.

His first section deals with the location of these places, and, after setting out the views of various scholars on this subject, he leads up



to the conclusion that Prof. H. Gaebler was nearest to the mark. A complicated question is resolved in clear and reasoned fashion, and his conclusion that Damastion lay to the north of Ochrida in the Province of Dibra is not likely to be controverted by anyone.

Less easy of acceptance will be a theory put forward on p. 34 f. that the rich mining State of Damastion struck coins to be exported as bullion. Why should any mint go to such unnecessary trouble and expense, since bullion, even if coined, must be exchanged by weight? In his Historical Introduction (pp. 38 ff.) Mr. May rightly emphasises the close connexion of these coins with those of the Chalcidian League; yet among all the thousands of coins found in the Olynthian excavations no coin of the Damastini has been found. They would surely send their bullion in ingots to Olynthus, but strike their coins in order to make purchases from barbarians to the west, north and east of the Dibra Province, who welcomed and imitated these coins as they were later to welcome and imitate those of Philip of Macedon.

The Historical Introduction is followed by the catalogue of and commentary on the recorded surviving coins of Damastion. In this Mr. May has had a piece of undeserved bad luck, for he went to press too early to benefit from the definitive Corpus (reviewed above) of the Chalcidic Mint by Prof. Robinson and Dr. Clement. In determining the sequence of his groups he was dependent on the resemblance of certain Damastian coins to their Chalcidic prototypes, but he was only able to make guesses at the sequence of these prototypes which has now become certainly established. On Plates I, II and VI he illustrates nine of these Chalcidic prototypes. Of these Pl. II H were better omitted, since Damastium Pl. II 15 is not copied from it, but, like Pl. II 16 to 18, is copied from the Chalcidic coin Pl. II G. Omitting this relatively late Chalcidic piece Pl. II H, which was issued c. 383-379 B.C., we get the following table of comparisons:—

May.			Robinson and Clement.		
Group.	Dated c.	Prototypes.		Group.	Dated c.
I	395-390	Pl. I A	= Pl. VIII, 88	I	401-398
II, III	"	" C	= " V, 22	H	410-401
		" F	= " V, 28	H	"
		" D	= " VII, 35	I	401-398
		" E	= " VIII, 40	I	"
IV, V	390-380	Pl. II G, J	= " III, 2, 3	E	420-417
VIII	350-330	Pl. VI Q	= " X, 57	L	392-383

This leads to the inevitable conclusion that the order of Mr. May's Groups was really the following IV, V, II, III, I, VI, VII, VIII, etc.

It appears that his Groups IV, V should be dated c. 400-395, and his Group I c. 390-380, allowing for a certain time-lag in imitating prototypes, but that his dating for the remainder may be accepted as satisfactory.

The latter part of the volume is occupied with a corpus and discussion of the rare semi-barbarous and barbarous issues copied from the coins of the Damastini. There is a useful map and table of weights, and a good index.

C. T. S.

**The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III.** (*Numismatic Studies, No. 1.*) By EDWARD T. NEWELL. Pp. 307; pl. 56 and a map. New York: The American Numismatic Society, 1938.

This fine and stimulating book, beautifully produced and illustrated, works out the Seleucid mints from Babylon eastward to the death of Antiochus III; besides the text and plates there are a tabular survey and five indices. It exhibits to the full Mr. Newell's wonderful mastery of that modern technique which, by laborious correlation of a mass of minute details, can attribute a large coinage to its several mints; some coin-group is first connected with some mint by evidence, and then the worker builds outward from this by connexions of style, fabric, dies, types, and signatures of mint officials. Naturally some of Newell's attributions are qualified by 'probably,' but criticism of details in this respect must be left to the professed numismatist; I can only speak on the mints and the importance of the book for history.

Babylon apart, where the lion staters soon ended, the mints dealt with are called Seleucia, Susa, Persepolis, Ecbatana, Hecatompylus or Artacoana, and Bactra; as the Persepolis mint ceased to be Seleucid by 280, the Seleucid neglect of southern Iran, notably the important Alexandria-Phrothasia in Seistan, is marked, which agrees with other indications. Of the mints given, Seleucia and Susa are established by coins found in the excavations, Persepolis from a peculiar hoard, Bactra from many things; the other two names are less certain. Ecbatana rests on the series of coins whose type is 'forepart of a feeding horse.' This certainly indicates the Nesacan fields, and therefore a Median mint; but there is no evidence that Ecbatana was the administrative centre of Seleucid Media, and no Greek settlement there is known before Antiochus IV. Also the view of Sir P. Sykes about the



'fields,' which Newell follows (p. 168), is unsound. They were nowhere near the Zagros; they lay well to the north-east of Ecbatana, nearer the Caspian Gates (Strabo XI, 525 is conclusive; see Hanslik, *Νισοίων μέδιον* in *RE*; Pliny's *Pratitae*, VI, 44, confirms this), and the nearest centre was Rhaga, 'the greatest city in Media' (Isidore), which *was* graecised. Of the coins themselves, though some come from Hamadan, the greater part come from the Teheran district (p. 169, n. 15); and I think this mint should anyhow be called 'Ecbatana or Rhaga.' On the other hand, I regard 'Hecatompylus or Artacoana' (i.e., Alexandria-Herat) as certainly Hecatompylus. Newell was hampered by an old and impossible dating (240) for the Parthian occupation of Hecatompylus and thought he could not get in the coinage of Seleucus II, so he preferred the purely conjectural Artacoana. But the date is very much later than 240 (*CAH* IX, p. 576); there was not even a Parthian kingdom till after Seleucus II retired (Justin XLI, 5, 1), and then the capital was Dara. What decides it is that the nomad Parni could not coin till they secured a Greek mint, and as the Parthian 'beardless' coins exhibit the peculiar characteristics of the Greek coins attributed to the mint in question (p. 256, n. 14), that mint must be the one which the Parthians secured; and while Hecatompylus did become their (second) capital, they had no connexion with Alexandria-Herat till Mithridates I, if then.

I can only note a few of the points on which light is thrown. P. 160: Persis was independent by 280 at latest.—P. 248: the earlier Diodotus coins are Diodotus I, not II, which makes sense at last (and as Diodotus I was alive for some time after 246, Diodotus II can now be cut out; if he coined, he merely continued his father's coinage).—We get a mint-master at Seleucia for 36 years (p. 89), at Ecbatana for over 30 (p. 183), important for the Graeco-Bactrian monograms.—P. 141, a gold stater always commemorates some event, like the defeat of a rebel: this explains Eucratides' gold stater.—Unvala's attribution of the Tigris coins is of course rejected (p. 140), as are McDowell's suggestions of an assimilation of Seleucus I to Zeus (p. 94) and of Antiochus III's flat kausia (p. 96).—Occasionally, on the elephant-chariot coins, some elephant wears a bell; this is not discussed (p. 125) but should indicate the leader of an elephant-squadron, who bore some insignia (Pliny VIII, 12).—P. 230: the probability that no issues appear at Bactra before 289 may suggest that the serious nomad invasion which

Antiochus I had to meet *was* in 293 (see my forthcoming paper 'Tarmita').—P. 145: I hope we may call the Susa 'rose' a lily; so far as I can tell from plates, it is not the same as the Rhodian rose, whose middle petal always turns to the left, while that of the Susa flower turns to the right.—I doubt the figure in the flat kausia on the reverse of no. 257 (p. 96) being Antiochus III (*could* a king be on the reverse of his own coin?); and I gravely doubt Antiochus I introducing a Victory type in 272 (p. 66) after his smashing defeat by Egypt.

But the striking thing in the book, historically, is the discovery that in 303 Seleucus, at all the mints then opened—Seleucia, Susa, Ecbatana, Persepolis—celebrated the success of his Indian expedition. We only know that expedition as a complete failure, which ended in Seleucus ceding to Chandragupta Gandhāra and parts of Arachosia and Gedrosia. Yet he was no mere boaster: while the mints at Seleucia, Susa, and Persepolis celebrated Ipsus, that at Ecbatana did not, doubtless because Ipsus was a sore subject with his Median horse. I have sought in vain for some explanation of the coins other than Newell's; there is none, and we shall have to revise our history. Chandragupta must have annexed Gandhāra after 316, when the last Macedonian satrap left, yet Seleucus in 303 certainly ceded it to him; but the Paropamisadae only became Mauryan in Asoka's reign. Seleucus therefore, we must now suppose, *did* reconquer Gandhāra, which entailed also conquering the Paropamisadae from Oxyartes; he had to give up Gandhāra, but kept the Paropamisadae, and that is the conquest he celebrated. I cannot deal with all the implications of that here, but I note one thing which *might* follow. There is a strange block of coins of c. 285–280 (pp. 231–3), attributed to Bactra, which are struck on the 'Indian' standard (see also S. K. Chakraborty, *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, XI, 1935, pp. 248 sq.) and generally come from India, and seem, with their occasional garbled legends and lunate sigmas, rather out of place at Bactra, even if they have Iranian affinities. I suggest, for the consideration of numismatists, that they might have been struck at Alexandria-Kapisa; the Paropamisadae was as much Iranian as Indian, and the (? improvised) mint probably less efficient under Antiochus I than after the Graeco-Bactrians took it in hand seriously.

It is a great book, and will be a happy hunting-ground for historians. Dare I hope that Mr. Newell will give us a sequel on the Graeco-Bactrian mints in Iran and India?

W. W. TARN.



Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches. (Abhandlungen d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. 17.) By WALTER OTTO and HERMANN BENGSTON. Pp. 224. Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. 1938.

This book, a sequel to Professor Otto's study of Ptolemy VI, is to my mind the best thing he has done, and one of the most important works on Hellenistic history which have ever appeared. What part Herr Bengston, Otto's pupil, has played in it is not stated, but one can see Otto's hand throughout, and I can only treat it as his. The larger part, pp. 23-193, deals with the history proper from the return of Euergetes II in 145 to the death of Cleopatra III in 101. Heretofore this period has seemed merely a repellent and meaningless jumble of murders and civil wars; Otto has achieved the seemingly impossible feat of making it profoundly interesting, through his careful method of investigating down to bed-rock every scrap of detail; the learning displayed is overwhelming. What emerges from the vast mass of papyri cited is really a study of the unbridled ambition of two women, the second and third Cleopatras; horrible in some ways, but well worth doing. The working out of the actual story cannot be given here; I can only note one or two of the matters which are new or on which fresh light is thrown. Such are the discussions of terms like ἀδελφή and πλῆθος; the implications of the name Tryphon; Euergetes II posing as Euergetes I *redivivus*; the rehabilitation after death of Memphites; the *damnatio memoriae* of Cleopatra II by her daughter; the coin-analysis which shows that Alexander I counted his regnal years from his governorship of Cyprus in 114/3; the demonstration that it was Cleopatra II, and not III, who for a moment reigned alone after Euergetes' death; and above all the whole picture of Cleopatra III, when for the first and last time in Greek history a living human being turned so completely into a god that everything human, even her name, was discarded; the long studies of the religious position here, the ἱερός πῶλος 'Ισιδος and the φασφόρος, the conception of δικαιούσων, and especially the examination of 'Ισις μήτηρ θεῶν, are masterly. Perhaps more important even than such details is the statement that somebody will have to tackle the propaganda question in antiquity, coupled with the numerous examples of the use of ruler-cult and monuments as political propaganda. But one thing not even Otto can do—render plausible some of the personal story of Euergetes II; for there are points where the papyri give no help. If

he really killed the son of Cleopatra II and she forthwith married him and bore him another son, then she was not a human being, and his rape of his niece is worth about as much as Jerome's story of the rape by Antiochus I of his daughter, subsequently Magas' queen; undoubtedly parts of the literary tradition about Euergetes II are the deposit of a totally unscrupulous war propaganda. It is important here that Otto assigns Euergetes' great series of decrees of 118 (which have led some to discard the literary portrait) to him alone: he was victor, and Cleopatra II had nothing to do with it. And there is the difficult question why, after their embittered war, she came back to him in 124. Granted that it was ambition, the point is that he *should* have murdered her; but she obviously knew he would not. Otto suggests that Rome must have guaranteed her life; several other difficulties too are explained by bringing in Rome. He may be right; no one can know. Probably he is right in the general statement that Rome had been bloodlessly conquering Egypt since 168; for Livy's suggestion that in that year Egypt became *in fide populi Romani* must be a projection of later knowledge into the past.

There are two important side-lights on Cleopatra VII, apart from the revolutionary argument that her father Auletes was legitimate. Otto shows that she and her brother were co-rulers with Auletes for some months before his death; this gets rid of the time-difficulty (if one really exists) of her journey to Hermonthis, for she could have started before Auletes' death. And he brings out that the Bucheum stelae always dated by the king alone, omitting female co-rulers, until the dating by Cleopatra VII alone, omitting the king: no tradition, he says, could be upheld against her personality. But at the time she was merely an untested girl; it must mean that, as I have said, she had come in person and on purpose, and could not be ignored.

The remainder of the book deals with the discovery of the direct sea-route to India, based on the restoration of the Coptos inscription given by Reinach, *Rev. Épigraphique* 1, 109. Otto's restoration, pp. 1-22, most thoroughly argued, depends on two things: that Cleopatra III was 'Ισις μεγάλη μήτηρ θεῶν, which can obviously be accepted, and that for a few months in 110/9 Alexander I reigned jointly with his mother, which enables him to get a sufficiently long phrase [τροφεύς τοῦ βασιλέως], for the difficult line 2 in place of Reinach's [ἱμιστρέτης]; the evidence against this brief joint rule of Alexander I he meets by saying that the name of Soter II



was subsequently restored in the documents. The date of the inscription could be year 8 of Cleopatra III (110/9) or of Cleopatra VII (44/3); he thinks palaeography points to the former, but admits that late Ptolemaic inscriptions cannot be certainly dated thereby. He makes the *strategos* of l. 3 *strategos* of the Coptos nome, and restores τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης against τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης of the other inscriptions from 78 onwards, and argues that the article before Ἰνδικῆς shows that the Indian sea is a new addition, and that the date is therefore earlier than 78, i.e., 110/9; the subsequent transfer (before 78) from the Coptos *strategos* to the *epistrategos* of Thebes means, he thinks, that the Indian trade had disappointed expectations. But, if the definite article really makes any difference here, except for greater precision, one could equally well argue (for 44/3) that the growth in the trade led to the Indian sea being named separately and to the jurisdiction being transferred from the *epistrategos* of Thebes to the official in whose sphere lay the important Coptos; Cleopatra VII's wealth in silks and spices, and the way in which after Actium her mind turned to the 'Indian' sea as a refuge, point to an increased trade, and a transference to the Coptos *strategos* would agree better with the subsequent position under Rome. In fact, as against 44/3, Otto's date, 110/9, rests entirely on the palaeography and the co-rule of Alexander I. Doubtless 110/9 is the more probable date, but the alternative is not entirely excluded.

On this inscription is based the last section of the book, pp. 194-218: in 117 Eudoxus, with Hippalus as his κυβερνήτης, discovered how to use the south-west monsoon to cross the Indian ocean, and sailed direct across open sea to India. It is as exciting as any detective story; but is it true? I cannot handle this question fairly or thoroughly in a review; I must enter a reservation meanwhile, and can only just notice a couple of points. The Indian offered to show Euergetes' people τὸν εἰς Ἰνδοὺς πλοῦν, and Otto says this must mean the direct way across the Indian ocean; this begs the whole question, for no reason is given, Strabo's vague phrase about a known 'Seeweg' being, as Otto admits, mere polemic, taken from the knowledge of his own day. Certainly before 117 Greeks—different Greeks—knew the two ends—Berenice to Somaliland, Barygaza to Harmozecia-Omana; but there is evidence that south-eastern Arabia was unknown till very late, and even Juba could only say about that sea *navigacionem incomperitam*; what the Indian offered was to guide Eudoxus *the whole way in his own ship*, naturally along the

coast. For he could only guide Eudoxus by the way he had come himself; and nothing indicates that any Indian *could* have crossed the Indian ocean direct. Otto refers to the Malay voyages; but, with all respect, Malays are not Indians, and their famous voyages were much later. Moreover, we now have Mr. Quaritch Wales' discovery of a (much later) Indian trade-route across the neck of the Malay peninsula; and even if, as Professor Herrmann thinks, Ptolemy knew of it, it *should* anyhow show that, much later than Eudoxus, Indians were still coasting and subject to the 'law of the isthmus.' As for Pliny's four stages, Otto just throws them overboard. He gives no valid reason for doubting them, and Pliny can hardly be wrong in saying that the direct voyage to India first became known in his own day—*nunc primum certa notitia patescens*; and *nunc* cannot include 117 B.C. Otto has previously done much service in demonstrating the fact of Ptolemaic voyages to India in the first century B.C.; but I doubt whether this time he has not gone too far.

W. W. T.

**The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute.** By NABIA ABBOTT. Pp. xxiii + 101. Chicago University Press, 1938.

In this small volume, attractively produced photographically from typescript, Mr. Abbott publishes five Arabic papyri acquired by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in 1929 from the collection of B. Moritz. They consist of letters on tax-administration from the governor Kurrah ibn Sharik. The publication is introduced by a useful account of the history of Arabic papyrology, and of details of palaeography and diplomatic. Two chapters (mainly summarising the work of others) deal with the career of Kurrah and a historical study of the early Arab period. The absence of liaison between Arabic and Greek scholars working on this period is to be deplored. In this case it leads to such results as reference to the writer of *L'Administration civile de l'Égypte byzantine* as *he*, or the queer-sounding title 'Prefect of the Praetorium of the Orient' (p. 72).

E. G. TURNER.

**The Oxford University Excavations at Firka.** By L. P. KIRWAN. Pp. xiv + 54; pl. 26. Oxford University Press, 1939. £1. 8s.

The excavations at Firka, lasting, as already described in a preliminary report in *JEA* XXI 192 ff., from December 1934 to February 1935,



were undertaken at the suggestion of the late Prof. Griffith, who founded in 1910 the Oxford University Excavations in Nubia, officially recognised by the University in 1934. The village of Firka, situated in the Anglo-Sudan on the east bank of the Nile nearly a hundred miles south of Wādī Halfa, and once the scene of an important battle in the campaign for the recovery of the Egyptian Sudan (a fact not without importance for the excavations, as Mr. Kirwan's Sudanese workmen were able to repair and re-occupy the ruined mud huts of the Khalifa's troops), derives its chief archaeological importance from its three Cemeteries, A, B and C, the excavation of which provides the material for the present volume. Firka does not, however, seem to have been a place of much importance in earlier times: no trace of the ancient town, which one would expect to be associated with the cemeteries, could be found.

The northernmost cemetery, A, contains the largest mounds, probably those noted by Burckhard in 1814 and assigned by Bates, on the analogy of the Gammāi mounds, to the late Nubian culture termed by Dr. Reisner the 'X-group.' The pottery shows that Bates was right in assigning the Firka mounds to this group, and that chronologically they fall within the limits allotted by Firth to this period—namely between the fourth and seventh centuries A.D. As in the tombs at Qostol and Balāña, where, too, there had been much plundering by tunnelling in ancient times (especially in the burial chamber), the intact rooms contained the burials of servants or concubines of the dead man, sacrificed according to ritual usage—the position of one body suggests live burial.

Cemetery B, which lies half a mile south of Cemetery A, can be chronologically divided into two groups: first, the earlier tombs at the north end, in which the axis of the tomb lay north and south, plundered, but still containing much pottery; second, those at the south end, orientated east and west, intact, but containing no pottery. The first group appears to be a debased type of the large tombs of Cemetery A, whilst the second may be related to the early Christian Cemetery C. The tombs of Cemetery B are later than those of Cemetery A, but belong to the same late Nubian culture, and those with the orientation customary in Christian Nubian burials may belong to the period immediately preceding, or contemporary with, the conversion of this part of Nubia to Christianity in the second half of the sixth century.

As is usual in cemeteries of the X-group in Lower Nubia, the Firka tombs were built on the

site of an earlier Meroitic cemetery: the silver ring (from Cemetery A, tomb 12) engraved in intaglio with the bust of the Emperor Commodus is probably from a Meroitic grave of the 'pit-with-end-chamber' type. Perhaps the most remarkable object found in the Firka tombs is the 'dove-lamp' from tomb A12 (see Plate VII), a type not uncommon in East Christian art. In tomb A11 was found an iron bit with curb chain: the horse in whose mouth it was found stood little more than twelve hands high—evidently one of the small Nubian horses noted frequently by later Arabic writers.

One of the most interesting sections of this volume is the discussion on the problem of the X-group. The chief characteristic of the human remains is the negroid aspect, and, moreover, the presence of female remains with the same characteristics suggests settlers, and not raiders. They appear to have been principally engaged in agriculture and cattle-breeding, but the prevalence of bodily injuries in the remains and the quantity of weapons found point to a warlike people. It seems 'reasonable to infer that the distinctive traits which differentiate the X-group from the preceding and indigenous Meroitic culture are due to the immigration of a more primitive negroid people.' Many attempts have been made to identify them: with the Blemmyes or Beja; with the Nobatae of Procopius, introduced as a buffer state by Diocletian; with the Noubades ruled over by Silko. Mr. Kirwan thinks that there is much to be said for the identification of the X-group with the Noubades, and this accords with his previous suggestion (*JEA* XXI, 1935, 57-65) that the cemeteries at Balāña mark the site of Silko's capital.

A note on the early history of the Blemmyes and a discussion of the evidence on the question of the nature of Nubian Christianity, whether it was Melkite or Monophysite, round off the volume, which is equipped with numerous admirable plates, an index, maps and a corpus of bead and pottery types drawn by Mrs. Kirwan. The reader, whether anthropologist or archaeologist, will find in this lucid and succinct account an able contribution to Nubian studies, especially in the new light thrown on the problem of Reisner's X-group. J. M. R. CORMACK.

*Die Wallfahrtskirche des Simeon Stylites in Kal'at Sim'an.* By D. KRENCKER. Pp. 32; pl. 30. Berlin: Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1939. RM. 19.

One of the most important sites for the history of early Christian architecture in north Syria is the church at Kal'at Sim'an built A.D. 460-90



around the column on which Simeon Stylites lived for thirty years till his death in A.D. 459. The general plan of the church—four basilicas, each with a nave and two aisles (the eastern basilica having three apses) arranged like the arms of a cross round the central octagon in the midst of which stood the saint's column—is well known, but whether this central octagon was ever roofed over or not is a controversial question. Butler decided against a roof, and reconstructed the octagon as an open courtyard, a view that up till now seemed to be supported by the description of Evagrius of Antioch, who visited the church about 560, a hundred years after the saint's death. His words *οὐλὴ ὑπαίθριος* (the accent on *ὑπαίθριος* is misplaced throughout this volume) seemed decisive, until the appearance of Prof. Krencker's essay in the *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 49 (1934) 62 ff. 'War das Oktogon der Wallfahrtskirche des Simeon Stylites in Kal'at Sim'an überdeckt?' where he argues that, if the church was not roofed, it was so planned originally. The other view was put forward by Guyer in his essay in *Jdl* 49 (1934) 90 ff. 'Zur Kunstgeschichtlichen Stellung der Wallfahrtskirche in Kal'at Sim'an.' In order to give a definite answer to Guyer's objections, Prof. Krencker undertook excavations on the site in the spring of 1938. This volume, which reports the finds, is merely a preliminary report to be followed by a definitive publication when further investigations have been made.

Before discussing the three main arguments on which the roof theory is based, we may mention three considerations, two of which might be supposed to point to an original roof. Lamp-chains were found for lamps which were designed to hang from under the eight arches of the octagon, a fact which incidentally shows that these arches were meant to remain open. One may remark, however, if one is not sympathetic to the roof theory, that similar lamps are hung in the open courtyard of the large mosque at Damascus. Again, it is argued that, if the octagon was not roofed, the four basilicas were unprotected from wind and weather at the points where they joined the octagon. West of the saint's column lies a cistern, which may be ancient and may have supplied Simeon with drinking-water. If there was a roof overhead, how did the rain-water reach the cistern? It may have been collected from the eaves of the hypothetical roof and led on to the cistern by some method of which no traces have yet been found.

The most important find, which Prof. Krencker thinks sufficient by itself to support his

theory, was the remains of a window, presumably from an upper storey. According to Prof. Krencker, the most natural reconstruction is to suppose that the roofs of the four naves of the four basilicas abutted on the octagon walls (see illustration 10), and that the arch windows, whether alone or in conjunction with two other smaller ones, lay high up in the gable towards the roof of the octagon, as usual in Syria.

Secondly, there were found considerable fragments of 'corner-niches,' the so-called 'Trompen,' a common device in the inside of a cupola, where they are used to facilitate the transition from the square to the octagon, or, as here, from the octagon to the sixteen-cornered figure which is the next stage before the circle. For the corner-niche motif compare the palace of Sarvistan, the church in Khakti el Hadra and Bell's Mesopotamian churches of the Tigris region. Whereas in other parts of the Kal'at Sim'an church these Trompen are purely decorative, in the octagon they fulfil the useful function of preparing the way for the cupola.

Thirdly, part of the entablature of the octagon wall was found, roughly worked, which seems to indicate that it was not intended to have another stone placed on it; it seems also to have had notches for wooden beams. A vault of stone is impossible in view of the thin walls of the octagon (0.80 m.) and the span, which is 27 m. What, then, was the form of this wooden roof? Prof. Krencker abandons his former view that the saint's column supported the cupola: the lantern theory or a circular opening, as in the Pantheon at Rome, is not acceptable either. Modern technical experts say that a cupola or a pyramidal roof are both possible, but that the former is cheaper and requires less wood.

If we accept the reconstruction with wooden cupola, how are we to square this with Evagrius's description of the octagon as an *οὐλὴ ὑπαίθριος*? We may suppose that, when Evagrius visited the church in 560, the wooden roof had already been destroyed. Can we connect this destruction with the earthquake of 526, which in Antioch destroyed the famous octagon of the time of Constantine?

In a book not conspicuous for clarity of expression (surely it is perverse to use the expression 'Überdeckung des Oktogons' (p. 8, l. 18) for the 'floor-covering of the octagon,' when it means 'roof-covering' elsewhere in the book) the many excellent plans and photographs are a godsend. When Mr. Crowfoot's recent book on the 'Churches at Bosra and Samaria-Sebaste,' reviewed *JHS* LVIII (1938), p. 287, is mentioned in a footnote on page 5, the author's



name, the title of the book and the date of publication are all wrongly given.

J. M. R. C.

**Der Fluch des Christen Sabinus: Papyrus Upsaliensis 8.** By GUDMUND BJÖRCK. Pp. 165; pl. 2. Upsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1938. 6 Kr.

The papyrus here published is a rather small basis for such a superstructure of commentary as the author of this volume has erected on it. It is, however, an interesting enough document, and is given an extra interest by its obvious connexion with P. Hamb. 22, which is a hexameter poem intended to be cut on the funeral stele of a certain Sabinus (στήλη αἰνοῦμένου πολυπενθέος ἐστὶ Σαβελνο[ν] is the first line). The present text consists of (1) a prose curse, in the form of a petition to God, on Didymus and Severine (the latter the writer's daughter, the former perhaps her husband), (2) a prose passage in which, in phraseology reminiscent of legal petitions, the author 'presents' the document to God, (3) six hexameter lines showing a close resemblance to the Hamburg text, (4) on the verso, a sort of address, arranged like the address of a letter, which reads ἐκδίκησον, Ἐμμανουήλ, ἐκδίκησ[ον]. A connexion with the Hamburg papyrus can hardly be doubted in view of the similarity between the latter and (3); and this has led the editor to read ἐγὼ [Σαβ]ελνός in l. 9, though he admits the possibility of [Εὐ]ελνός as an alternative to the name. The facsimile makes it practically certain in my opinion that ἐγὼ [Λ]ελνός is the right reading, and the author of the curse is therefore unnamed, at least in the extant portion; but the connexion with P. Hamb. 22 is still highly probable. That papyrus was indeed dated by the editor in the fourth century, whereas this is assigned by Schubart to the sixth or seventh; but I should myself decisively rule out so late a date as the seventh, and should not exclude even the fifth; nor does it seem likely that the Hamburg papyrus is as early as its editor places it.

The editor's theory is that the Upsala papyrus was buried with Sabinus, while the Hamburg text, as already said, was designed to figure on his gravestone. P. Ups. 8 was in fact a letter addressed to God, comparable (though any direct connexion with the earlier practice must obviously be ruled out) with those 'Egyptian Letters to the Dead' which formed the subject of a valuable volume by Gardiner and Sethe. It is thus a document of considerable interest, meriting a detailed commentary, and its editor

certainly collects a great deal of useful material bearing, sometimes a little remotely, on questions raised by it; but it must be confessed that there is a good deal of padding and too much discussion of the rather futile kind which raises questions quite impossible to answer. The volume would have gained by being reduced to half its length. Nevertheless the editor is to be congratulated on his find and the skill and learning with which he has presented it.

Some support for the suggestion he makes on p. 72, note 1 (that for καλυμάντων in l. 5 <ἀπο>-καλυμάντων might be read and that αἰδῶ may = αἰδοῖον) may be found in a place which he has overlooked, P. Lond. 1915 (edited in my *Jews and Christians in Ancient Egypt*, p. 73), ll. 23-4, τῶν ἱστικίων τῶν τὴν ἀσχημοσύνην αὐτοῦ περισκεπασμένων παλῆσαι (l. παλ.); Sabinus may, like the man in P. Lond. 1915, have been compelled to sell his clothes.

There is an index, a very full bibliography, and excellent facsimiles of both the Upsala and the Hamburg papyri.

H. I. BELL.

**Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae II: Hirmologium Athoum Codex Monasterii Hiberorum 470.** Edited by CARSTEN HÖEG. Pp. 28; pl. 300. Copenhagen; Levin and Munksgaard, 1938. 270 Kr.

Apart from the *Sticherarium* (which was published in 1935 as the first volume in this series of Byzantine facsimiles), the *Hirmologium* must be regarded as the most important book of Byzantine music. From the purely historical standpoint its interest is even superior to that of the *Sticherarium*. Hence its appearance in phototypic facsimile is an event of unusual importance to students.

From the earliest times certain canticles from the Bible have been classified with the psalms. In connexion with these canticles the Greeks employed hymns of a composite character called Canons (κανόνες). A *Hirmus* (ἱρμός) is a typical strophe of the verses of a Canon. All the verses of a Canon were in the same musical mode, and the verses connected with the same scriptural canticle were identical in metre and melody. Consequently there is a two-fold tradition in regard to the Canons: some books give the words in full without the notes, others give only the first verses, but with the proper melodies. The name *Hirmologia* applies, strictly speaking, only to the second class of manuscripts, which contain all the melodies used in association with the various Canons.

The manuscript here reproduced is from the monastery of Mt. Athos. It apparently dates



from the twelfth century. As regards the text, it is written in the style known as 'mixed minuscule,' and is consistently neat and regular. The neumes seem to have been added by a different hand. The notation is medio-Byzantine, but of an early type akin to the palaeo-Byzantine. Historically, therefore, the manuscript provides a connecting link between those of the Coislin school and the fully developed medio-Byzantine type. This would fix its date at about 1150.

The magnificent plates are preceded by a learned and lucid introduction dealing with the contents of the manuscript and its peculiarities. Further and more detailed studies are said to be in course of preparation.

The gratitude of students is due not only to Prof. Høeg for his splendid work as editor, but also to M. Munksgaard, who has generously borne the enormous expense of publication.

A. G. MURRAY.

#### **Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae Transcripta**

**II: The Hymns of the Sticherarium for November.** Transcribed by H. W. J. TILLYARD. Pp. xx + 177. Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, 1938. 16 Kr.

The publication in 1935 of a phototypic reproduction of the Sticherarium formed a landmark in the study of Byzantine music. It came, in fact, as the first volume of a series which should eventually 'do for Byzantine music what the *Paléographie Musicale* has done for the Gregorian.' But in addition to the series of facsimiles, an independent series of transcriptions in modern musical notation was simultaneously inaugurated. The second number of this latter series has now appeared in Prof. Tillyard's edition of the November Hymns from the Sticherarium.

In a brief Introduction he explains his methods and his objects. The music has been transcribed according to the principles enunciated by the editorial committee of the M.M.B. In the main, the Codex Vindobonensis Theologicus 181—that previously selected for phototypic reproduction—has been followed; but account has been taken of a number of other manuscripts. Seven of the eighty-six hymns, including six of the most 'difficult,' are given both in the staff notation and in the original neumes; the remainder appear in staff notation alone, but with copious editorial explanations.

Prof. Tillyard's chief concern has been 'to give the student all the help that he needs in the perusal of that most difficult manuscript, Codex Dalasseni'—John Dalassenus being the scribe's

name. But his work deserves to reach a wider circle than those primarily interested in Byzantine musical paleography. English musicians are now enabled to acquire a first-hand knowledge of ancient Byzantine melodic forms without the arduous labour of having first of all to master the bewildering notation of the original neumes. In particular, students of the Gregorian Chant should welcome the opportunity of comparing the modal and melodic characteristics of the two systems. For this purpose Prof. Tillyard's 'Analysis of the Modes in the November Hymns' provides a valuable commentary on the melodies transcribed by him.

It seems clear that the main interest of the Hymns is musical rather than literary, as the editor admits in his concluding paragraphs. 'The words,' he says, 'no longer touch us.' He then goes on to ask, rather despondently: 'Can we learn to enjoy the music?' The answer will probably be that, like the Gregorian Chant, this Byzantine music can never fully come to life except as part of the liturgy it was designed to adorn. But, apart from this, it would seem that the whole manner of its performance requires further investigation, just as the monks of Solesmes have supplemented their textual reconstruction of the Gregorian Chant with the establishing of the principles of its interpretation. The only help that Prof. Tillyard can offer is the rather vague assertion that 'The best Gregorian singing provides a sound example for Byzantine music.' The similarity of the two melodic idioms is immediately apparent; but there are also very distinct differences.

It is perhaps unfortunate that room could not be found in the book for a fuller explanation of the precise significance of the many additional signs employed in the transcription. For information on these points the reader is referred to Prof. Tillyard's *Handbook of the Middle Byzantine Notation*. Nevertheless the main lines of the melodies and their general characteristics are sufficiently obvious. It is a remarkable testimony to the learning and labour of Prof. Tillyard and his associate editors, Prof. Carsten Høeg and Prof. Egon Wellesz, that 'the notation (of the neumes) seems at last to have yielded up its secret.'

A. G. M.

*Ἱστορία τοῦ Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους*: Vol. I. (A.D. 395–867). By K. I. AMANTOS. Pp. xvi + 495. Athens, 1939. 250 drs.

Prof. Amantos describes this history of the Byzantine Empire as intended 'for students and schoolmasters,' and as embracing the manifold



results of recent researches. He justly remarks that Byzantium, like the Balkans in recent times, has been maligned, because its historians, like modern newspapers, have unduly stressed the blindings and other sensational horrors, while ignoring heroes and philanthropists. Moreover, its social life has been lately illustrated, although the author admits that even now, after the labours of historians ranging from Finlay to Jorga, 'we do not know Byzantium's internal history well.' But 'the history of the Church enables us better to understand that of the State'; Monasticism originated in Egypt, and he defines the Church as 'the Asiatic element in Byzantine history,' whereas the State long kept 'the Roman tradition,' preserved in Gibbon's title, 'but intellectually came quickly under Greek influence.' Thus, already in 397 decisions of the law-courts were issued in Greek, and Byzantine economic strength was due 'to Greeks and Syrians.' He agrees with Diehl that Byzantine art was a combination of 'Hellenism, the Orient and Christianity,' and admits that 'the imitation of classic writers estranged Byzantine authors from the people'—the beginning of the distinction between the 'pure' and 'vulgar' Greek of to-day. The volume is rather a summary of the latest opinions than an original work, but should be useful to the classes for whom it is intended. There is a full bibliography, the chief references are printed at the end, and the text contains numerous illustrations.

W. MILLER.

Ἡ Ἑνετοκρατία ἐν Κρήτῃ καὶ οἱ κατὰ τοῦ Ἑνετῶν ἀγῶνες τῶν Κρητῶν. By STEPHANOS XANTHOUIDES. Edited by IOANNES KALITSOUNAKES. Pp. xx + 208. Athens, 1939.

This posthumous work of the Cretan historian, finished in 1924, is published without alterations or additions, except to the bibliography and footnotes, where subsequent publications such as those of Kyrou, Gerola and Theotokes<sup>1</sup> have been registered. It consists of four parts: the Venetian settlement after the fourth crusade, the Cretan insurrections against Venice, the classes composing the population and religious, intellectual and commercial conditions during the Venetian domination of the island. The author rejected as a later Frankish invention the statement that a Cretan deputation offered it to Boniface of Montferrat at Corfu in 1203. He showed that the Venetians found a Byzantine feudal system already existing in the island, the

serfs being the Christianised descendants of the Arabs who had once held Crete. His chief difficulty was that, with one notable exception, the Cretan petition of 1224, all the documents are Venetian, and consequently partial, while he, being a Cretan, could see no good in the Venetian system. Of all Greeks, the Cretans gave both Venetians and Turks most trouble, and the author showed that, while the Venetian rebellion of 1368 was speedily suppressed, the purely Cretan insurrections harassed Venice for 157 years. Indeed, they might have been successful, if the Venetian proverb had not come true: *Cinque Greci, cinque generali*. Egoism, as in the case of Alexios Kallerges, competed with nationalism, and even the independent Sphakiotes were divided into two clans. Intellectually there was little culture before the capture of Constantinople, when many Greeks emigrated thence to Crete, but the author considered that after that event 'Crete was the chief intellectual centre of new Hellenism.' Many eminent men were educated at the Sinaitic school at Candia, though they mostly went abroad, and *esser in Candia* was the Venetian phrase for living in poverty, though three trade routes met there. To the account of the Cretan theatre the editor might have added that the 'Sacrifice of Abraham' has recently been acted and that Mavrogordato has made 'Erotokritos' known to the British public. A new edition of Cretan plays is among the unpublished works of the author, which the editor hopes to publish. Ecclesiastically Venetian policy was a compromise between the Papacy and the Greek church; there was no Metropolitan, but the Jesuits were expelled and the Julian calendar retained (even to-day there are *παλαισημερολογίται* in Greece); the Latin clergy was usually only in the towns, the Greek monks and priests were numerous, and played a great part in Blastos' insurrection of 1458. The Jews had to wear a distinctive mark, and were harshly treated. The defect of the book is that it stops short of the siege of 'Troy's rival, Candia.' Kairophylas' monograph on the Blastoi might have been added to the bibliography. There is a portrait of the author and a list of the obituaries of him. No one has written on Cretan history with greater local knowledge.

W. M.

Κύριλλος ὁ Λούκαρις (1572-1638). Edited by the SOCIETY OF CRETAN STUDIES and the ASSOCIATION OF MEDIEVAL LETTERS. Pp. 214. Athens, 1939.

On the tercentenary of his martyrdom, his

<sup>1</sup> *JHS* lix, 184.



compatriots have published this collection of six papers on the career of the Cretan, who, after being Patriarch of Alexandria, was six times Oecumenical Patriarch. His life interests Englishmen owing to his relations with two Archbishops of Canterbury and to the support which, for political reasons, he obtained from Roe, our Ambassador at Constantinople, whereas the French Ambassador received orders to get rid of him. He sent to Laud an Arabian translation of the Pentateuch, to James I the Codex Alexandrinus of the Scriptures, and dedicated to Charles I a book printed at the short-lived press which a Cephalonian, Metaxás, brought on an English ship to Constantinople in 1627. In 1617, at James' and Abbot's suggestion, he sent the first Greek to study at Oxford. Coinciding with the Thirty Years' War, his interrupted Patriarchate was a continual struggle between the rival powers, Protestant and Catholic, at Constantinople, in which he took an active part; he was accused of being a Protestant and Calvinist, and, according to his friend, Pococke, then chaplain to our Embassy, of treachery to the Sultan. These intrigues are still obscure, but he was strangled and his body thrown into the sea. The last essay maintains that it was buried on the islet of St. Andrew, of which there are four illustrations, besides twenty-five others, including portraits of Roe and Pococke. There is a full bibliography. The best comment on its subject is *Tantaene animis coelestibus irae!* W. M.

Ἱστορικὸν Ἀρχεῖον Κάσου. 3 vols. Edited by N. G. MAURES. Pp. xx + 745. Athens, 1937-8. 400 drs.

The island of Kasos, now occupied by Italy, has been twice famous in modern Greek history—when the Egyptian pasha's Albanian troops ravaged it in 1824, and when Venizelos fled thither after the abortive insurrection of 1935. These volumes contain 694 documents, of which 508 hitherto unpublished, from various Greek, British, and French archives, illustrating its history from 1798 to 1872, together with copies of the municipal seals from 1782 to 1852. The documents are arranged in seven categories, while an eighth contains extracts from the Greek and Levantine press between 1823 and 1830, when Kasos was left, as now, outside the frontiers of the Greek State. Most of them naturally relate to the struggle for independence, though the editor remarks that one of his fellow-islanders was the first captain to traverse the Suez Canal and another to navigate the Panama Canal. There is the touching but vain appeal

to Hydra for aid against the Egyptian fleet, when 'Kasos through its tragic fate stopped the enemy's advance into the Morea.' A letter of 1834 announces to the Regency the dispatch of a mission, including an ancestor of the editor, to inform it of the intention of the Kasiotes 'to emigrate to free Greece, whose struggles they had shared, and in whose assemblies their representatives had sat.' The French naval documents regard Kasos as 'a pirate stronghold,' with which France had had difficulties, and report without regret its capture, which is related in detail by the British Ambassador at Constantinople and the Consul at Alexandria. There is a brief account of the Turkish system of government, Kasos being under the Capitan-Pasha, but locally administered by the usual Greek *ἐκπολιτιστής*. The Greek Government in 1838 accepted the proposal to grant the exile lands in Amorgos. The work ends with a lexicon of the nautical terms and Turkish and Italian words often unrecognisable in their Greek transliteration. The whole might have been condensed, but the editor hopes to write a history of Kasos, based upon the documents.

W. M.

Salonique à la fin du xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle. By M. LASCARIS. Pp. 75. Athens, 1939.

The professor of Balkan history at Salonika University<sup>1</sup> has produced from the largely unpublished documents of the French Consulate, founded in 1685, a clear account of the political, racial, and economic condition of the Macedonian seaport during the latter half of the eighteenth century. In 1777 its population consisted of 70,000, of whom 30,000 were Turks, 25,000 Jews, and 15,000 Greeks, while of the Turks 5,000 were *deunmeh*. The Jews paid taxes in military cloth, and there were two English firms, and the British alone had the barter system, the reverse of to-day, when Germany gives her manufactures in exchange for Greek tobacco. But already it was remarked that 'Germany for some time past inundates the Ottoman provinces bordering on the Danube with her wares.' The Thessalonians were in a miserable state: commerce was declining, and the Jews oppressed. The twenty-four villages of Petron belonged to the Sultane Valide; 'the form of the Turkish government in the provinces was a military aristocracy,' but till his annihilation by the Capitan-Pasha in 1779 Abdil-Aga of Do-iran was a local tyrant with Albanian supporters. The appearance of a Russian fleet in the Aegean

<sup>1</sup> *JHS* xlv, 265.



in 1771 during the Russo-Turkish war caused repairs to the walls of Salonika.

W. M.

Ἡ Πελοπόννησος κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν Τουρκοκρατίαν (1715-1821). By MICHAEL B. SAKELLARIOU. Pp. viii + 305. Athens: Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher, 1939. 200 *drs.*

This is an excellent subject for a monograph, because the Morea during the second Turkish period, which followed the brief Venetian revival, formed 'an organic whole,' governed by a Vali, whose seat was Nauplia or Tripolis, until Maina was separated in 1776 and placed under the Capitan-Pasha. The period falls naturally into two sections: that before and that after Orloff's abortive insurrection of 1770. As the Greeks had preferred Turkish to Venetian rule, largely because the Turkish free-trade system encouraged Moreote commerce, whereas the protectionist Venetians hampered it, they were not treated as a conquered race, but allowed to hold land, one-third of which belonged to them, while the Turks lived chiefly in the towns. While in 1715 the Greek population was 245,000, owing to the emigration to Cargèse in Corsica, in 1821 it was 360,000, as against 40,000 Turks.

The relations between the two races were generally good; religious tolerance was shown; the monks of Megaspelaion sheltered Turks; intermarriages took place; and, as at Athens, the Greeks enjoyed local government, and had the right to send representatives to the Porte. In practice the Greek magnates belonged to a few families, a species of Whig aristocracy, such as those of Zaimes, Krevvatas, and Petmezas (of which a monograph has just appeared). As usual, there were party fights between them, and the author sarcastically considers this an education for political life. After this account of social and economic conditions, with French traders and their consulate at Coron, and the British at Patras, where we still have a colony, he narrates the insurrection of 1770, which failed owing to the lack of central direction, and was decided by the Albanian inroad so fatal to Mistra, whence Venizelos' ancestors fled to Crete, and others to Minorca. Mutual fear of the Arnauts united Greeks and Turks, who sometimes talked Greek. But the French Revolution injured Moreote trade, largely consisting, as now, of the export of currants to England, and Bonaparte sent the Stephanopoli propagandists to Maina. There is a full bibliography.

W. M.







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Cambridge. 1938.



TWENTY-FIFTH LIST OF  
ACCESSIONS TO THE CATALOGUE OF SLIDES  
TOPOGRAPHY, EXCAVATIONS, ETC.

The East.

- 06594 **Ankara**, Temple of Augustus from S. (1938).

Cyprus.

- 06721 **Erimi**, neolithic site, E. side, showing superimposed layers (*Report Dept. Antiqs. Cyprus*, 1936, pl. 6<sup>1</sup>).  
06723 " circular neolithic house, with burial, fifth layer (*id.*, 1934, pl. 1<sup>1</sup>).  
06986 **Khirkitia**, neolithic settlement, upper part (*JHS*. 58, p. 237, fig. 13).  
06740 " " " sacrificial tables.

Crete.

- 07023 **Cnossos**, bath with painted exterior, Queen's Megaron bathroom (Evans, *Palace*, iii, fig. 256).  
07024 **Phaistos**, larnakes in situ (Pernier, *Festós*, p. 28).  
07027 **Tylissos**, plan of the site (cf. Hazzidakis, *Villa Minotaur*, pl. xxxiii).  
07021 " house C. Corridor B and stairway (*id. ib.* pl. ix).  
07026 " " Raised stone water channel (*id. ib.* pl. xiii. 2).  
07025 " " Settling tank and stone water channel.  
07028 " threshold and door jamb.

Greece.

- 06981 **Olynthus**, houses at (*JHS*. 58, p. 228, fig. 7).

Italy.

Rome.

- B4111 Forum, Sullan period, plan (*JRS*. 12, plan 1).  
B4113 " view from Campanile of S. Francesca Romana.  
B4120 " view from Palatine.  
B4114 " view towards temple of Antoninus and Faustina.  
B4116 " Basilica Aemilia, marble frieze from.  
B4130 " Column of Duilius, reconstruction (Mostra Augustea).  
B4112 " Regia, plan (*Mem. Am. Acad.* 12, pl. 4).  
B4115 " Rostra with temples of Saturn and Vespasian.  
B4117 " of Julius Caesar.  
B4129 " of Augustus, model (Mostra Augustea).  
B4131 Mausoleum of Augustus, model of core (Mostra Augustea).  
B4166 Stadium of Domitian, remains in Piazza Navona (*Jahrb.* 52, p. 393).  
B4118 Tarpeian rock.  
B4139 Temple of Bellona, fallen columns.  
B4140 " " " cornice.  
B4119 Theatre of Marcellus.  
B4128 " " model (Mostra Augustea).

- 07101 **South Italy**, map showing proveniences of early Italiote vases (Trendall, *Frühit. Vasen*, p. 44).

- B4146 **Ostia**, House of the Seven Sages, colonnaded court (*Capit.* 1938, p. 9).  
B4149 " " " painting of the Sages (*ibid.* p. 12).  
B4162 " Thermae, large circular mosaic pavement in great hall (*Jahrb.* 52, p. 383).  
B4141 " Cemetery discovered near the autostrada (*Capit.* 1938, p. 1).  
B4152 " Isola Sacra: plebeian cemetery.  
B4155 " " " " another view.  
B4156 " " " tombs.  
06595 **Paestum**, near, Argive Heraeum; aerial view of excavations (*JHS*. 58, p. 252, fig. 3).  
B4527 **Pompeii**, House of the Balcony (Carrington, *Pompeii*, pl. 7).  
B4528 " " " Menander, rustic atrium (*ibid.*, pl. 8).  
B4529 " " " Silver Wedding, room (*ibid.*, pl. 16).  
B4530 " " " Surgeon, façade (*ibid.*, pl. 5).  
B4121 **Rimini**, Arch of Augustus.

Roman Germany.

- B4524 **Saalburg**, aerial view of Roman camp.  
B4525 " Roman well-heads (reconstructed).  
B4526 " Roman *onager* (reconstructed).







- 67066 The Rampin head, full-face (Payne & Young, pl. 116).  
 67092 Head of ephebus. Acropolis Mus. No. 689, full face (Payne & Young, pl. 113).  
 65597 Xoana from Palma Montechiaro (*JHS*. 58, p. 248, fig. 2).  
 67067 'Aphrodite' of Lyons, upper part, back and front.  
 67068 " " lower part, Acropolis Mus. No. 269; front and l. side views (Payne & Young, pl. 25<sup>1,2,3</sup>).  
 67069 " " " " " r. side and back views (*ibid.* pl. 25<sup>1,2,3</sup>).  
 67091 Kore. Acropolis Mus. No. 609, feet and base; foot and base, No. 136 (Payne & Young, pl. 87<sup>1</sup> and 44<sup>2</sup>).  
 67081 " " " 627, front view (*ibid.* pl. 121<sup>2</sup>), and 'Chios' torso from Delphi.  
 67082 " " " 674, front and back views (*ibid.* pl. 75<sup>2</sup>, 76<sup>1</sup>).  
 67074 " " " 679, front back and side views (*ibid.* pl. 29<sup>1,2</sup>, 30<sup>1</sup>).  
 67076 " " " 679, head, full face (*ibid.* pl. 32).  
 67077 " " " 679 and 'Aphrodite' of Lyons, heads, full face (*ibid.* pl. 32, 24<sup>1</sup>).  
 67079 " " " 682, side view and No. 594 three-quarter view (*ibid.* pl. 41<sup>1</sup>, 48<sup>1</sup>).  
 67080 " " " 682, head and shoulders three-quarter view (*ibid.* pl. 40).  
 67089 " " " 686, three views (*ibid.* pl. 86<sup>1,2,4</sup>).  
 67090 " " " 686, head, full face and profile (*ibid.* pl. 85<sup>1,2</sup>).  
 67065 Female heads, Acropolis Mus. Nos. 617 and 654 (Payne & Young, pl. 9<sup>2</sup> and 11<sup>1</sup>).  
 67072 " head, Acropolis Mus. No. 654 and head of 'Aphrodite' of Lyons, profile (*ibid.* pl. 11<sup>2</sup> and 24<sup>1</sup>).  
 67083 " heads, Acropolis Mus. Nos. 643 and 674, full face (*ibid.* pl. 70, 77).  
 67086 " " " 643 and 674, profile (*ibid.* pl. 78<sup>1</sup>, 71<sup>2</sup>).  
 67087 " head, Acropolis Mus. No. 696, full face (*ibid.* pl. 82).  
 67088 " " " 696, profile (*ibid.* pl. 83<sup>1</sup>).  
 67062 Moschophorus, head only, full face (Payne & Young, pl. 41<sup>1</sup>).  
 67063 " head and shoulders, three-quarter front view (*ibid.* pl. 3<sup>1</sup>).  
 67064 " calf's head, profile (*ibid.* pl. 4<sup>1</sup>).
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- B4144 Perseus with head of Medusa. Ostia (*Capit.* 1938, p. 6).  
 B4159 Child on horseback, marble group. Ostia.
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- B4174 Rome, Ara Pacis; reconstructed drawing by G. Gatti.  
 B4126 " " plaster model restoration (Mostra Augustea).  
 B4125 " " reliefs, new (1937) fragments (Augustus and Lictors).  
 B4171 " " " new (1937) slab (Flamines) and fragments (Augustus and Lictors) (*Jahrb.* 52, p. 402).  
 B4170 " " " detail (heads) of the Flamines slab (*ibid.* p. 399, fig. 19).  
 B4176 " " " Procession, N. side.  
 B4175 " " " Procession, N. side, continuation.  
 B4169 " " " floral scrolls, from Terme Mus. (*Jahrb.* 52, p. 399, fig. 18).  
 B4179 " " " new (1937) slab, garland.  
 B4178 " " " internal altar, left flank, outer side.  
 B4177 " " " " " inner side.
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- B4122 Sarcophagus with hunting scenes discovered in lower church of S. Clemente, 1937.  
 B4123 " " in S. Clemente, left end: hunters.  
 B4124 " " " right end: a hunter.  
 B4150 " " of the Archigallus from Isola Sacra, Ostia; lid.  
 B4151 Reliefs from the tomb of the Archigallus, Ostia.
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- B4165 Augustus, recently discovered portrait. Capitoline Mus. (*Jahrb.* 52, p. 389).  
 B4172 " portrait from Fondi. Naples Mus. (*ibid.* p. 411).  
 B4173 " " " profile (*ibid.* p. 414).  
 B4164 Hadrian, portrait head from Ostia (*Jahrb.* 52, p. 386).  
 B4163 Trajan, portrait head from Ostia (*Jahrb.* 52, p. 385).  
 B4167 Portrait of unknown Roman of Augustan Age: Rome, Antiquario comunale (*Jahrb.* 52, p. 395).  
 B4168 " " " Antonine age: Rome, Antiquario Comunale (*Jahrb.* 52, p. 397).  
 B4157 " an unknown man. Ostia Mus.  
 B4158 " " " period of Commodus. Ostia Mus.
- 
- 67050 Archaic bronze bull's head. Delphi Mus. (cf. *Fouilles de Delphes*, v. pl. 14<sup>1</sup>).  
 67073 Early terracotta statuette, Rhodian 'priestess' type; three views.



## VASES.

- 06984 Proto-geometric pyxis from the Ceramicus (*JHS.* 58, p. 220, fig. 3).  
 06973 François Vase, battle of cranes and pygmies (*F.-R.* pl. 3, part).

## South Italian.

*Mythological.*

- 07106 **Amykos**, punishment of; hydria, Bib. Nat. 442 (Trendall, *Frühit. Vasen*, pl. 5).  
 07125 **Apollo**, sacrifice to, volute-krater in Ruvo.  
 07123 **Boreas** and Oreithyia; volute-krater, in B.M.  
 07121 **Dionysus**, birth of; volute-krater in Taranto (Trendall, *Frühit. Vasen*, pl. 31).  
 07127 " with attendants; volute-krater in Taranto (*id. ib.* pl. 24).  
 07128 " and flute-playing Maenad; detail of 07127 (*id. ib.* pl. 25).  
 07104 Maenad and Silens; bell-krater in Bologna (Trendall, *Frühit. Vasen*, pl. 3b).  
 07107 Dionysiac scene on 'Amykos' hydria; Bib. Nat. 442.  
 07108 (a) Silen and Maenads; bell-krater, Athens 1422. (b) Pursuit scenes; hydria, Louvre K. 539.  
 07110 " " " bell-krater (Trendall, *Frühit. Vasen*, pl. 13b).  
 07131 Bacchic scene; bell-krater, Vienna 646; Tarporley painter.  
 07132 " " Apulian bell-kraters in Copenhagen.  
 07126 **Eleusinian**. The Underworld; volute-krater, Munich 3297.  
 07116 **Herakles** and the Nemean Lion; bell-krater, Naples 2861 (Trendall, *Frühit. Vasen*, pl. 17b).  
 07114 (a) **Herakles** and Nike. (b) Youth and woman; late Lucanian amphorae.  
 07124 **Lycurgus**, madness of; calyx-krater, B.M. F271.  
 07109 **Marsyas**, punishment of; kotyle in New York (Trendall, *Frühit. Vasen*, pl. 9).  
 07119 **Muses**; centaureomachy. Reverse of 'Sisyphus' krater, Munich 3268.  
 07129 **Nike** crowning rider; bell-krater, Louvre G493. Sisyphus painter.  
 07130 " and rider; bell-krater in Durham. Tarporley painter.  
 07113 **Orestes** and Electra at tomb of Agamemnon; Lucanian pelike in Louvre.  
 07117 **Sisyphus**, marriage of; Jason and the Golden Fleece, volute-krater, Munich 3268 (Trendall, *Frühit. Vasen*, pl. 19).  
 07118 " " " detail of 07117 (*id. ib.* pl. 20).

*Trojan Cycle.*

- 07111 Capture of Dolon; calyx-krater, B.M. F157 (Trendall, *Frühit. Vasen*, pl. 14a).  
 07122 Iliupersis; B.M. F160.

*Ancient Life.*

- 07103 Warrior departing; S. Italian krater in Rome.  
 07105 " pursuing women; pelike in Taranto (Trendall, *Frühit. Vasen*, pl. 2c).  
 07112 (a) Victorious athlete; bell-krater in Vienna by the Creusa painter. (b) Dionysus and Silenus; krater by the Dolon painter, once in Durham.  
 07102 Flute girl, youth and man; bell-krater in Boston (Trendall, *Frühit. Vasen*, pl. 1).  
 07115 Dancing girl; calyx-krater, Berlin F2400.  
 07120 Komos; volute-krater in Goluchow (Trendall, *Frühit. Vasen*, pl. 21a).

*Note.*—The above slides arranged in numerical order form a set on 'Early South Italian Vase Painting'.

## PAINTING AND MOSAICS.

- B4142 **Ostia**. Lion with prey; painting from tomb in cemetery near autostrada (*Capit.* 1938, p. 4).  
 B4145 " The toilet of Venus, detail; Cupid with mirror (*ibid.* p. 6).  
 B4161 " Winged attendant; from tomb in Via Laurentina (*Jahrb.* 32, p. 381).  
 B4143 **Ostia**. Mosaic in house near autostrada (*Capit.* 1938, p. 5).  
 B4154 " Isola sacra. Mosaic of the doves.

## MINOR ARTS.

- 7228 Calenian phiale, Odysseus and the Sirens (cf. Pagenstecher, fig. 36).

## MISCELLANEA.

- B4533 Painted Roman shield from Dura Europos.  
 B4534 Roman legionary sword and scabbard from Mainz.  
 C7141-C7157 Wild flowers of Attica, a series of 18 coloured slides from the plates of Atchley, *Wild Flowers of Attica*, 1938.



## SETS OF SLIDES

THE main collection of some 12,000 lantern slides can be drawn on in any quantity, large or small, for lecturing on practically any branch of classical archaeology. For those who have opportunity, no method is so satisfactory as personal selection of the slides from the pictures arranged in a subject order in the Library.

But the following sets of slides, complete with texts will be found useful to those lecturers who have not facilities for choosing their own slides. The idea of these sets originated with the late Mr. G. H. Hallam. The thanks of the Society are also accorded those who have been at the pains of undertaking the not easy task of telling a plain tale on the subjects with which they are most familiar to a general audience.

Suitable handbooks dealing with the different subjects can also be lent from the library to lecturers in advance of their lectures.

### LIST OF SETS.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <b>The Prehellenic Age</b> (classified list of slides only).  | <b>Modern Greek Country Life</b> (classified list of slides only). |
| <b>Early Malta</b> (N. S. Clogstoun).   |  |
| <b>The Geography of Greece</b> (A. J. Toynbee).   |  |
| <b>Ancient Athens: historical sketch</b> (S. Casson).   |  |
| <b>Ancient Athens: topographical</b> (annotated list of slides only, D. Brooke).  |  |
| <b>The Acropolis</b> (A. H. Smith).   |  |
| <b>Ancient Architecture</b> (D. S. Robertson).  |  |
| <b>Greek Sculpture</b> (J. Penoyre).  |  |
| <b>The Parthenon</b> (A. H. Smith).   |  |
| <b>Greek Vases</b> (M. A. B. Braunholtz).   |  |
| <b>Greek Painting</b> (T. B. L. Webster. This has been so arranged that it can be given either as two lectures or, by the omission of all slides bearing even numbers, as one). |  |
| <b>A Survey of early Greek Coins: 7 slides showing 49 coins</b> (P. Gardner).   |  |
| <b>Some Coins of Sicily</b> (G. F. Hill).   |  |
| <b>Greek Papyri</b> (H. I. Bell).   |  |
| <b>Olympia and Greek Athletics</b> (E. N. Gardner).   |  |
| <b>Xenophon: the expedition of Cyrus and Xenophon's Anabasis</b> (annotated list of slides only, by A. W. and B. I. Lawrence).  |  |
| <b>Alexander the Great</b> (D. G. Hogarth).   |  |
| <b>The Travels of St. Paul</b> (no text).   |  |
| <b>The Ancient Theatre</b> (J. T. Sheppard).  |  |
| <b>Ancient Life, Greek</b> (annotated list of slides only).   |  |
| <b>Greek Scenery</b> (classified list of slides only).  |  |
| <b>The Greek Church</b> (classified list of slides only).   |  |
|   | <b>Life in the Roman World</b> (H. H. Symonds).                    |
|   | <b>Ancient Life, Roman</b> (annotated list of slides).             |
|   | <b>Rome</b> (H. M. Last).  |
|   | <b>The Roman Forum</b> (G. H. Hallam).                             |
|   | <b>The Roman Forum, for advanced students</b> (T. Ashby).          |
|   | <b>The Palatine and Capitol</b> (T. Ashby).                        |
|   | <b>Trajan's Market-Buildings</b> (A. H. Smith).                    |
|   | <b>The Via Appia</b> (R. Gardner).                                 |
|   | <b>The Roman Campagna</b> (T. Ashby).                              |
|   | <b>Roman Portraiture</b> (Mrs. S. Arthur Strong).                  |
|   | <b>Romans in Portraiture</b> (H. H. Symonds).                      |
|   | <b>Horace</b> (G. H. Hallam).                                      |
|   | <b>Virgil</b> (H. R. Fairclough).                                  |
|   | <b>Pompeii</b> (A. van Buren).                                     |
|   | <b>Ostia</b> (T. Ashby).   |
|   | <b>Ostia</b> (R. Meiggs).  |
|   | <b>Sicily</b> (H. E. Butler).                                      |
|   | <b>The Roman Rhone</b> (S. E. Winbolt).                            |
|   | <b>Timgad</b> (H. E. Butler).                                      |
|   | <b>Roman Britain</b> (Mortimer Wheeler).                           |
|   | <b>The Roman Wall</b> (R. G. Collingwood).                         |
|   | <b>The Roman Soldier</b> (H. H. Symonds).                          |
|   | <b>The Religion of Roman Britain</b> (Miss N. C. Jolliffe).        |
|   | <b>The Byzantine Civilisation: unillustrated</b> (J. B. Bury).     |

The sets consist of about 50 carefully selected slides, and the cost of hire including the text is 6s.; postage is extra.

Application should be made to The Librarian, Hellenic and Roman Societies, 50, Bedford Square, W.C.1.









b. BRONZE HANDLE FROM OLYMPIA.



a. BRONZE HEAD OF A GRIFIN FROM OLYMPIA.









a. LH II-III AMPHORA FROM THE BOTHROS BY THE TREASURY OF ATREUS, MYCENAE.



b. ATTIC TREFOIL-MOUTHED OLPE.  
(National Museum, Athens.)



c. MOSAIC FROM SICILY.









b.



c.

IVORY GROUP FROM MYCENAE.



a. IVORY PYXIS FROM THE ACROPS, ATHENS.







SKYPHOS IN THE WINCHESTER COLLEGE MUSEUM.





# THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION

OF

## HELLENIC STUDIES

50 BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1.

### REPORT FOR THE SESSION 1938-39.

THE Council beg leave to submit their report for the Session now concluded:—

#### Finance.

The Accounts for the year 1938 may be considered satisfactory in that they show a credit balance of £117, although the *Journal* cost £150 more and the valuation of the stock of *Artemis Orthia*, which stood at £150 in the Balance Sheet, was completely written off. But members' subscriptions have again declined, though the effect of this has been temporarily counteracted by the larger amount transferred from Life Compositions owing to mortality among Life Members. The subscriptions from Student Associates and Libraries, on the other hand, are slightly higher.

The following figures show the membership at June 1st for the last three years:—

	Members.	Life Members.	Student Associates.	Libraries.	Total.
1937	1,052	150	230	307	1,739
1938	1,023	149	253	321	1,746
1939	1,008	144	241	328	1,721

The Council desire to emphasise the need for new members in addition to those who are eligible as Student Associates.

In order to increase the overseas membership of the Society, the Council have proposed that the Rules be altered so that persons residing outside the British Isles may be admitted to membership without payment of the Entrance Fee.

The Council have learned with regret that the London Association of Certified Accountants who have occupied the upper part of the house since 1926 now find the premises too small for their expanding business and will move elsewhere on the expiration of their lease next Michaelmas.

#### Obituary.

Among the numerous losses which the Council have had to record with regret during the past session is that of an Honorary Member, Mubarek Ghalib Eldem, formerly Director General of the Museum at Ankara.

The Council also deplore the loss of one of their own number, Professor Sir William

Mitchell Ramsay, a Life Member of the Society, who died on April 20th, in his 89th year. He was elected a member of the Council in 1885, in which year also he was appointed to the newly-created Chair of Classical Archaeology at Oxford. From 1886 to 1911 he was Professor of Humanity at Aberdeen. In 1897 he was elected a Vice-President of the Society; he was also an original Vice-President of the Roman Society.

For almost half a century he was among the most widely known of living scholars. From specialist circles his fame spread out into those of the general reader, and the early stages of this growth can be dated. During the decade beginning in 1880 the learned world knew him well through his Anatolian travels and from many articles, three of which are in the first volume of the *Journal*. In 1890 the scientific world was impressed by *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, a work still without rival, for which Ramsay received the Victoria Medal of the Royal Geographical Society. Since 1893 the general public have come to know him as historian of Early Christianity, the author of *The Church in the Roman Empire before 170 A.D.*, of *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen* and of many other books combining erudition with literary charm.

His published works seem to defy classification, but a careful survey of their titles (*Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay*, pp. xiii-xxxviii), reveals their fundamental unity. Practically all of them elucidate or illustrate some aspect of a single subject, Asia Minor from Hittite to Turk.

Space forbids any attempt to summarise Ramsay's papers on the various topics above mentioned or to list the journals, British and foreign, in which they appeared. Those relating to three of his best known discoveries may be cited as mere samples.

When in 1883 (*JHS* iv, pp. 424-7) Ramsay announced that an 18-line inscription found by him in Phrygia was 'a fragment of the epitaph of Saint Abercius,' few can have foreseen the fierce controversies that were to centre in 'cette merveilleuse découverte' (*Byzantion* iii, 1927, pp. 325 f.). The original monument, presented by the Sultan to the Pope, is now in the Lateran Museum.

Η ΕΝ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΙΑΙ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑ  
ΤΗΙ ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΙ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΙ  
ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ

Λαβόντες τὸ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπεσταλμένον ἀντίγραφον τοῦ παρὰ τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας κυρωθέντος ψηφίσματος ἡσθημεν μαυθάνοντες ὅτι οὐ μόνον ἐν τῷ ἐνεστῶτι ἐνιαυτῷ συντελέσετε πανήγυριν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἑκατονταετηρίδι τῆς ἀειμνήστου ἰδρύσεως τῆς ὑμετέρας Ἑταιρείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας προσκαλεῖτε ἡμᾶς ὅπως μετέχωμεν τῶν ἀχθησομένων τελετῶν. Ἡμεῖς οὖν εὐχαρίστως μεμνημένοι τῶν Διὰ προγόνων ἐξ ἀρχῆς γεγενημένων ὑπ' αὐτῆς εὐεργετημάτων πρὸς τό τε ἀνευρεῖν καὶ τὸ Διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχειν τὰ ἀπανταχοῦ τῆς Ἑλλάδος μνημεῖα τῆς ἀρχαίας τέχνης καὶ Δὴ ἅπαντα τὰ λείψανα τοῦ λαμπροτάτου παρελθόντος τῆς ὑμετέρας πατρίδος, καὶ Δὴ καὶ χάριτας ἀξίας ἀποδιδόντες τῆς ὑμετέρας πρὸς τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας παρ' ὑμῖν ξένους τοὺς τὰ ἀρχαῖα σπουδάζοντας φιλοξενίας τε καὶ συνεργασίας, προθυμότατα ἀποδεχόμεθα τὴν ὑμέτεραν πρόσκλησιν· Διὸ καὶ ἐψηφίσμεθα θεωρὸν ἀποστεῖλαι Ριχάρδον Δαυὶδ Βάρνεττ ὅστις ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις παραγενόμενος παρ' ὑμᾶς ἐν τῇ πανηγυρικῇ συνόδῳ καὶ πόλλ' ἀγαθὰ ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα ἐπευχόμενος χρόνον τοῖς συνεταίροις ἀποδώσει τῷ προεστῶτι τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τὸ ἔγγραφον τόδε. Ἑρρωσθε.

Βασιλεύοντος Γεωργίου τοῦ Ἑκτου, ἔτους β'.

Ὁ Πρόεδρος

ὁ Γραμματεὺς

*Richard W. Livingstone*

*John Fawcett*



Scarcely less notable was Ramsay's success in rediscovering the Charter of Orcistus (c. A.D. 323), which others had sought in vain. The correct text, which we owe to his efforts, was published by Mommsen in *Bruns' Fontes*, *Hermes* xxii, 1887, p. 316, and *CIL* iii, 7000; it does not figure among its discoverer's publications, the account of his researches being recorded only in his letter to Mommsen (*Hermes* xxii, pp. 310-14).

Another striking find was made just before the War, in May 1914, at Pisidian Antioch. Ramsay's workmen unearthed many small fragments of a Latin inscription soon recognised by him as a replica of the *Res gestae* of Augustus; see *JRS* vi, 1916, pp. 105 f. After the War, with financial help from the University of Michigan for an excavation conducted by Professor David M. Robinson, 283 fragments of that document were recovered; in 1927 they were edited by Ramsay, in collaboration with A. von Premerstein, as *Monumentum Antiochenum* (*Klio* Beiheft xix).

These contributions to knowledge, however impressive, represent but a fraction of Ramsay's achievement; his fittest memorial will be his bibliography, not yet carried beyond 1923. What he was as friend and as inspirer of younger men cannot be told here.

Robert Leslie Beaumont, a Life Member of the Society, who was killed at the age of 24 while climbing in Wales last August, had already shown that he would be a worthy successor to Alan Blakeway, whom he followed as Tutor from Christ Church to Corpus Christi College in 1937. He had been a pupil of Mr. A. R. Burn at Uppingham, came to Oxford as a scholar and obtained a First in Greats, the Craven Fellowship, and the Cromer Prize—this last with a notable essay on the Greeks in the Adriatic, later published in *JHS* lvi. To research he brought the same fire which inspired his games, his climbing in the Caucasus and elsewhere, his flying and his gliding. In his generation of scholars he seemed destined to attain the status of Blakeway and Payne, and his loss to Greek History is, in sober truth, irreparable.

The Society has also to record with regret the loss of the following:—Prof. L. Abercrombie, \*Hon. Cecil Baring, Mr. W. A. Brigg, \*Mr. A. E. Brown, Mr. J. J. Buckley, Prof. F. Carter, Lord Chalmers, Mr. J. F. Chance, Mrs. R. W. Chapin, Sir Cyril Cobb, Prof. H. R. Fairclough, The Rev. Canon J. H. How, Mrs. G. A. Macmillan, \*Mr. G. E. Marindin (a former Member of the Council), \*Sir Robert Mond, Mr. W. E. Muir, \*Mrs. W. E. P. Pantin, Prof. E. D. Perry,

\*Mr. F. R. Pryor, Miss E. J. Sloane, \*Prof. J. Wackernagel and Mr. R. Townsend Warner.

#### Relations with other Bodies.

At the centenary celebrations of the Archaeological Society of Athens last October, the Society was represented by Mr. R. D. Barnett, who presented a congratulatory address on behalf of the Council. This is reproduced in facsimile on the opposite page.

#### Administration.

The Council have recently had the pleasure of electing the following as Honorary Members of the Society: Dr. L. Curtius of Rome, Prof. A. Maiuri of Naples, Dr. S. Marinatos of Athens, Prof. Ch. Picard of Paris, Miss G. M. A. Richter of New York and Dr. C. F. A. Schaeffer of St. Germain.

The following Members of Council retire under Rule 19: Mr. M. P. Charlesworth, Mr. R. H. Dundas, Lady Evans, Miss Joan Evans, Mr. R. J. H. Jenkins, Miss C. M. Knight, Mr. H. C. Oakley, Prof. H. A. Ormerod, Mr. F. N. Pryce, Mr. E. S. G. Robinson and Mr. A. P. Sinker.

The Council have nominated for election as members of their body for the next three years: Mr. W. L. Cuttle, Prof. J. F. Dobson, Mr. C. G. Hardie, Miss W. Lamb, Mr. D. L. Page, Mr. F. H. Sandbach, Prof. P. N. Ure, Prof. H. T. Wade-Gery, Prof. E. H. Warmington and Prof. T. B. L. Webster.

The Council have pleasure in announcing that Miss W. Lamb has been elected to the Standing Committee in place of Dr. H. I. Bell, who retires by rotation.

The Council again thank Mr. C. F. Clay and Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan for acting as Auditors and have nominated them for re-election.

The Council have learned with regret of Prof. F. H. Marshall's retirement from the Acting Editorial Committee, of which he had been a valued member since 1926. They welcome Mr. A. S. F. Gow, of Trinity College, Cambridge, in his place.

Arrangements are being made for the compilation of an Index to Volumes 43 to 60 of the *Journal*, which it is hoped to issue early in 1941; it is the Council's intention that in future an index should cover 20 volumes of the *Journal*. The List of Members, after a lapse of many years, was distributed with the January issue.

As the printers have requested the Council to limit the amount of space occupied by the stock of the *Journal*, it is intended to reduce any excess above 50 copies in the stock of volumes 1-42. Members who are anxious to complete sets of early volumes on favourable terms are

\* Life Members.



asked to make their requirements known without delay.

### Meetings.

The following communications have been made during the session:—

Nov. 1st, 1938. Mr. P. Dikaïos, Curator of the Cyprus Museum, on 'Prehistoric Cyprus and its relations with East and West.'

Feb. 7th, 1939. Prof. R. M. Dawkins on 'An unpublished collection of Modern Greek Songs and Folk Tales.'

May 2nd, 1939. Prof. C. N. Cochrane on 'Diabolism in Greco-Roman Thought.'

June 27th, 1939. Sir Richard Livingstone (Presidential Address) on 'Some Tasks for Greek Scholarship.'

Summaries of the above communications, where available, will appear in the Society's *Journal*.

### The Joint Library.

The following figures show the work done during the last three sessions:—

	Library.		
	1936-7	1937-8	1938-9
Books added.....	579	495	537
Books borrowed ...	4,853	4,741	4,453
Borrowers.....	685	603	702

### Slide Collections, etc.

	1936-7	1937-8	1938-9
Slides added.....	178	171	163
Slides borrowed ...	4,714	6,685	5,070
Slides sold.....	512	461	493
Photographs sold...	182	85	150

The following are among the interesting accessions made during the year:—*Mélanges Syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*, *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara*, Thomson's edition of *Aeschylus' Oresteia*, Krencker and Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien*, Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums*, Giglioli, *L'Arte Etrusca*, all the fascicules so far published of the magnificent *Monumenti della pittura antica scoperti in Italia*, Pernice, *Pavimente und figürliche Mosaiken*, the third volume of Strack's important *Untersuchungen zur Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, the first volume of the definitive publication of *The Athenian Tribute Lists* by Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, the fifth volume of the Catalogue of ancient sculpture in the Berlin Museum, the catalogue of sculpture in the Magazine of the Vatican Museum, and the catalogue of gold-work in the Benaki Museum, Athens. The past year has also brought the definitive volumes of

the Swedish excavations at *Asine* and *Messenia* and further volumes of the publications of the excavations in *Cyprus* (Swedish Expedition), *Delos*, *Ephesus*, and *Olynthus*. The *Cambridge Ancient History* has now been completed by the recent publication of Vol. XII; the concluding parts of the following have also been received during the year, Adler's edition of *Suidas*, Kranz's edition of Diels' *Vorsokratiker*, and Kern's *Die Religion der Griechen*, and the first two fascicules of the German section of the *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*.

The following additional periodicals are now taken by the Library:—*Aegyptus*, *Le Arti*, *Bucurestii*, *Bulletin of the Turkish Historical Society*, *Classica et Mediaevalia*, *Deutsches Jahrbuch für Numismatik*, *Latomus*, *The Link*, *Numismatika* (Zagreb), *Revista Clasica Orpheus Favonius* (Bucharest), *Revue d'histoire ancienne* (Moscow), *Sovietskaya Arkheologiya* (Leningrad) and *Türk tarih arkeologya ve etnografya dergisi*.

The relations with the National Central Library continue to give mutual satisfaction; in the last session the library has lent over 120 volumes to and borrowed 60 volumes from the National Central Library.

The Councils of the Societies propose to allow members who pay an extra 10s. 6d. annually the right to borrow an additional three volumes. It is thought that in this way the needs of members residing in the country may be met more easily.

The Councils of the Hellenic and Roman Societies wish to express their thanks for gifts of books from the following:—

*Authors*: Dr. W. Abel, Prof. A. S. Arvanitopoulos, Dr. T. Arvanitopoulos, Mr. A. Aymard, Dr. C. W. Barlow, Dr. M. Bertolone, Prof. J. Bidez, Dr. F. A. Bieter, Prof. L. Boretini, Mrs. E. S. Bosanquet, Prof. A. Cameron, Prof. I. Cazzaniga, Dr. J. F. Charles, Mr. C. N. Constantinides, Dr. P. S. Costas, Mr. J. W. Crowfoot, Prof. F. Cumont, Dr. C. Daicovicu, Dr. W. Darsow, Mr. O. Davies, Dr. F. della Corte, Dr. T. Dohrn, Dr. C. B. Earp, Dr. V. Ehrenberg, Prof. S. Ferri, Dr. E. H. Freshfield, Dr. V. Georgiev, Dr. D. T. Gimborn, Dr. M. Greindl, Mr. R. M. Hickman, Dr. C. C. Jernigan, Dr. I. Johnson, Mr. J. H. Jongkees, Mr. G. E. Kirk, Dr. E. D. Kolokotsas, Prof. S. P. Kyriakides, Mme. M. F. Lambrino, Mr. L. A. Lazarides, Mr. L. Laffranchi, Mr. F. Laffranchi, Dr. B. Lavagnini, Miss W. Lepikovna, Dr. A. Mahr, Prof. A. Maiuri, Dr. E. Malcovati, Dr. J. G. Milne, Dr. A. Momigliano, Mr. C. Nordenfalk, Prof. W. A. Oldfather, Prof. V. E. Paoli, Prof. J. Papastavru, Mr. F. Peeters, Dr. V. H. Poulsen, Mr. L. J. D. Richardson, Mr. F. M. De Robertis, Prof. D. M. Robinson,



Prof. Dr. G. Rodenwaldt, Mr. A. Salanitro, Mr. L. Savadjian, Mr. C. H. O. Scaife, Dr. W. Schumacher, Prof. A. Severyns, Sir Aurel Stein, Miss M. Stuart, Dr. P. L. Tardo, Mr. W. A. Thorpe, Mr. R. Thouvenot, Dr. M. Tonev, Prof. K. I. Vouveris, Dr. L. Zancan, Dr. Z. Zmigryder-Konopka.

*Donors of other books:* Mr. P. Argenti, Prof. N. H. Baynes, Dr. H. I. Bell, Dr. W. H. Buckler, Mrs. Culley, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Mr. R. H. Dundas, Mr. F. C. Hiley, Sir George Hill, Mr. W. R. Lefanu, Mr. W. E. F. Macmillan, Dr. W. Miller, Mr. C. A. Raleigh Radford, Dr. H. Scullard, Miss M. V. Taylor.

*The Presses of the following Universities:* Cambridge, Catholic University of America, Johns Hopkins, Manchester, Oxford, Princeton, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore (Milan).

*Institutions and Associations:* Academia Scientiarum Fennica, Academy of Athens, Allard Pierson Stichting, American Numismatic Society, American School of Oriental Research, Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches (Athenische Abteilung), Asine Committee (Stockholm), Association Guillaume Budé, Benaki Museum (Athens), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, British Academy, College of Notre Dame (Baltimore), Cyprus Monuments Committee, École des Hautes Études (Ghent), Ente Nazionale Industrie Turistiche, Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth (Brussels), Institute of Archaeology (University of London), Institut français d'archéologie orientale (Cairo), Institut für Münzkunde und Archäologie der P. Pázmány Universität (Budapest), Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves de l'Université (Brussels), Istituto di Studi Romani, John Rylands Library, Kanovium Excavation Committee, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Vienna), Metropolitan Museum of Art, National Central Library, Oriental Institute (Chicago), Pontificio Istituto di archeologia cristiana, Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Römisch-Germanische Kommission des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Royal Society of Letters (Lund), Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, H.M. Stationery Office, Trustees of British Museum, Union académique internationale, R. Università di Cagliari, University College (London), Université de Liège.

*Publishing Houses:* Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion (Potsdam), Atlantis-Verlag, C. H. Beck, G. Bell & Sons, 'Les Belles Lettres', J. J. Berkhout, B. H. Blackwell, E. de Boccard, Bowes & Bowes, A. W. Brøgger, F. Bruckmann, H. Champion, Christophers, 'Dante Alighieri', De Meester, M. De Waal, L'édition universelle (Brussels), Les éditions Domat-Montchrestien, J. H. Furst & Co., P. Geuthner, R. Giusti, Grafton & Co., W. de Gruyter & Co., Hachette, Hodder & Stoughton, Junker & Dünhaupt, Kegan Paul & Co., H. Keller, V. Klostermann, K. F. Koehler, W. Kohlhammer, A. Kröner, Levin & Munksgaard, Libreria dello Stato, Longmans Green & Co., Macmillan & Co., Gebr. Mann, Methuen, Sir Humphrey Milford, E. Munksgaard, 'La Nuova Italia' (Florence), Presses Universitaires de France, Spink & Son, P. Téqui, B. G. Teubner, 'Vita e pensiero' (Milan), Weidmann, L. C. Wittich.

As before, the two Councils have to record their grateful appreciation of the help given by Mrs. Culley in dealing with the accessions of books and by Miss Alford in recording the inflow of periodicals.

The thanks of the Councils are due to the following donors to the photographic department: Mr. R. D. Barnett, Dr. W. H. Buckler, Mr. O. Davies, Miss J. Evans, Legatees of the late Dr. E. N. Gardiner, Miss W. Lamb, Prof. J. L. Myres, Mrs. H. Payne, Mr. W. T. Purdon, Mr. C. A. Raleigh Radford, Mr. E. J. P. Raven, Mrs. H. C. Stewart, Miss M. V. Taylor, Miss J. M. C. Toynbee, Mr. A. D. Trendall, Mr. E. G. Turner, and the Royal Numismatic Society.

The results of the questionnaire dealing with the use of the slide collections, which was issued in the previous session, were considered by a joint committee of the Councils; the main recommendations adopted are the revision of the main collection and of some of the lecture sets and a reduction in the charges for hire. A number of new lecture sets are in preparation. It is not intended at present to provide for loan photographs to be used with the epidiascope, though these may be supplied if specially ordered. It is hoped that the improvements made in the material and in the terms of hire will encourage the use of the collections in the coming session.

# The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1938.

<i>Liabilities.</i>		<i>Assets.</i>	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To Debts Payable.....	829 9 3	By Cash in Hand—Bank .....	592 4 3
" Subscriptions paid in advance .....	83 19 8	Assistant Treasurer .....	7 7 0
" Endowment Fund .....	2039 12 0	Petty Cash .....	101 3 0
(includes legacy of £180 from the			
late Prof. P. Gardner, £200 from		Debts Receivable .....	700 14 3
the late Canon Adam Farrar, £200		" Investments .....	172 10 0
from the late Rev. H. F. Tozer,		" Library Premises Capital Account—	2725 0 0
and £500 from the late Mr. G. A.		Amount spent to date .....	584 13 10
Macmillan)		Less Donations received .....	4699 11 4
.. Life Compositions—			
Total at Jan. 1, 1938 .....	2289 0 0	Transferred to Income and Expenditure	885 2 6
Received during year .....	47 5 0	Account during past years .....	612 0 0
Less carried to Income and Expenditure	2336 5 0	Now transferred .....	273 2 6
Account—Members deceased .....	105 0 0		23 0 0
		Valuation of Stocks of Publications .....	250 2 6
Surplus at January 1, 1938 .....	627 0 10	" Library .....	300 0 0
Add Balance from Income and Expendi-		" Photographic Department .....	1500 0 0
ture Account .....	117 0 0	" Paper in hand for printing Journal .....	200 0 0
Surplus at December 31, 1938 .....	744 0 10		80 0 0
			£5928 6 9

Examined and found correct.

(Signed) C. F. CLAY.  
W. E. F. MACMILLAN.



## The Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1938, TO DECEMBER 31, 1938.

<i>Expenditure.</i>	£	s.	d.	f. = s. d.
To Salaries.....				481 12 6
" Pension Insurance .....				33 2 6
" Miscellaneous Expenses .....				56 16 5
" Stationery .....				33 13 0½
" Postage .....				42 6 4
" Sundry Printing, Rules, List of Members, Notices, &c.....				72 3 6
" Heating, Lighting, Cleaning, Maintenance of Library Premises, &c. ....				355 19 10½
" Insurance .....				25 16 2
" Grants— British School at Athens .....	75	0	0	
" " Rome .....	5	5	0	
" Valuation of ' Artemis Orthia ' stock written off .....				80 5 0
" Balance from ' Journal of Hellenic Studies ' Account .....				150 0 0
" Balance from Library Account .....				758 16 2
				101 17 5
" Balance .....				117 0 0
				f2309 8 11

Income.			
	£	s.	d.
By Members' Subscriptions—			
Arrears .....	10	10	0
1938 .....	1142	8	0
Members' Entrance Fees .....	152	18	0
" Student Associates' Subscriptions .....	24	3	0
" Libraries' Subscriptions .....	128	12	11
Arrears .....	3	3	0
1938 .....	336	9	3
Life Compositions brought into Revenue			
Account .....	105	0	0
Dividends on Investments .....	116	11	6
Contributed by the Society for Promotion of Roman Studies .....	275	0	0
Sale of 'Ante Oculos' .....	6	0	0
Sale of 'Artemis Orthia' .....	5	12	0
Sale of 'Phylakopi' .....	2	0	0
Miscellaneous Receipts .....	4	2	9
Donations towards current expenses .....	11	11	0
Balance from Lantern Slides and Photo- graphs Account .....	34	1	1
Balance from Library Premises Account ..	109	18	5
	£2309	8	11



Dr. 'JOURNAL OF HELLENIC STUDIES' ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1938, TO DECEMBER 31, 1938. Cr.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Printing and Paper. Vol. LVIII .....	508	5	0			
" Plates .....	125	8	6			
" Drawing and Engraving .....	99	6	1	145	10	8
" Editing and Reviews .....	78	5	6	27	8	0
" Packing, Addressing, and Carriage to Members .....	154	15	9			172 18 8
						34 6 0
						758 16 2
						<u>£966 0 10</u>

LANTERN SLIDES AND PHOTOGRAPHS ACCOUNT. FROM JANUARY 1, 1938, TO DECEMBER 31, 1938.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Slides and Photographs for Sale .....	20	4	11			
" Slides for Hire .....	10	11	5			62 12 5
" Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....	34	1	1			2 5 0
						<u>£64 17 5</u>

LIBRARY ACCOUNT. PURCHASES AND BINDING. FROM JANUARY 1, 1938, TO DECEMBER 31, 1938.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Purchases .....	40	11	2			
" Binding .....	41	4	9			15 12 8
" Cost of printing Accessions Lists to the Library and Slides Departments, less contribution from the Roman Society .....	35	14	2			101 17 5
						<u>£117 16 1</u>

LIBRARY PREMISES ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR 1938.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Rent .....	405	5	0			
Rates .....	131	16	7			20 0 0
Transferred from Balance Sheet—Proportion of Expenditure for Year .....	23	0	0			650 0 0
Balance to Income and Expenditure Account .....	109	18	5			
						<u>£670 0 0</u>









*"A book that is shut is but a block"*

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